Plutarch's Lives

Plutarch

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

IX

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

IX

DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY
PYRRHUS AND CAIUS MARIUS

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important deviation from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. Of the *Lives* presented in this volume, the last part of the *Antony* (from chapter lxxvii.), and the *Pyrrhus* and *Marius* are contained in the Codex Sangermanensis (S^g), but none in the Codex Seitenstettensis (S). These are the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts. The readings of the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F^a) are not accessible for any of them. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the new text of the *Lives* by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (now

half published). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

The Siefert-Blass edition of the *Pyrrhus*, in the Teubner series of annotated Greek and Latin texts, has been of great service.

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including those of the *Antony* and *Marius* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

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DEMETRIUS

DEMETRIUS

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ

I. Οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς τέχνας ἐοικέναι ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ὑπολαβόντες οὐχ ἥκιστά μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν περὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτῶν κατανοῆσαι δύναμιν, ᾗ τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμοίως ἐν ἑκατέρῳ[1] γένει πεφύκαμεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐταῖς κοινόν ἐστι· τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὰ τέλη τῶν κρινομένων

2 ἀναφορᾷ διαλλάττουσιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἴσθησις οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ λευκῶν ἢ μελάνων διαγνώσει γέγονεν, οὐδὲ γλυκέων ἢ πικρῶν, οὐδὲ μαλακῶν καὶ εἰκόντων ἢ σκληρῶν καὶ ἀντιτύπων, ἀλλ' ἔργον αὐτῆς ἑκάστοις ἐντυγχάνουσαν ὑπὸ πάντων τε κινεῖσθαι καὶ κινουμένην πρὸς τὸ φρονοῦν ἀναφέρειν ὡς πέπονθεν. αἱ δὲ τέχναι μετὰ λόγου συνεστῶσαι πρὸς αἵρεσιν καὶ λῆψιν οἰκείου τινός, φυγὴν δὲ καὶ διάκρουσιν ἀλλοτρίου, τὰ μὲν ἀφ' αὐτῶν προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι

3 κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἐπιθεωροῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ἰατρικῇ τὸ νοσερὸν καὶ ἁρμονικῇ τὸ ἐκμελές, ὅπως ἔχει, σκοπεῖν συμβέβηκε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπεργασίαν, αἵ τε πασῶν τελειόταται τεχνῶν, σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις, οὐ καλῶν

Pa[...] Edi[...] a. 16[...] 88[...]

[1] ἐν ἑκατέρῳ Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: ἑκατέρῳ.

DEMETRIUS.

I. Those who first assumed that the arts are like the bodily senses, seem to me to have perceived very clearly the power of making distinctions which both possess, by which power we are enabled to apprehend opposites, as well in the one case as in the other. For the arts and the senses have this power in common; though in the use to which we put the distinctions made, they differ. For our sense-perception has no greater facility in distinguishing white objects than black, or sweet things than bitter, or soft and yielding substances than hard and resisting ones, but its function is to receive impressions from all objects alike, and having received them, to report the resulting sensation to the understanding. The arts, on the other hand, which proceed by the use of reason to the selection and adoption of what is appropriate, and to the avoidance and rejection of what is alien to themselves, contemplate the one class of objects with direct intent and by preference, and yet incidentally contemplate the other class also, and in order to avoid them. For instance, the art of healing has incidentally studied the nature of disease, and the art of harmony the nature of discord, in order to produce their opposites; and the most consummate arts of all, namely, temperance, justice, and wisdom, since their function is to distinguish, not only what is good and just

μόνον καὶ δικαίων καὶ ὠφελίμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλα- 889
βερῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀδίκων κρίσεις οὖσαι,
τὴν ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν κακῶν καλλωπιζομένην ἀκακίαν
οὐκ ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀβελτερίαν ἡγοῦνται καὶ
ἄγνοιαν ὧν μάλιστα γινώσκειν προσήκει τοὺς
4 ὀρθῶς βιωσομένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ Σπαρ-
τιᾶται τοὺς εἵλωτας ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς πολὺν ἀναγ-
κάζοντες πίνειν ἄκρατον εἰσῆγον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια,
τοῖς νέοις οἷόν ἐστι τὸ μεθύειν ἐπιδεικνύντες·
ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἑτέρων ἐπανόρ-
θωσιν οὐ πάνυ φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲ πολιτικὴν
5 ἡγούμεθα, τῶν δὲ κεχρημένων ἀσκεπτότερον αὐ-
τοῖς καὶ γεγονότων ἐν ἐξουσίαις καὶ πράγμασι
μεγάλοις ἐπιφανῶν εἰς κακίαν, οὐ χεῖρον ἴσως
ἐστὶ συζυγίαν μίαν ἢ δύο παρεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰ
παραδείγματα τῶν βίων, οὐκ ἐφ' ἡδονῇ, μὰ Δία,
καὶ διαγωγῇ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ποικίλλοντας
6 τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ Θηβαῖος
ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ
τοὺς κακῶς αὐλοῦντας εἰώθει λέγειν, "Οὕτως
αὐλεῖν δεῖ," καὶ πάλιν, "Οὕτως αὐλεῖν οὐ δεῖ,"
ὁ δ' Ἀντιγενίδας καὶ ἥδιον ᾤετο τῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἀκροᾶσθαι τοὺς νέους αὐλητῶν ἐὰν καὶ τῶν
φαύλων πεῖραν λαμβάνωσιν, οὕτω μοι δοκοῦμεν
καὶ ἡμεῖς προθυμότεροι τῶν βελτιόνων ἔσεσθαι
καὶ θεαταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ βίων εἰ μηδὲ τῶν φαύλων
καὶ ψεγομένων ἀνιστορήτως ἔχοιμεν.
7 Περιέξει δὴ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον τὸν Δημητρίου
τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ βίον καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ αὐτο-
κράτορος, ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα δὴ τῷ Πλάτωνι
μαρτυρησάντων ὅτι καὶ κακίας μεγάλας, ὥσπερ

and expedient, but also what is bad and unjust and disgraceful, have no praises for a guilelessness which plumes itself on its inexperience of evil, nay, they consider it to be foolishness, and ignorance of what ought especially to be known by men who would live aright. Accordingly, the ancient Spartans would put compulsion upon their helots at the festivals to drink much unmixed wine, and would then bring them into the public messes, in order to show their young men what it was to be drunk. And though I do not think that the perverting of some to secure the setting right of others is very humane, or a good civil policy, still, when men have led reckless lives, and have become conspicuous, in the exercise of power or in great undertakings, for badness, perhaps it will not be much amiss for me to introduce a pair or two of them into my biographies, though not that I may merely divert and amuse my readers by giving variety to my writing. Ismenias the Theban used to exhibit both good and bad players to his pupils on the flute and say, "you must play like this one," or again, "you must not play like this one"; and Antigenidas used to think that young men would listen with more pleasure to good flute-players if they were given an experience of bad ones also. So, I think, we also shall be more eager to observe and imitate the better lives if we are not left without narratives of the blameworthy and the bad.

This book will therefore contain the Lives of Demetrius the City-besieger and Antony the Imperator, men who bore most ample testimony to the truth of Plato's saying[1] that great natures exhibit

[1] It is uncertain what passage in Plato is meant.

ἀρετάς, αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις ἐκφέρουσι. γενόμενοι
δ' ὁμοίως ἐρωτικοί, ποτικοί, στρατιωτικοί, μεγα-
λόδωροι, πολυτελεῖς, ὑβρισταί, καὶ τὰς κατὰ
8 τύχην ὁμοιότητας ἀκολούθους ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ
μόνον ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ μεγάλα μὲν κατορθοῦντες,
μεγάλα δὲ σφαλλόμενοι, πλείστων δὲ ἐπικρα-
τοῦντες, πλεῖστα δὲ ἀποβάλλοντες, ἀπροσδοκήτως
δὲ πταίοντες, ἀνελπίστως δὲ πάλιν ἀναφέροντες
διετέλεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέστρεψαν, ὁ μὲν ἁλοὺς
ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ ἔγγιστα τοῦ παθεῖν
τοῦτο γενόμενος.

II. Ἀντιγόνῳ τοίνυν δυεῖν υἱῶν ἐκ Στρατονί-
κης τῆς Κορράγου γενομένων, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τἀ-
δελφῷ Δημήτριον, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Φίλιππον
ὠνόμασεν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πλείστων λόγος.
ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον οὐχ υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἀδελφιδοῦν
γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου λέγουσιν· ἐπὶ νηπίῳ
γὰρ αὐτῷ παντάπασι τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος,
εἶτα τῆς μητρὸς εὐθὺς τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ γαμηθείσης,
2 υἱὸν ἐκείνου νομισθῆναι. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φίλιππον
οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τοῦ Δημητρίου νεώτερον ὄντα
συνέβη τελευτῆσαι· Δημήτριος δὲ μεγέθει μὲν
ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλάττων, καίπερ ὢν μέγας, ἰδέᾳ
δὲ καὶ κάλλει προσώπου θαυμαστὸς καὶ περιττός,
ὥστε τῶν πλαττόντων καὶ γραφόντων μηθένα
τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἐφικέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ χάριν
καὶ βάρος καὶ φόβον καὶ ὥραν εἶχε, καὶ συνεκέ-
κρατο τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἰταμῷ δυσμίμητος ἡρωϊκή
3 τις ἐπιφάνεια καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης. οὕτω δέ
πως καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐπεφύκει πρὸς ἔκπληξιν ἀν-
θρώπων ἅμα καὶ χάριν. ἥδιστος γὰρ ὢν συγ-
γενέσθαι, σχολάζων τε περὶ πότους καὶ τρυφὰς

great vices also, as well as great virtues. Both alike were amorous, bibulous, warlike, munificent, extravagant, and domineering, and they had corresponding resemblances in their fortunes. For not only were they all through their lives winning great successes, but meeting with great reverses; making innumerable conquests, but suffering innumerable losses; unexpectedly falling low, but unexpectedly recovering themselves again; but they also came to their end, the one in captivity to his enemies, and the other on the verge of this calamity.

II. To begin, then, Antigonus had two sons by Stratonicé the daughter of Corrhagus, one of whom he named Demetrius, after his brother, and the other Philip, after his father. This is what the majority of writers say. But some have it that Demetrius was not the son, but the nephew of Antigonus; for his own father died when the boy was quite young, and then his mother immediately married Antigonus, so that Demetrius was considered to be his son. Well then, Philip, who was a few years younger than Demetrius, died. Demetrius, the surviving son, had not the height of his father, though he was a tall man, but he had features of rare and astonishing beauty, so that no painter or sculptor ever achieved a likeness of him. They had at once grace and strength, dignity and beauty, and there was blended with their youthful eagerness a certain heroic look and a kingly majesty that were hard to imitate. And in like manner his disposition also was fitted to inspire in men both fear and favour. For while he was a most agreeable companion, and most dainty of princes in the leisure devoted to drinking and

καὶ διαίτας ἁβροβιώτατος βασιλέων, ἐνεργότατον
αὖ πάλιν καὶ σφοδρότατον τὸ περὶ τὰς πράξεις
ἐνδελεχὲς εἶχε καὶ δραστήριον· ᾗ καὶ μάλιστα
τῶν θεῶν ἐζήλου τὸν Διόνυσον, ὡς πολέμῳ τε
χρῆσθαι δεινότατον, εἰρήνην τε αὖθις ἐκ πολέμου
τρέψαι πρὸς εὐφροσύνην καὶ χάριν ἐμμελέστατον.

III. Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ φιλοπάτωρ διαφερόντως·
τῇ δὲ περὶ τὴν μητέρα σπουδῇ καὶ τὸν πατέρα 890
τιμῶν ἐφαίνετο δι' εὔνοιαν ἀληθινὴν μᾶλλον ἢ
θεραπείαν τῆς δυνάμεως. καί ποτε πρεσβείᾳ
τινὶ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου σχολάζοντος ἀπὸ θήρας ὁ
Δημήτριος ἐπέστη· καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ
φιλήσας, ὥσπερ εἶχε τὰς βολίδας, ἐκάθισε παρ'
2 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἀπιόντας ἤδη τοὺς πρέ-
σβεις ἔχοντας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις μεγάλῃ φωνῇ
προσαγορεύσας, "Καὶ τοῦτο," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες,
ἀπαγγέλλετε περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕ-
τως ἔχομεν," ὡς ἰσχύν τινα πραγμάτων βασιλι-
κῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπίδειξιν οὖσαν τὴν πρὸς υἱὸν
3 ὁμόνοιαν καὶ πίστιν. οὕτως ἄρα πάντῃ δυσκοινώ-
νητον ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ μεστὸν ἀπιστίας καὶ δυσνοίας,
ὥστε ἀγάλλεσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
διαδόχων καὶ πρεσβύτατον ὅτι μὴ φοβεῖται τὸν
υἱόν, ἀλλὰ προσίεται τὴν λόγχην ἔχοντα τοῦ
σώματος πλησίον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος, ὡς
εἰπεῖν, ὁ οἶκος οὗτος ἐπὶ πλείστας διαδοχὰς
τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἐκαθάρευσε, μᾶλλον δὲ εἷς
μόνος τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιγόνου Φίλιππος ἀνεῖλεν υἱόν.

luxurious ways of living, on the other hand he had a most energetic and eager persistency and efficiency in action. Wherefore he used to make Dionysus his pattern, more than any other deity, since this god was most terrible in waging war, and on the other hand most skilful, when war was over, in making peace minister to joy and pleasure.

III. Moreover, Demetrius was also exceedingly fond of his father; and from his devotion to his mother it was apparent that he honoured his father also from genuine affection rather than out of deference to his power. On one occasion, when Antigonus was busy with an embassy, Demetrius came home from hunting; he went up to his father and kissed him, and then sat down by his side just as he was, javelins in hand. Then Antigonus, as the ambassadors were now going away with their answers, called out to them in a loud voice and said: "O men, carry back this report also about us, that this is the way we feel towards one another," implying that no slight vigour in the royal estate and proof of its power were to be seen in his harmonious and trustful relations with his son. So utterly unsociable a thing, it seems, is empire, and so full of ill-will and distrust, that the oldest and greatest of the successors of Alexander could make it a thing to glory in that he was not afraid of his son, but allowed him near his person lance in hand. However, this house was almost the only one which kept itself pure from crimes of this nature for very many generations, or, to speak more definitely, Philip was the only one of the descendants of Antigonus who put a son to death.[1]

[1] Philip V., King of Macedonia. Cf. the *Aemilius Paulus*, viii. 6.

4 αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι σχεδὸν ἅπασαι διαδοχαὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἔχουσι παίδων, πολλῶν δὲ μητέρων φόνους καὶ γυναικῶν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς ἀναιρεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι τὰ αἰτήματα λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτω συνεχωρεῖτο κοινόν τι νομιζόμενον αἴτημα καὶ βασιλικὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας.

IV. Τοῦ μέντοι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον φύσει καὶ φιλεταῖρον γεγονέναι τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν ἀρχῇ παράδειγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν. Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνου παῖς ἑταῖρος ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν[1] συνήθης, ἐθεράπευε δὲ Ἀντίγονον, οὔτε ὢν οὔτε δοκῶν πονηρός, ἐκ δὲ ἐνυπνίου τινὸς
2 ὑποψίαν Ἀντιγόνῳ παρέσχεν. ἐδόκει γὰρ μέγα καὶ καλὸν πεδίον ἐπιὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ψῆγμά τι[2] χρυσίου κατασπείρειν· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑποφύεσθαι θέρος χρυσοῦν, ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐπανελθὼν ἰδεῖν οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τετμημένην καλάμην. λυπούμενος δὲ καὶ περιπαθῶν ἀκοῦσαί τινων λεγόντων ὡς ἄρα Μιθριδάτης εἰς Πόντον Εὔξεινον οἴχεται, τὸ χρυσοῦν θέρος ἐξαμησάμενος.
3 ἐκ τούτου διαταραχθεὶς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὁρκώσας σιωπήσειν, ἔφρασε τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι πάντως τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ διαφθείρειν ἔγνωκεν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος ἠχθέσθη σφόδρα, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου, καθάπερ εἰώθει, γενομένου παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ συνόντος ἐπὶ σχολῆς, φθέγξασθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδὲ τῇ φωνῇ κατειπεῖν διὰ τὸν ὅρκον, ὑπαγαγὼν δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων, ὡς ἐγεγόνεσαν μόνοι καθ' αὑτούς, τῷ στύρακι τῆς λόγχης κατέγραφεν εἰς

[1] καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν Ziegler: καθ' ἡλικίαν καί.
[2] ψῆγμά τι Ziegler: ψήγματι.

But almost all the other lines afford many examples of men who killed their sons, and of many who killed their mothers and wives; and as for men killing their brothers, just as geometricians assume their postulates, so this crime came to be a common and recognized postulate in the plans of princes to secure their own safety.

IV. In proof that in the beginning Demetrius was naturally humane and fond of his companions, the following illustration may be given. Mithridates the son of Ariobarzanes was a companion of his, and an intimate of the same age. He was one of the courtiers of Antigonus, and though he neither was nor was held to be a base fellow, still, in consequence of a dream, Antigonus conceived a suspicion of him. Antigonus dreamed, namely, that he was traversing a large and fair field and sowing gold-dust. From this, to begin with, there sprang up a golden crop, but when he came back after a little while, he could see nothing but stubble. In his vexation and distress, he heard in his dream sundry voices saying that Mithridates had reaped the golden crop for himself and gone off to the Euxine Sea. Antigonus was much disturbed by this vision, and after he had put his son under oath of silence, told it to him, adding that he had fully determined to destroy Mithridates and put him out of the way. On hearing this, Demetrius was exceedingly distressed, and when the young man, as was his wont, came to share his diversions with him, though he did not venture to open his lips on the matter or to warn him orally, because of his oath, he gradually drew him away from his friends, and when they were by themselves, with the sharp butt of his lance he wrote on the

τὴν γῆν ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ, "Φεῦγε, Μιθριδάτα."
4 συνεὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδρα νυκτὸς εἰς Καππαδοκίαν.
καὶ ταχὺ τὴν Ἀντιγόνῳ γενομένην ὄψιν ὕπαρ
αὐτῷ συνετέλει τὸ χρεών. πολλῆς γὰρ καὶ ἀγα-
θῆς ἐκράτησε χώρας, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ποντικῶν βασι-
λέων γένος ὀγδόῃ που διαδοχῇ παυσάμενον ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων ἐκεῖνος παρέσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εὐ-
φυΐας δείγματα τοῦ Δημητρίου πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν
καὶ δικαιοσύνην.

V. Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἐμπεδοκλέους
στοιχείοις διὰ τὸ νεῖκος καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἔνεστι
διαφορὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ πόλεμος, μᾶλλον δὲ
τοῖς ἀλλήλων ἁπτομένοις καὶ πελάζουσιν, οὕτω
τὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχοις πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους ὄντα συνεχῆ πόλεμον αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων
καὶ τῶν τόπων συνάφειαι πρὸς ἐνίους ἐποίουν
ἐπιφανέστερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέκαον, ὥσπερ Ἀντι-
2 γόνῳ τότε πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀντίγονος
ἐν Φρυγίᾳ διέτριβε, Πτολεμαῖον δ' ἀκούων ἐκ 891
Κύπρου διαβάντα πορθεῖν Συρίαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις
ἀπάγειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι, κατέπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν Δη-
μήτριον, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ὄντα καὶ στρατείας
τότε πρῶτον αὐτοτελῶς ἐπὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις
ἁπτόμενον. οἷα δὲ νέος καὶ ἄπειρος ἀνδρὶ συμ-
πεσὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παλαίστρας ἠθληκότι
πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους καθ' αὑτὸν ἀγῶνας, ἐσφά-
λη περὶ πόλιν Γάζαν ἡττηθείς, ὀκτακισχιλίων
3 ἁλόντων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἀποθανόντων. ἀπέ-

ground so that he could see it, "Fly, Mithridates." Mithridates understood, and ran away by night to Cappadocia. And soon the vision of Antigonus was accomplished for him by fate. For Mithridates made himself master of a large and fair territory, and founded the line of Pontic kings, which, in the eighth generation, was brought to an end by the Romans.[1] This, then, is an illustration of the strong natural bent of Demetrius towards kindness and justice.

V. But just as among the elements of the universe, according to Empedocles, love and hate produce mutual dissension and war, particularly among those elements which touch or lie near one another, so the continuous wars which the successors of Alexander waged against one another were aggravated and more inflamed in some cases by the close proximity of interests and territories, as at this time in the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus himself was tarrying in Phrygia, and hearing there that Ptolemy had crossed over from Cyprus and was ravaging Syria and reducing or turning from their allegiance its cities, he sent against him his son Demetrius, who was only twenty-two years of age, and was then for the first time engaging with sole command in an expedition where great interests were at stake. But since he was young and inexperienced, and had for his adversary a man trained in the training-school of Alexander who had independently waged many great contests, he met with utter defeat near the city of Gaza,[2] where eight thousand of his men were taken prisoners and five thousand were slain. He

[1] In 63 B.C., when Pompey conquered Mithridates VI. and dismembered his kingdom. [2] In the spring of 312 B.C.

βαλε δὲ καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ὅλως σύμ-
πασαν τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέπεμψε μετὰ τῶν φίλων,
εὐγνώμονα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀνειπὼν λόγον, ὡς
οὐ περὶ πάντων ἅμα, περὶ δόξης δὲ καὶ ἀρχῆς
πολεμητέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. Δημήτριος δὲ δεξά-
μενος εὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ὀφειλέ-
την γενέσθαι Πτολεμαίῳ χάριτος, ἀλλὰ ταχέως
4 ἀμείψασθαι διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων. καὶ πάθος οὐ
μειρακίου παθὼν ἐν ἀρχῇ πράξεως ἀνατραπέντος,
ἀλλ' ἐμβριθοῦς στρατηγοῦ κεχρημένου πραγμά-
των μεταβολαῖς, ἀνδρῶν τε συλλογῆς καὶ κατα-
σκευῆς ὅπλων ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ
χειρὸς εἶχε καὶ τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους ἐγύμναζεν.

VI. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τὴν μάχην πυθόμενος Πτολε-
μαῖον μὲν ἀγενείους νενικηκότα ἔφη νῦν αὖθις
διαγωνιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ τὸ φρό-
νημα καθελεῖν καὶ κολοῦσαι μὴ βουλόμενος οὐκ
ἐνέστη πάλιν αἰτουμένῳ μάχεσθαι καθ' αὑτόν,
ἀλλ' ἀφῆκε. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀφῖκτο
Κίλλης, Πτολεμαίου στρατηγός, μετὰ λαμπρᾶς
δυνάμεως, ὡς ἐξελάσων Συρίας Δημήτριον ἁπά-
2 σης, τῷ προηττῆσθαι καταφρονούμενον. ὁ δ'
ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν οὐ προαισθομένῳ καὶ φοβήσας
ἔλαβεν αὐτῷ στρατηγῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον· καὶ
στρατιώτας μὲν ἑπτακισχιλίους ζῶντας εἷλε,
χρημάτων δὲ παμπόλλων ἐκυρίευσεν. ἔχαιρε
δὲ νικήσας οὐχ οἷς ἕξειν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἀποδώσειν

lost also his tent, his money, and in a word, all his personal effects. But Ptolemy sent these back to him, together with his friends, accompanying them with the considerate and humane message that their warfare must not be waged for all things alike, but only for glory and dominion. Demetrius accepted the kindness, and prayed the gods that he might not long be indebted to Ptolemy for it, but might speedily make him a like return. And he took his disaster, not like a stripling thwarted at the outset of an undertaking, but like a sensible general acquainted with reverses of fortune, and busied himself with the levying of men and the preparation of arms, while he kept the cities well in hand and practised his new recruits.

VI. When Antigonus learned of the battle, he said that Ptolemy had conquered beardless youths, but must now fight with men;[1] however, not wishing to humble or curtail the spirit of his son, he did not oppose his request that he might fight again on his own account, but suffered him to do it. And not long after, up came Cilles, a general of Ptolemy, with a splendid army, intending to drive Demetrius out of all Syria, and looking down upon him because of his previous defeat. But Demetrius fell upon him suddenly and took him by surprise, put him to rout, and captured his camp, general and all; he also took seven thousand of his soldiers prisoners, and made himself master of vast treasures. However, he rejoiced to have won the day, not by reason of what he was going to have, but of what he could

[1] The competitors at the great games were divided into three classes: boys, beardless youths, and men (Plato, *Laws*, 833 c).

ἔμελλε, καὶ τῆς νίκης οὐ τὸν πλοῦτον οὕτως οὐδὲ τὴν δόξαν, ὡς τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ φιλανθρωπευ-
3 ματος ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν χάριν ἠγάπησεν. οὐ μὴν αὐτογνωμόνως ταῦτα ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἔγραψε τῷ πατρί. δόντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ κελεύσαντος ὃν βούλεται πᾶσι χρήσασθαι τρόπον, αὐτόν τε τὸν Κίλλην καὶ φίλους αὐτοῦ δωρησάμενος ἀφθόνως ἀπέπεμψε. τοῦτο τὸ πάθος Συρίας ἐξήλασε Πτολεμαῖον, Ἀντίγονον δὲ κατήγαγεν ἐκ Κελαινῶν χαίροντα τῇ νίκῃ καὶ ποθοῦντα θεάσασθαι τὸν υἱόν.

VII. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων τοὺς καλουμένους Ναβαταίους ὑπαγαγέσθαι πεμφθεὶς ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκινδύνευσε μὲν εἰς τόπους ἀνύδρους ἐμπεσών, τῷ δὲ μὴ διαταραχθῆναι μηδ' ἐκπλαγῆναι καταπληξάμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους, λείαν τε λαβὼν πολλὴν καὶ καμήλους ἑπτακοσίας παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησεν.

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σέλευκος, ἐκπεσὼν μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ κρατῶν, ἀνέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως, τὰ συνοροῦντα τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἔθνη καὶ τὰς περὶ Καύκασον ἐπαρχίας προσαξόμενος, ἐλπίζων Δημήτριος ἔρημον εὑρήσειν τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ περάσας ἄφνω τὸν Εὐφράτην εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν παρεισπεσὼν ἔφθη, καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας ἄκρας (δύο γαρ ἦσαν) ἐκκρούσας τὴν τοῦ Σελεύκου φρουρὰν καὶ κρατήσας ἰδίους ἐγκατ-
3 έστησεν ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας. ἐκ δὲ τῆς

restore, and was delighted, not so much with the wealth and glory which his victory brought, as with the power it gave him to recompense the kindness and return the favour of Ptolemy. And yet he did not do this on his own responsibility, but first wrote to his father about it. And when his father gave him permission and bade him dispose of everything as he liked, he sent back to Ptolemy both Cilles himself and his friends, after loading them with gifts. This reverse drove Ptolemy out of Syria, and brought Antigonus down from Celaenae; he rejoiced at the victory and yearned to get sight of the son who had won it.

VII. After this, Demetrius was sent to bring into subjection the Arabs known as Nabataean, and incurred great peril by getting into regions which had no water; but he was neither terrified nor greatly disturbed, and his demeanour overawed the Barbarians, so that he took much booty and seven hundred camels from them and returned.

And now Seleucus, who had once been expelled from Babylonia by Antigonus, but had afterwards succeeded in recovering the realm and was now wielding the power there, went up with an army, designing to annex the tribes on the confines of India and the provinces about Mount Caucasus. Demetrius, accordingly, expecting that he would find Mesopotamia unprotected, suddenly crossed the Euphrates and invaded Babylonia before Seleucus could stop him. He expelled from one of its citadels (there were two of them) the garrison left there by Seleucus, got it into his power and established in it seven thousand of his own men. But

χώρας ὅσα φέρειν ἢ ἄγειν ἠδύναντο τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσας, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν βεβαιοτέραν Σελεύκῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολιπών· ἐξίστασθαι γὰρ ἐδόκει τῷ κακοῦν ὡς μηκέτι προσήκουσαν αὐτοῖς. Πτολεμαίου μέντοι πολιορκοῦντος Ἁλικαρνασὸν ὀξέως βοηθήσας ἐξήρπασε τὴν πόλιν.

VIII. Ἐνδόξου δὲ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ταύτης γενομένης, ὁρμὴ παρέστη θαυμάσιος αὐτοῖς ἐλευθεροῦν 892
τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου καὶ Πτολεμαίου καταδεδουλωμένην. τούτου πόλεμον οὐδεὶς ἐπολέμησε τῶν βασιλέων καλλίω καὶ δικαιότερον· ἃς γὰρ ἅμα τοὺς βαρβάρους ταπεινοῦντες εὐπορίας συνήγαγον, εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας
2 καὶ τιμῆς ἀνήλισκον. ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ἐδόκει πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν φίλων εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὅτι δεῖ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἂν ἕλωσι, κατέχειν δι' αὑτῶν, ἐπιβάθραν τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὖσαν, οὐ προσέσχεν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάθραν μὲν ἔφη καλὴν καὶ ἀσάλευτον εἶναι τὴν εὔνοιαν, τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνας, ὥσπερ σκοπὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ταχὺ τῇ δόξῃ διαπυρσεύειν εἰς ἅπαντας
3 ἀνθρώπους τὰς πράξεις. ἔπλει δὲ Δημήτριος ἔχων ἀργυρίου πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στόλον νεῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν ἄστυ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως Κασάνδρῳ διοικοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ φρουρᾶς καθεστώσης. εὐτυχίᾳ δὲ ἅμα καὶ προνοίᾳ χρησάμενος ἐπεφαίνετο τῷ Πειραιεῖ πέμπτῃ

after ordering his soldiers to take and make booty of everything which they could carry or drive from the country, he returned to the sea-coast, leaving Seleucus more confirmed than before in his possession of the realm; for by ravaging the country Demetrius was thought to admit that it no longer belonged to his father. However, while Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus, Demetrius came swiftly to the aid of the city and rescued it.

VIII. The glory won by this noble deed inspired father and son with a wonderful eagerness to give freedom to all Greece, which had been reduced to subjection by Cassander and Ptolemy. No nobler or juster war than this was waged by any one of the kings; for the vast wealth which they together had amassed by subduing the Barbarians, was now lavishly spent upon the Greeks, to win glory and honour. As soon as father and son had determined to sail against Athens, one of his friends said to Antigonus that they must keep that city, if they took it, in their own hands, since it was a gangway to Greece. But Antigonus would not hear of it; he said that the goodwill of a people was a noble gangway which no waves could shake, and that Athens, the beacon-tower of the whole world, would speedily flash the glory of their deeds to all mankind. So Demetrius sailed, with five thousand talents of money and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, against Athens, where Demetrius the Phalerean was administering the affairs of the city for Cassander and a garrison was set in Munychia. By virtue of forethought combined with good fortune, he appeared off Piraeus on the twenty-sixth of the

4 φθίνοντος Θαργηλιῶνος, προαισθομένου μὲν οὐ-
δενός, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὤφθη πλησίον ὁ στόλος, ἁπάντων
ὡς Πτολεμαϊκὰς τὰς ναῦς ὑποδέχεσθαι παρα-
σκευαζομένων, ὀψὲ συμφρονήσαντες ἐβοήθουν οἱ
στρατηγοί, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν ἀπροσ-
δοκήτῳ πολεμίους ἀποβαίνοντας ἀναγκαζομένων
ἀμύνεσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ στόμασι τῶν λιμένων
ἀκλείστοις ἐπιτυχὼν ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ διεξελάσας
ἐντὸς ἦν ἤδη καταφανὴς πᾶσι, καὶ διεσήμηνεν
ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς αἴτησιν ἡσυχίας καὶ σιωπῆς·
5 γενομένου δὲ τούτου κήρυκα παραστησάμενος
ἀνεῖπεν ὅτι πέμψειεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους[1] ἐλευθερώσοντα καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν
ἐκβαλοῦντα καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν
πάτριον ἀποδώσοντα πολιτείαν.

IX. Ἀναρρηθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ
παραχρῆμα τὰς ἀσπίδας θέμενοι πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν
ἀνεκρότησαν καὶ βοῶντες ἐκέλευον ἀποβαίνειν
τὸν Δημήτριον, εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα προσαγο-
ρεύοντες· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαληρέα πάντως μὲν
ᾤοντο δεῖν δέχεσθαι τὸν κρατοῦντα, κἂν μηδὲν ὧν
ἐπαγγέλλεται μέλλῃ βεβαιοῦν, ὅμως δὲ πρέσβεις
δεομένους[2] ἀπέστειλαν, οἷς ὁ Δημήτριος ἐντυχὼν
φιλανθρώπως συνέπεμψε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν πα-
2 τρῴων φίλων τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀριστόδημον. τοῦ
δὲ Φαληρέως διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς πολιτείας
μᾶλλον τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους δεδοικότος,
οὐκ ἠμέλησεν ὁ Δημήτριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν

[1] τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Sintenis and Ziegler: Ἀθηναίους.
[2] δεομένους Bekker has δεησομένους, after Coraës.

month Thargelion.[1] Nobody knew beforehand of his approach, but as soon as his fleet was seen in the vicinity, everybody thought that the ships belonged to Ptolemy and prepared to receive them. At last, however, the generals discovered their mistake and came to the rescue, and there was confusion, as is natural when men are compelled to defend themselves against enemies who are making an unexpected landing. For Demetrius, finding the entrances to the harbours open and sailing through them, was presently inside and in view of all, and signalled from his ship a demand for quiet and silence. When this was secured, he proclaimed by voice of herald at his side that he had been sent by his father on what he prayed might be a happy errand, to set Athens free, and to expel her garrison, and to restore to the people their laws and their ancient form of government.

IX. On hearing this proclamation, most of the people at once threw their shields down in front of them, and with clapping of hands and loud cries urged Demetrius to land, hailing him as their saviour and benefactor. The party of Demetrius the Phalerean also thought they must by all means receive the conqueror, even though he should confirm none of his promises, but nevertheless sent ambassadors to supplicate his mercy. These Demetrius met in a friendly spirit, and sent back with them one of his father's friends, Aristodemus of Miletus. Now the Phalerean, owing to the change of government, was more afraid of his fellow-citizens than of the enemy. Demetrius, however, was not unmindful of him, but out of regard for the man's

[1] May-June, 307 B.C.

αἰδεσθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς Θήβας
αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο, μετὰ ἀσφαλείας συνεξ-
έπεμψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν, οὐκ ἂν ἔφη,
καίπερ ἐπιθυμῶν, ἰδεῖν πρότερον ἢ παντάπασιν
ἐλευθερῶσαι τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀπαλλάξας· τῇ δὲ
Μουνυχίᾳ χαράκωμα καὶ τάφρον περιβαλὼν διὰ
μέσου, Μεγάροις ἐπέπλευσεν ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου
φρουρουμένοις.
3 Πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυπέρ-
χοντος γενομένην γυναῖκα Κρατησίπολιν ἐν Πά-
τραις διατρίβουσαν οὐκ ἂν ἀηδῶς γενέσθαι μετ᾿
αὐτοῦ, περιβόητον οὖσαν ἐπὶ κάλλει, καταλιπὼν
τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ προῆλθεν εὐζώνους
τινὰς ἔχων σὺν αὑτῷ. καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἀπο-
στρέψας ἀπεσκήνωσε χωρὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν τὴν
4 γυναῖκα συνελθοῦσαν αὐτῷ. τοῦτό τινες αἰσθό-
μενοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐξαίφνης κατέδραμον ἐπ᾿
αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν χλαμύδιον
εὐτελὲς δρόμῳ φεύγων ἐξέφυγεν, ὀλίγου δεήσας
αἰσχίστην ἅλωσιν ἐξ ἀκρασίας ἁλῶναι. τὴν δὲ
σκηνὴν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ᾤχοντο λαβόντες οἱ
πολέμιοι.
5 Τῶν δὲ Μεγάρων ἁλόντων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 893
ἐφ᾿ ἁρπαγὴν τραπομένων Ἀθηναῖοι παρῃτήσαντο
πολλῇ δεήσει τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς· καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ὁ
Δημήτριος ἐκβαλὼν ἠλευθέρωσε τὴν πόλιν. ἔτι
δὲ τοῦτο πράττων τοῦ φιλοσόφου Στίλπωνος
ἐμνήσθη, δόξαν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς ᾑρημένου πως ἐν
ἡσυχίᾳ καταβιῶναι. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν αὐ-
τὸν ἠρώτα μή τις εἴληφέ τι τῶν ἐκείνου. καὶ ὁ
Στίλπων, "Οὐδείς," εἶπεν· "οὐδένα γὰρ εἶδον
6 ἐπιστάμαν ἀποφέροντα." τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων

good reputation and excellence, sent him and his friends under safe conduct to Thebes, as he desired. As for himself, he declared that, although he desired to see the city, he would not do so before he had completed its liberation by ridding it of its garrison; meanwhile, after running a trench and a palisade round Munychia, he sailed against Megara, where a garrison had been stationed by Cassander.

But on learning that Cratesipolis, who had been the wife of Polyperchon's son Alexander, was tarrying at Patrae, and would be very glad to make him a visit (and she was a famous beauty), he left his forces in the territory of Megara and set forth, taking a few light-armed attendants with him. And turning aside from these also, he pitched his tent apart, that the woman might pay her visit to him unobserved. Some of his enemies learned of this, and made a sudden descent upon him. Then, in a fright, he donned a shabby cloak and ran for his life and got away, narrowly escaping a most shameful capture in consequence of his rash ardour. His tent, together with his belongings, was carried off by his enemies.

Megara, however, was captured, and the soldiers would have plundered it had not the Athenians made strong intercession for its citizens; Demetrius also expelled its garrison and gave the city its freedom. While he was still engaged in this, he bethought himself of Stilpo the philosopher, who was famous for his election of a life of tranquillity. Accordingly, Demetrius summoned him and asked him whether any one had robbed him of anything. "No one," said Stilpo, "for I saw nobody carrying away knowledge." But nearly all the servants in

σχεδὸν ἁπάντων διακλαπέντων, ἐπεὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο καὶ τέλος ἀπαλλαττόμενος εἶπεν· "Ἐλευθέραν ὑμῶν, ὦ Στίλπων, ἀπολείπω τὴν πόλιν," "Ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις· οὐδένα γὰρ ἁμῶν δοῦλον ἀπολέλοιπας."

X. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας ἐξέκοψε τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ κατέσκαψε τὸ φρούριον, οὕτως ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεχομένων καὶ καλούντων παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν δῆμον ἀπέδωκε τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν· καὶ προσυπέσχετο παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἀφίξεσθαι σίτου πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων καὶ ξύλων ναυπηγησίμων
2 πλῆθος εἰς ἑκατὸν τριήρεις. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπολαβόντες τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ, τὸν δὲ μέσον χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν Λαμιακῶν καὶ τῆς περὶ Κραννῶνα μάχης λόγῳ μὲν ὀλιγαρχικῆς, ἔργῳ δὲ μοναρχικῆς καταστάσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τοῦ Φαληρέως δύναμιν, οὕτω λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις καὶ μέγαν φανέντα τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπαχθῆ καὶ βαρὺν ἐποίησαν τῶν τιμῶν
3 ταῖς ἀμετρίαις ἃς ἐψηφίσαντο. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων τὸν Δημήτριον καὶ Ἀντίγονον βασιλεῖς ἀνηγόρευσαν, ἄλλως ἀφοσιουμένους τοὔνομα, καὶ τοῦτο[1] δὴ μόνον τῶν βασιλικῶν ἔτι τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου περιεῖναι δοκοῦν ἄθικτον ἑτέροις καὶ ἀκοινώνητον·

[1] καὶ τοῦτο Coraës and Ziegler delete the καί; Bekker corrects to ὡς, after Schaefer.

the city were stolen away, and when Demetrius once more tried to deal kindly with the philosopher, and finally, on going away, said: "Your city, Stilpo, I leave in freedom," "Thou sayest truly," replied Stilpo, "for thou hast not left a single one of our slaves."

X. Coming back again to Munychia and encamping before it, he drove out the garrison and demolished the fortress, and this accomplished, at last, on the urgent invitation of the Athenians, he made his entry into the upper city, where he assembled the people and gave them back their ancient form of government. He also promised that they should receive from his father a hundred and fifty thousand bushels of grain, and enough ship timber to build a hundred triremes. It was fourteen years since the Athenians had lost their democratic form of government, and during the period which followed the Lamian war and the battle at Crannon[1] their government had been administered, nominally as an oligarchy, but really as a monarchy, owing to the great influence of the Phalerean. And now that Demetrius had shown himself great and splendid in his benefactions, the Athenians rendered him odious and obnoxious by the extravagance of the honours which they voted him. For instance, they were the first people in the world to give Demetrius and Antigonus the title of King, although both had up to that time shrunk from using the word, and although this was the only royal prerogative still left to the descendants of Philip and Alexander which it was thought that others could not assume or share;

[1] 323–322 B.C. See the *Phocion*, xxiii.; xxvi. 1.

μόνοι δὲ σωτῆρας ἀνέγραψαν θεούς, καὶ τὸν ἐπώ-
νυμον καὶ πάτριον ἄρχοντα καταπαύσαντες ἱερέα
σωτήρων ἐχειροτόνουν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν·
καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ τῶν συμβο-
4 λαίων προέγραφον. ἐνυφαίνεσθαι δὲ τῷ πέπλῳ
μετὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο· καὶ τὸν τό-
πον ὅπου πρῶτον ἀπέβη τοῦ ἅρματος, καθιερώ-
σαντες καὶ βωμὸν ἐπιθέντες Δημητρίου Καται-
βάτου προσηγόρευσαν· ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς δύο προσέ-
θεσαν, Δημητριάδα καὶ Ἀντιγονίδα, καὶ τὴν
βουλὴν τῶν πεντακοσίων πρότερον ἑξακοσίων
ἐποίησαν, ἅτε δὴ φυλῆς ἑκάστης πεντήκοντα
βουλευτὰς παρεχομένης.

XI. Τὸ δὲ ὑπερφυέστατον ἐνθύμημα τοῦ
Στρατοκλέους (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τῶν σοφῶν τού-
των καὶ περιττῶν καινουργὸς ἀρεσκευμάτων),
ἔγραψεν ὅπως οἱ πεμπόμενοι κατὰ ψήφισμα
δημοσίᾳ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἢ Δημήτριον ἀντὶ πρε-
σβευτῶν θεωροὶ λέγοιντο, καθάπερ οἱ Πυθοῖ καὶ
Ὀλυμπίαζε τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν πό-
2 λεων ἀνάγοντες ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἑορταῖς. ἦν
δὲ καὶ τἆλλα παράτολμος ὁ Στρατοκλῆς, καὶ
βεβιωκὼς ἀσελγῶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κλέ-
ωνος ἀπομιμεῖσθαι δοκῶν βωμολοχίαν καὶ βδε-
λυρίαν τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐχερείᾳ. ἔσχε δὲ τὴν
ἑταίραν Φυλάκιον ἀνειληφώς· καί ποτε αὐτῷ

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[1] Every fifth year, at the Panathenaïc festival, a sacred robe was carried in solemn procession and deposited with

moreover, the Athenians were the only people to give them the appellation of Saviour-gods, and they put a stop to the ancient custom of designating the year with the name of the annual archon, and elected every year a priest of the Saviour-gods, whose name they prefixed to their public edicts and private contracts. They also decreed that the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus should be woven into the sacred robe,[1] along with those of the gods; and the spot where Demetrius first alighted from his chariot they consecrated and covered with an altar, which they styled the altar of Demetrius Alighter; they also created two new tribes, Demetrias and Antigonis; and they increased the number of the senators, which had been five hundred, to six hundred, since each of the tribes must furnish fifty senators.

XI. But the most monstrous thing that came into the head of Stratocles (he it was who invented these elegant and clever bits of obsequiousness) was his motion that envoys sent by public decree and at public expense to Antigonus or Demetrius should be called sacred deputies, instead of ambassadors, like those who conducted to Delphi and Olympia the ancient sacrifices in behalf of the cities at the great Hellenic festivals. In all other ways also Stratocles was an audacious fellow; he lived an abandoned life, and was thought to imitate the scurrility and buffoonery of the ancient Cleon in his familiarities with the people. He had taken up with a mistress named Phylacion; and one day when she had bought

the goddess Athena on the Acropolis. On it were represented the exploits of the goddess, particularly in the Battle of the Giants.

πρὸς δεῖπνον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς πριαμένης ἐγκεφάλους καὶ τραχήλους, "Παπαί," εἶπε, "τοιαῦτά γε ὠψώνηκας οἷς σφαιρίζομεν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι."
3 τῆς δὲ περὶ Ἀμοργὸν ἥττης τῶν νεῶν συμβάσης τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, φθάσας τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας εἰσήλασεν ἐστεφανωμένος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ, καὶ προσαγγείλας ὅτι νενικήκασιν, εὐαγγέλια θύειν ἔγραψε καὶ κρεωδαισίαν τινὰ κατὰ φυλὴν ἐποίησεν. ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον τῶν τὰ ναυάγια κο- 894
μιζόντων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης παραγενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς ὀργὴν καλοῦντος αὐτόν, ἰταμῶς ὑποστὰς τὸν θόρυβον, "Εἶτα," ἔφη, "τί πεπόνθατε δεινόν, εἰ δύο ἡμέρας ἡδέως γεγόνατε;" τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ Στρατοκλέους θρασύτης.

XII. Ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ πυρὸς ἕτερα θερμότερα κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη. γράφει γάρ τις ἄλλος ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἀνελευθερίᾳ τὸν Στρατοκλέα, δέχεσθαι Δημήτριον, ὁσάκις ἂν ἀφίκηται, τοῖς Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου ξενισμοῖς, τῷ δ' ὑπερβαλλομένῳ λαμπρότητι καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἀργύριον εἰς ἀνάθημα δημοσίᾳ δίδο-
2 σθαι. τέλος δὲ τῶν τε μηνῶν τὸν Μουνυχιῶνα Δημητριῶνα καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὴν ἕνην καὶ νέαν Δημητριάδα προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰ Διονύσια μετωνόμασαν Δημήτρια. ἐπεσήμηνε δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις τὸ θεῖον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πέπλος, ᾧπερ ἐψηφίσαντο μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς προσενυφῆναι Δημήτριον καὶ Ἀντίγονον, πεμ-

in the market-place for his supper some brains and neck-bones, "Aha!" he cried, "thou hast bought just such delicacies for me as we statesmen used to play ball with." Again, when the Athenians suffered their naval defeat near Amorgus,[1] before the tidings of the disaster could reach the city he put a garland on his head and drove through the Cerameicus, and after announcing that the Athenians were victorious, moved a sacrifice of glad tidings and made a generous distribution of meat to the people by tribes. Then, a little later, when the wrecks were brought home from the battle and the people in their wrath called him out, he faced the tumult recklessly and said: "What harm have I done you, pray, if for two days ye have been happy?" Such was the effrontery of Stratocles.

XII. But there are things hotter even than fire, as Aristophanes puts it.[2] For some one else, outdoing Stratocles in servility, proposed that whenever Demetrius visited the city he should be received with the hospitable honours paid to Demeter and Dionysus, and that to the citizen who surpassed all others in the splendour and costliness of his reception, a sum of money should be granted from the public treasury for a dedicatory offering. And finally, they changed the name of the month Mounychion to Demetrion, and that of the last day of a month, the "Old and New," to Demetrias, and to the festival called Dionysia they gave the new name of Demetria. Most of these innovations were marked with the divine displeasure. The sacred robe, for instance, in which they had decreed that the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus should be woven along with those of Zeus and

[1] In 322 B.C. A Macedonian fleet was victorious.
[2] *Knights*, 382.

πόμενος διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ μέσος ἐρράγη θυέλ-
3 λης ἐμπεσούσης· περὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἐκείνων ἐξήνθησεν ἡ γῆ κύκλῳ πολὺ κώνειον, ἄλλως μηδὲ τῆς χώρας πολλαχοῦ φυόμενον· τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ τὰ τῶν Διονυσίων ἐγίνετο, τὴν πομπὴν κατέλυσαν ἰσχυρῶν πάγων γενομένων παρ' ὥραν. καὶ πάχνης βαθείας ἐπιπεσούσης οὐ μόνον ἀμπέλους καὶ συκᾶς ἁπάσας ἀπέκαυσε τὸ ψῦχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ σίτου τὸν πλεῖστον κατέφθειρεν
4 ἐν χλόῃ. διὸ καὶ Φιλιππίδης ἐχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ Στρατοκλέους ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποίησε ταῦτα·

δι' ὃν ἀπέκαυσεν ἡ πάχνη τὰς ἀμπέλους,
δι' ὃν ἀσεβοῦνθ' ὁ πέπλος ἐρράγη μέσος,
τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ποιοῦντ' ἀνθρωπίνας.
ταῦτα καταλύει δῆμον, οὐ κωμῳδία.

5 Ἦν δὲ ὁ Φιλιππίδης Λυσιμάχου φίλος, καὶ πολλὰ δι' αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος εὖ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ πρὸς πρᾶξιν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς στρατείαν εὐσύμβολος ἀπαντήσας εἶναι καὶ ὀφθείς. ἄλλως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἦθος εὐδοκίμει, μηθὲν ἐνοχλῶν μηδ' αὐλικῆς περιεργίας ἀναπιμπλάμενος. φιλοφρονουμένου δέ ποτε τοῦ Λυσιμάχου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, "Ὦ Φιλιππίδη, τίνος σοι τῶν ἐμῶν μεταδῶ;" "Μόνον," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦ, μὴ τῶν ἀπορρήτων." τοῦτον μὲν

Athena, as it was being carried in procession through the midst of the Cerameicus, was rent by a hurricane which smote it;[1] again, all around the altars of those Saviour-gods the soil teemed with hemlock, a plant which did not grow in many other parts of the country at all; and on the day for the celebration of the Dionysia, the sacred procession had to be omitted on account of severe cold weather that came out of season. And a heavy frost followed, which not only blasted all the vines and fig-trees with its cold, but also destroyed most of the grain in the blade. Therefore Philippides, who was an enemy of Stratocles, assailed him in a comedy with these verses[2]:—

"Through him it was that hoar-frost blasted all the vines,
Through his impiety the robe was rent in twain,
Because he gave the gods' own honours unto men.
Such work undoes a people, not its comedy."

Philippides was a friend of Lysimachus, and for his sake the king bestowed many favours on the Athenian people. Moreover, when he was about to undertake anything or make an expedition, he thought it a good omen to meet or catch sight of Philippides. And in general the character of Philippides gave him a good repute, since he was no busybody, and had none of the officious ways of a courtier. On one occasion Lysimachus wished to do him a kindness, and said: "Philippides, what have I that I can share with thee?" "O King," said Philippides, "anything but one of thy state secrets."

[1] The "peplos" was spread like a sail on the mast of the sacred Panathenaïc ship.

[2] Cf. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 308.

οὖν ἐπίτηδες ἐκείνῳ παρεθήκαμεν, τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θυμέλης.

XIII. Ὃ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν τιμῶν ὑπερφυὲς ἦν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον, ἔγραψε Δρομοκλείδης ὁ Σφήττιος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀναθέσεως εἰς Δελφοὺς παρὰ Δημητρίου λαβεῖν χρησμόν. αὐτὴν δὲ παραγράψω τὴν λέξιν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οὕτως
2 ἔχουσαν· "Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ἕνα ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, ὅστις ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ καλλιερησάμενος ἐπερωτήσει τὸν Σωτῆρα πῶς ἂν εὐσεβέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ὁ δῆμος τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ποιήσαιτο τῶν ἀναθημάτων· ὅ τι δ' ἂν χρήσῃ, ταῦτα πράττειν τὸν δῆμον." οὕτω καταμωκώμενοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσδιέφθειραν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ὑγιαίνοντα τὴν διάνοιαν.

XIV. Ἀλλ' ἔν γε ταῖς Ἀθήναις τότε σχολάζων ἠγάγετο χηρεύουσαν Εὐρυδίκην, ἣ Μιλτιάδου μὲν ἦν ἀπόγονος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, συνοικήσασα δὲ Ὀφέλᾳ[1] τῷ Κυρήνης ἄρξαντι μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν
2 ἀφίκετο πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον εἰς χάριν ἔθεντο καὶ τιμὴν τῆς πόλεως· ἄλλως δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εὐχερής τις ἦν περὶ γάμους, καὶ πολλαῖς ἅμα συνῆν γυναιξίν, ὧν ἀξίωμα μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ τιμὴν Φίλα δι' Ἀντίπατρον τὸν πατέρα καὶ διὰ τὸ 895
προσυνῳκηκέναι Κρατερῷ, τῷ πλείστην εὔνοιαν

[1] Ὀφέλᾳ Ziegler, after Wilamowitz: Ὀφέλτᾳ.

Such a man, then, I purposely compare with Stratocles, the man of the stage with the man of the bema.

XIII. But there was one honour proposed for Demetrius which was more strange and monstrous than any other. Dromocleides the Sphettian moved, when the dedication of certain shields at Delphi was in question, that the Athenians should get an oracle from Demetrius. And I will transcribe his very words from the decree; they run thus: "May it be for the best.[1] Decreed by the people that the people elect one man from the Athenians, who shall go to the Saviour-god, and, after a sacrifice with good omens, shall enquire of the Saviour-god in what most speedy, decorous, and reverent manner the people may accomplish the restoration to their places of the dedicatory offerings; and that whatever answer he shall give, the people shall act according thereunto." With such mockery of adulation they finally perverted the man's mind, which even before was not wholly sound.

XIV. Furthermore, while he lingered in Athens at this time, Demetrius took to wife Eurydicé, a widow. She was a descendant of the ancient Miltiades, had married Ophelas the ruler of Cyrené, and after his death had come back to Athens. The Athenians, accordingly, took this marriage as a graceful compliment to their city; but in general Demetrius made a rather light matter of marriages, and had many wives at the same time, of whom Phila enjoyed the greatest esteem and honour, both because of her father, Antipater, and because she had been the wife of Craterus, the one of all the successors of Alexander

[1] A pious formula prefixed to important documents.

αὐτοῦ παρὰ Μακεδόσι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἀπολιπόντι. ταύτην, ὡς ἔοικε, κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα τὸν Δημήτριον ἔπειθεν ὁ πατήρ, οὐκ οὖσαν αὐτῷ
3 καθ' ὥραν, ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέραν, λαβεῖν· ἀπροθύμως δ' ἔχοντι λέγεται πρὸς τὸ οὖς τὸ Εὐριπίδειον εἰπεῖν·

ὅπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον,[1]

ὁμοιόπτωτόν τι τῷ δουλευτέον εὐθυρρημονήσας. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἦν ἡ τοῦ Δημητρίου τιμὴ πρός τε Φίλαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γαμετὰς ὥστε πολλαῖς μὲν ἀνέδην ἑταίραις, πολλαῖς δὲ ἐλευθέραις συνεῖναι γυναιξί, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ περὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ταύτην κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι τῶν τότε βασιλέων.

XV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλει Πτολεμαίῳ περὶ Κύπρου πολεμήσοντα, πείθεσθαι μὲν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, ἀχθόμενος δὲ ὅτι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεμον, ὄντα καλλίω καὶ λαμπρότερον, ἀπολείπει, προσέπεμψε Κλεωνίδῃ τῷ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγῷ φρουροῦντι Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον χρήματα προτείνων, ὥστε ἐλευθέρας ἀφεῖναι τὰς
2 πόλεις. οὐ προσδεξαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, διὰ ταχέων ἀναχθεὶς καὶ προσλαβὼν δύναμιν ἐπέπλευσε Κύπρῳ. καὶ Μενέλαον μέν, ἀδελφὸν Πτολεμαίου, μάχην συνάψας εὐθὺς ἐνίκησεν· αὐτοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου μετὰ δυνάμεως πεζικῆς ἅμα καὶ ναυτικῆς μεγάλης ἐπιφανέντος, ἐγένοντο μὲν ἀπειλαί τινες καὶ διάλογοι κομπώδεις, τοῦ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν Δη-

[1] ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος παρὰ φύσιν δουλευτέον, *Phoenissae*, 396 (Kirchhoff).

who left behind him the most goodwill among the Macedonians. This woman, as it would appear, his father had persuaded Demetrius to marry when he was quite young, although she was not of his age, but older; and when his son was disinclined to the match, it is said that Antigonus whispered in his ear the verse of Euripides:

"Where there is gain, 'gainst nature's dictates must one wed,"

substituting off-hand "must one wed" for the similar inflection "must one serve." However, so slight was the respect which Demetrius paid to Phila and to the rest of his wives, that he consorted freely with many courtesans, as well as with many women of free birth, and as regards this indulgence he had the worst reputation of all the kings of his time.

XV. And now his father summoned him to wage war against Ptolemy for the possession of Cyprus. He must needs obey the summons, but was loth to abandon the war for the liberation of Greece, which was a nobler and more glorious war, and therefore sent to Cleonides, the general of Ptolemy who was occupying Sicyon and Corinth with a garrison, and offered him money to set the cities free. Cleonides, however, would not accept the bribe, and Demetrius therefore put to sea in haste, and taking additional forces, sailed against Cyprus.[1] There he joined battle with Menelaüs, a brother of Ptolemy, and promptly defeated him; but Ptolemy himself appeared on the scene with a large land and naval force combined, and there were sundry interchanges of threats and boasts, Ptolemy ordering Demetrius to

[1] In 306 B.C.

μήτριον κελεύοντος πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως πάσης ἀθροισθείσης καταπατηθῆναι, Δημητρίου δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀφεῖναι φάσκοντος, ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἀπαλλάξειν τῆς φρουρᾶς.
3 ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι δυνάσταις πολλὴν εἶχε προσδοκίαν τῆς ἐπικρεμαμένης ἀδηλότητος, ὡς οὐ Κύπρον οὐδὲ Συρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγιστον εὐθὺς εἶναι πάντων τῷ κρατοῦντι τῆς νίκης προστιθείσης.

XVI. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπέπλει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἔχων, ἐκ δὲ Σαλαμῖνος ἐκέλευσε Μενέλαον ἑξήκοντα ναυσίν, ὅταν μάλιστα σύστασιν ὁ ἀγὼν ἔχῃ, προσφερόμενον τὰς Δημητρίου κόπτειν ἐξόπισθεν καὶ διαταράττειν τὴν τάξιν. Δημήτριος δὲ ταῖς μὲν ἑξήκοντα ταύταις ἀντέταξε δέκα ναῦς (τοσαῦται γὰρ ἤρκουν στενὸν ὄντα τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι τὸν ἔκπλουν),
2 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἐκτάξας καὶ τοῖς ἀνατείνουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκρωτηρίοις περιχεάμενος, οὕτως ἀνήχθη ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα· προσμίξας δὲ ῥώμῃ καὶ βίᾳ πολλῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐτρέψατο τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸν μέν, ὡς ἐνικήθη, διὰ ταχέων φυγόντα ναυσὶν ὀκτὼ μόναις (τοσαῦται γὰρ ἐκ πασῶν περιεσώθησαν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ διεφθάρησαν, ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ
3 ἥλωσαν αὔτανδροι), τοῦ δὲ ἐν ὁλκάσι παρορμοῦντος ὄχλου θεραπόντων καὶ φίλων και γυναικῶν, ἔτι δὲ ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ μηχανημάτων ἁπλῶς οὐδὲν ἐξέφυγε τὸν Δημήτριον, ἀλλ' ἔλαβε πάντα καὶ κατήγαγεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἡ περιβόητος ἦν Λάμια, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν σπουδασθεῖσα διὰ τὴν τέχνην (ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐλεῖν

sail away before the entire force should assemble and crush him, and Demetrius offering to let Ptolemy go if he would agree to withdraw his garrisons from Sicyon and Corinth. And not only Demetrius and Ptolemy themselves, but also all the other potentates, awaited with great expectancy the uncertain issue of the impending struggle; they felt that not Cyprus, nor yet Syria, but the absolute supremacy would at once be the prize of the victor.

XVI. Well, then, Ptolemy himself sailed to the attack with a hundred and fifty ships, and ordered Menelaüs to put out from Salamis with sixty ships, and when the struggle was fiercest, to assail the ships of Demetrius in the rear, and throw them into confusion. But to these sixty ships Demetrius opposed only ten ships (for that small number sufficed to block the narrow exit from the harbour), while he himself, after first drawing out his land forces and encompassing the headlands that extended into the sea, put out to battle with a hundred and eighty ships. He made his onset with great impetus and force, and utterly routed Ptolemy. Ptolemy himself, after his defeat, fled swiftly with eight ships only (for that small number were left from his whole fleet; of the rest, some had been destroyed in the sea-fight, and seventy had been captured, crews and all), but of the throng of attendants, friends, and women which lay in ships of burden close at hand, and further, of all Ptolemy's arms, money, and engines of war, absolutely nothing escaped Demetrius, but he took everything and brought it safely into his camp. Among this booty was the celebrated Lamia, originally held in esteem for her artistic skill (she was thought to play the flute quite admirably),

οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτως), ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτι-
4 κοῖς λαμπρὰ γενομένη. τότε γοῦν ἤδη λήγουσα τῆς ὥρας καὶ πολὺ νεώτερον ἑαυτῆς λαβοῦσα τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκράτησε τῇ χάριτι καὶ κατέσχεν, ὥστε ἐκείνης εἶναι μόνης ἐραστήν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐρώμενον γυναικῶν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὐδὲ ὁ Μενέλαος ἀντέσχεν, ἀλλὰ τήν τε Σαλαμῖνα παρέδωκε τῷ
Δημητρίῳ καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ πεζόν, ἱππεῖς τε 896
χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους καὶ μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας.

XVII. Οὕτω δὲ λαμπρὰν καὶ καλὴν τὴν νίκην γενομένην ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπικοσμῶν ὁ Δημήτριος εὐγνωμοσύνῃ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφῆκεν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ χιλίας καὶ διακοσίας ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων ἐδωρήσατο πανοπλίας.

2 Αὐτάγγελον δὲ τῆς νίκης τῷ πατρὶ τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀριστόδημον ἔπεμψε, πρωτεύοντα κολακείᾳ τῶν αὐλικῶν ἁπάντων, καὶ τότε παρεσκευασμένον, ὡς ἔοικε, των κολακευμάτων τὸ μέγιστον ἐπενεγκεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν. ὡς γὰρ ἐπέρασεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου, προσέχειν μὲν οὐκ εἴασε τῇ γῇ τὸ πλοῖον, ἀγκύρας δ' ἀφεῖναι κελεύσας καὶ κατὰ ναῦν ἔχειν
3 ἀτρέμα πάντας, αὐτὸς ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ ἐφόλκιον ἐξῆλθε μόνος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀνέβαινε, μετέωρον ὄντα τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῆς μάχης καὶ διακείμενον ὡς εἰκός ἐστι διακεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ πραγμάτων τηλικούτων ἀγωνιῶντας. τότε γε μὴν ἀκούσας ἐκεῖνον ἥκειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἔσχε ταραχωδῶς, καὶ μόλις μὲν αὐτὸν οἴκοι κατεῖχεν, ἄλλους δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπεν ὑπηρέτας καὶ

but afterwards becoming illustrious in the annals of love also. At this time, at any rate, although she was past her prime and found Demetrius much younger than herself, she so mastered and swayed him by her charms that he was a lover for her alone, but a beloved for all other women.

After the sea-fight, Menelaüs also made no further resistance, but handed over Salamis to Demetrius, together with his fleet, and his land forces, which comprised twelve hundred horsemen and twelve thousand men-at-arms.

XVII. This victory, which was so fair and brilliant, Demetrius adorned still more by his humanity and kindness of heart. He gave the enemy's dead a magnificent burial, and set his captives free; moreover, upon the Athenians he bestowed twelve hundred suits of armour from the spoils.

As his special messenger to carry word of the victory to his father, Demetrius sent Aristodemus of Miletus, the arch-flatterer among all his courtiers, and ready now, as it would seem, to crown the achievement with the grossest of his flatteries. For when he had crossed over from Cyprus, he would not suffer his vessel to come to land, but ordered the crew to cast anchor and remain quietly on board, all of them, while he himself got into the ship's small boat, landed alone, and proceeded towards Antigonus, who was anxiously awaiting news of the battle, and was disposed as men are apt to be disposed who are struggling for so high a stake. And now, indeed, when he heard that Aristodemus was coming, he was more disturbed than before, and, with difficulty keeping himself indoors, sent servants and friends,

φίλους πευσομένους τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου περὶ τῶν
4 γεγονότων. ἀποκρινομένου δὲ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδενί,
βάδην δὲ καὶ συνεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ μετὰ
πολλῆς σιωπῆς προσιόντος, ἐκπλαγεὶς κομιδῇ
καὶ μηκέτι καρτερῶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐπὶ τὰς θύ-
ρας ἀπήντησε, πολλοῦ παραπέμποντος ἤδη τὸν
Ἀριστόδημον ὄχλου καὶ συντρέχοντος ἐπὶ τὸ
5 βασίλειον. ὡς οὖν ἐγγὺς ἦλθεν, ἐκτείνας τὴν
δεξιὰν ἀνεβόησε μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ "Χαῖρε, βασι-
λεῦ Ἀντίγονε, νικῶμεν Πτολεμαῖον ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ
Κύπρον ἔχομεν καὶ στρατιώτας αἰχμαλώτους
μυρίους ἑξακισχιλίους ὀκτακοσίους." ὁ δὲ Ἀντί-
γονος, "Καὶ σύ, νὴ Δία, χαῖρε," εἶπεν· "οὕτω
δὲ ἡμᾶς βασανίσας δίκην ὑφέξεις· βράδιον γὰρ
ἀπολήψῃ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον."

XVIII. Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον ἀνεφώνησε τὸ
πλῆθος Ἀντίγονον καὶ Δημήτριον βασιλέας.
Ἀντίγονον μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀνέδησαν οἱ φίλοι,
Δημητρίῳ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἔπεμψε διάδημα καὶ
γράφων ἐπιστολὴν βασιλέα προσεῖπεν. οἱ δ' ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ τούτων ἀπαγγελλομένων καὶ αὐτοὶ
βασιλέα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀνηγόρευσαν, ὡς μὴ
δοκεῖν τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφίεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἧτταν.
2 ἐπενείματο δὲ οὕτως τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ ζήλῳ τοὺς
διαδόχους. καὶ γὰρ Λυσίμαχος ἤρξατο φορεῖν
διάδημα, καὶ Σέλευκος ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς Ἕλλη-
σιν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε βαρβάροις πρότερον οὗτος ὡς
βασιλεὺς ἐχρημάτιζε. Κάσανδρος δέ, τῶν ἄλλων
αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ γραφόντων καὶ καλούντων,
αὐτός, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰώθει, τὰς ἐπιστολὰς
ἔγραφε.

one after the other, to learn from Aristodemus what had happened. Aristodemus, however, would make no answer to anybody, but step by step and with a solemn face drew near in perfect silence. Antigonus, therefore, thoroughly frightened, and no longer able to restrain himself, came to the door to meet Aristodemus, who was now escorted by a large throng which was hurrying to the palace. Accordingly, when he had come near, he stretched out his hand and cried with a loud voice: "Hail, King Antigonus, we have conquered Ptolemy in a sea-fight, and now hold Cyprus, with twelve thousand eight hundred soldiers as prisoners of war." To this Antigonus replied: "Hail to thee also, by Heaven! but for torturing us in this way, thou shalt undergo punishment; the reward for thy good tidings thou shalt be some time in getting."

XVIII. Upon this, the multitude for the first time saluted Antigonus and Demetrius as kings. Antigonus, accordingly, was immediately crowned by his friends, and Demetrius received a diadem from his father, with a letter in which he was addressed as King. The followers of Ptolemy in Egypt on their part also, when these things were reported to them, gave him the title of King, that they might not appear to lose spirit on account of their defeat. And thus their emulation carried the practice among the other successors of Alexander. For Lysimachus began to wear a diadem, and Seleucus also in his interviews with the Greeks; with the Barbarians he had before this dealt as king. Cassander, however, although the others gave him the royal title in their letters and addresses, wrote his letters in his own untitled name, as he had been wont to do.

3 Τοῦτο δὲ οὐ προσθήκην ὀνόματος καὶ σχήματος ἐξαλλαγὴν εἶχε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκίνησε καὶ τὰς γνώμας ἐπῆρε καὶ τοῖς βίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις αὐτῶν ὄγκον ἐνεποίησε καὶ βαρύτητα, καθάπερ τραγικῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἅμα τῇ σκευῇ συμμεταβαλλόντων καὶ βάδισμα καὶ
4 φωνὴν καὶ κατάκλισιν καὶ προσαγόρευσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐγένοντο καὶ περὶ τὰς δικαιώσεις βιαιότεροι, τὴν εἰς πολλὰ παρέχουσαν αὐτοὺς ἐλαφροτέρους καὶ μαλακωτέρους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πρότερον εἰρωνείαν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφελόντες. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσε κόλακος φωνὴ μία καὶ τοσαύτης ἐνέπλησε τὴν οἰκουμένην μεταβολῆς.

XIX. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ Δημητρίου περὶ Κύπρον ἐπαρθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἄγων πεζῇ τὴν δύναμιν, Δημητρίου δὲ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ συμπαραπλέοντος. ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἔμελλε κρίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, Μήδιος, Ἀντιγόνου φίλος, ὄψιν
2 εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἀντί- 897
γονον ἀγωνίζεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἁπάσης δίαυλον εὐρώστως καὶ ταχὺ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν ἐνδιδόναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ· καὶ τέλος, ὡς ἔκαμψεν, ἀσθενῆ γενόμενον καὶ μεστὸν ἄσθματος οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀναφέρειν. αὐτός τε οὖν ἐντυχὼν κατὰ γῆν πολλαῖς ἀπορίαις, καὶ Δημητρίου χειμῶνι μεγάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς τόπους ἀλιμένους καὶ χαλεποὺς ἐκριφῆναι, πολλὰς δὲ τῶν νεῶν ἀπολέσαντος, ἐπανῆλθεν ἄπρακτος.
3 Ἦν δὲ τότε μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα γεγονὼς ἔτη

Now, this practice did not mean the addition of a name or a change of fashion merely, but it stirred the spirits of the men, lifted their thoughts high, and introduced into their lives and dealings with others pomposity and ostentation, just as tragic actors adapt to their costumes their gait, voice, posture at table, and manner of addressing others. Consequently they became harsher in their judicial decisions also; they laid aside that dissemblance of power which formerly had often made them more lenient and gentle with their subjects. So great influence had a flatterer's single word, and with so great a change did it fill the whole world.

XIX. Antigonus, elated by the achievements of Demetrius at Cyprus, at once[1] made an expedition against Ptolemy; he himself led his forces by land, while Demetrius with a great fleet coöperated with him by sea. How the enterprise was to issue, Medius, a friend of Antigonus, was warned by a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that Antigonus himself, with his whole army, was competing in a race over the course and back; he ran vigorously and swiftly at first, then, little by little, his strength failed him; and at last, after he had made the turn, he became weak, breathed heavily, and with difficulty made the finish. And conformably to the vision, Antigonus himself encountered many difficulties by land, and since Demetrius also encountered a great storm and a heavy sea and was cast upon a rough coast which had no harbours, losing many of his ships, he returned without accomplishing anything.

Antigonus was at this time almost eighty years

[1] During the same year, namely, 306 B.C.

ὀγδοήκοντα,[1] μεγέθει δὲ καὶ βαρύτητι σώματος μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας γεγονὼς δυσπαρακόμιστος ἐχρῆτο τῷ παιδὶ καὶ δι' εὐτυχίαν καὶ δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἤδη τὰ μέγιστα καλῶς διοικοῦντι, τρυφὰς δὲ καὶ πολυτελείας καὶ πότους αὐτοῦ μὴ βαρυνόμενος. εἰρήνης γὰρ οὔσης ἀφύβριζεν εἰς ταῦτα καὶ σχολάζων ἐχρῆτο πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀνειμένως αὑτῷ καὶ κατακόρως, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ὡς οἱ φύσει σώφρονες ἔνηφε.

4 λέγεται δὲ τῆς Λαμίας ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη κρατούσης, τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημητρίου καταφιλούμενον ἥκοντος ἀπὸ ξένης εἰπεῖν ἅμα γελῶντα, "Δοκεῖς Λαμιαν, ὦ παῖ, καταφιλεῖν." πάλιν δέ ποτε πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν πότοις γενομένου, καὶ πρόφασιν λέγοντος ὡς ῥεῦμα διοχλήσειεν αὐτόν, "Ἐπυθόμην," φάναι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, "ἀλλὰ πότε-
5 ρον Θάσιον ἢ Χῖον ἦν τὸ ῥεῦμα;" πυθόμενος δὲ αὖθις ἀσθενῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐβάδιζεν ὀψόμενος, καὶ τῶν καλῶν τινι περὶ θύρας ἀπήντησεν· εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ καθίσας παρ' αὐτὸν ἥψατο τῆς χειρός· ἐκείνου δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι νῦν ὁ πυρετὸς ἀποκεχώρηκεν, "Ἀμέλει, παιδίον," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν
6 περὶ θύρας ἀπιὼν ἀπήντηκε." ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω πρᾴως ἔφερε τοῦ Δημητρίου διὰ τὴν ἄλλην πρᾶξιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σκύθαι πίνοντες καὶ μεθυσκόμενοι παραψάλλουσι τὰς νευρὰς τῶν τόξων, οἷον ἐκλυόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀνακαλούμενοι

[1] ὀγδοήκοντα MSS. and most editors: τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα.

old, and his great size and weight, even more than his old age, made it difficult for him to conduct expeditions. He therefore made use of his son instead, whose good fortune and experience now enabled him to conduct the greatest affairs successfully, and whose luxuries, extravagances, and revelries gave his father no concern. For although in time of peace Demetrius plunged deep into these excesses and devoted his leisure to his pleasures without restraint and intemperately, yet in time of war he was as sober as those who were abstemious by nature. And we are told that once, after Lamia was known of all men to be in complete control of Demetrius, he came home from abroad and greeted his father with a kiss, whereupon Antigonus said with a laugh, "One would think, my son, that thou wert kissing Lamia." Again, on another occasion, when Demetrius had been at his revels for several days, and excused his absence by saying that he was troubled with a flux, "So I learned," said Antigonus, "but was it Thasian or Chian wine that flowed?" And again, learning that his son was sick, Antigonus was going to see him, and met a certain beauty at his door; he went in, however, sat down by his son, and felt his pulse. "The fever has left me now," said Demetrius. "No doubt, my boy," said Antigonus, "I met it just now at the door as it was going away." These failings of Demetrius were treated with such lenity by his father because the young man was so efficient otherwise. The Scythians, in the midst of their drinking and carousing, twang their bow-strings, as though summoning back their courage when it is dissolved in pleasure; but

τὸν θυμόν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡδονῇ διδοὺς ἁπλῶς ἑαυτόν, τὰ δὲ σπουδῇ, καὶ θάτερα τῶν ἑτέρων ἄκρατα μεταχειριζόμενος, οὐχ ἧττον ἦν δεινὸς ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευαῖς.

XX. Ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι δύναμιν ἢ χρήσασθαι βελτίων ἐδόκει στρατηγὸς εἶναι, πάντα μὲν ἐκ περιουσίας ὑπάρχειν βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας, τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα μεγαλουργίας καὶ καθ' ἡδονήν τινα τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἀπλήστως ἔχων. εὐφυὴς γὰρ ὢν καὶ θεωρητικὸς οὐκ εἰς παιδιὰς οὐδ' εἰς διαγωγὰς ἀχρήστους ἔτρεψε τὸ φιλότεχνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς αὐλοῦντες καὶ ζωγραφοῦντες καὶ τορεύοντες.
2 Ἀέροπος γὰρ ὁ Μακεδὼν τραπέζια μικρὰ καὶ λυχνίδια τεκταινόμενος, ὁπότε σχολάζοι, διῆγεν. Ἄτταλος δὲ ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐκήπευε τὰς φαρμακώδεις βοτάνας, οὐ μόνον ὑοσκύαμον καὶ ἐλλέβορον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κώνειον καὶ ἀκόνιτον καὶ δορύκνιον, αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις σπείρων καὶ φυτεύων, ὀπούς τε καὶ καρπὸν αὐτῶν ἔργον πεποιημένος εἰδέναι καὶ κομίζεσθαι καθ' ὥραν. οἱ δὲ Πάρθων βασιλεῖς ἐσεμνύνοντο τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν χαράττοντες αὐτοὶ καὶ παραθήγοντες.
3 ἀλλὰ μὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τὸ βάναυσον ἦν βασιλικόν, καὶ μέγεθος ἡ μέθοδος εἶχεν, ἅμα τῷ περιττῷ καὶ φιλοτέχνῳ τῶν ἔργων ὕψος τι διανοίας καὶ φρονήματος συνεκφερόντων, ὥστε μὴ μόνον γνώμης καὶ περιουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρὸς ἄξια φαίνεσθαι βασιλικῆς. μεγέθει μὲν γὰρ ἐξέπληττε καὶ τοὺς φίλους, κάλλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτερπε. τοῦτο δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀληθῶς ἢ κομψῶς

Demetrius, giving himself up completely, now to pleasure, and now to duty, and keeping the one completely separate from the other, was no less formidable in his preparations for war.

XX. Nay, he was actually thought to be a better general in preparing than in employing a force, for he wished everything to be at hand in abundance for his needs, and could never be satisfied with the largeness of his undertakings in building ships and engines of war, or in gazing at them with great delight. For he had good natural parts and was given to speculation, and did not apply his ingenuity to things that would afford useless pleasure or diversion, like other kings who played on the flute, or painted, or chased metals. Aeropus the Macedonian, for instance, used to spend his leisure time in making little tables or lamp-stands. And Attalus Philometor used to grow poisonous plants, not only henbane and hellebore, but also hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium, sowing and planting them himself in the royal gardens, and making it his business to know their juices and fruits, and to collect these at the proper season. And the kings of the Parthians used to take pride in notching and sharpening with their own hands the points of their missiles. But with Demetrius, even the work of his hands was kingly, and his method had grandeur about it, since what he produced displayed loftiness of purpose and spirit combined with elegance and ingenuity, so that men thought it worthy, not only to be designed and paid for by a king, but actually to be wrought by his hand. For its magnitude terrified even his friends, and its beauty delighted even his enemies. And this has still more truth in it than elegance of

4 εἴρηται. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἑκκαιδεκήρεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πεντεκαιδεκήρεις ἐθαύμαζον ἑστῶτες οἱ 898 πολέμιοι παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πλεούσας, αἱ δ' ἑλεπόλεις ὡς θέαμα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἦσαν, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα μαρτυρεῖ. Λυσίμαχος μὲν γάρ, ἔχθιστος ὢν Δημητρίῳ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πολιορκοῦντι Σόλους τοὺς Κιλικίους ἀντιτεταγμένος, ἔπεμψε παρακαλῶν ἐπιδεῖξαι τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλεούσας· ἐπιδείξαντος
5 δὲ θαυμάσας ἀπῆλθε. Ῥόδιοι δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιορκηθέντες, ἐπεὶ κατελύσαντο τὸν πόλεμον, ᾐτήσαντο τῶν μηχανῶν ἐνίας, ὅπως ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως ἅμα καὶ τῆς αὑτῶν ἀνδραγαθίας ἔχωσιν.

XXI. Ἐπολέμησε δὲ Ῥοδίοις Πτολεμαίου συμμάχοις οὖσι, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ἑλέπολιν τοῖς τείχεσι προσήγαγεν, ἧς ἕδρα μὲν ἦν τετράγωνος, ἑκάστην ἔχουσα τοῦ κάτω πλαισίου πλευρὰν ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν, ἓξ δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν ὕψος εἶχεν, εἰς κορυφὴν συννεύουσα
2 ταῖς ἄνω πλευραῖς στενωτέραν τῆς βάσεως. ἔνδοθεν μὲν οὖν στέγαις διεπέφρακτο καὶ χώραις πολλαῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτῆς μέτωπον ἀνέῳκτο καθ' ἑκάστην στέγην θυρίσιν, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐξέπιπτε βέλη παντοδαπά· μεστὴ γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων πᾶσαν ἰδέαν μάχης. καὶ τὸ μὴ κραδαινόμενον αὐτῆς μηδὲ κλινόμενον ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν, ἀλλ' ὀρθὸν ἐν ἕδρᾳ καὶ ἀσάλευτον, ἰσορρόπως ἅμα ῥοίζῳ καὶ τόνῳ πολλῷ προχωροῦν, θάμβος ἅμα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ χάριν τινα τῇ ὄψει τῶν θεωμένων παρεῖχε.
3 Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ θώρακες

diction. His enemies would stand on shore and admire his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars as they sailed along past, and his "city-takers" were a spectacle to those whom he was besieging, as the actual facts testify. For Lysimachus, although he was the bitterest enemy Demetrius had among the kings, and had arrayed himself against him when he was besieging Soli in Cilicia, sent and asked Demetrius to show him his engines of war, and his ships in full career; and when Demetrius had shown them, Lysimachus expressed his admiration and went away. The Rhodians also, after they had been for a long time besieged by Demetrius and had come to terms with him, asked him for some of his engines of war, that they might keep them as a reminder of his power as well as of their own bravery.

XXI. Now, he made war upon the Rhodians[1] because they were allies of Ptolemy, and brought up against their walls his greatest "city-taker." Its base was square, and each of its sides measured at the bottom forty-eight cubits. It rose to a height of sixty-six cubits, and tapered from base to summit. Within, it was divided off into many storeys and chambers, and the side of it which faced the enemy had windows opening out of every storey, and out through these issued missiles of every sort; for it was full of men who fought in every style of fighting. Moreover, it did not totter or lean when it moved, but remained firm and erect on its base, advancing evenly with much noise and great impetus, and this astounded the minds and at the same time greatly charmed the eyes of those who beheld it.

For his use in this war there were brought to

[1] In 305-304 B.C. The siege lasted about a year.

ἐκομίσθησαν ἐκ Κύπρου δύο σιδηροῖ, μνῶν ὁλκῆς ἑκάτερος τεσσαράκοντα. δυσπάθειαν δὲ καὶ ῥώμην αὐτῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὁ τεχνίτης Ζωΐλος ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ εἴκοσι βημάτων ἀφεῖναι καταπελτικὸν βέλος, οὗ προσπεσόντος ἀρραγὴς διέμεινεν ὁ σίδηρος, ἀμυχὴν δὲ μόλις ἔσχεν ἀμβλεῖαν, οἷον ἀπὸ
4 γραφείου. τοῦτον αὐτὸς ἐφόρει· τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἄλκιμος ὁ Ἠπειρώτης, ἀνὴρ πολεμικώτατος τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατος, ὃς μόνος ἐχρῆτο διταλάντῳ πανοπλίᾳ, τῶν ἄλλων χρωμένων ταλαντιαίᾳ· καὶ μαχόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ τὸ θέατρον ἔπεσεν.

XXII. Εὐρώστως δὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀμυνομένων, οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου πράττων ὁ Δημήτριος ὅμως ἐθυμομάχει πρὸς αὐτούς, ὅτι, Φίλας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ γράμματα καὶ στρώματα καὶ ἱμάτια πεμψάσης, λαβόντες τὸ πλοῖον, ὥσπερ εἶχε, πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐμιμήσαντο φιλανθρωπίαν, οἳ Φιλίππου πολεμοῦντος αὐτοῖς γραμματοφόρους ἑλόντες τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνέγνωσαν ἐπιστολάς, μόνην δὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδος οὐκ ἔλυσαν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἦν κατα-
2 σεσημασμένη, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπέστειλαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, καίπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφόδρα δηχθεὶς ὁ Δημήτριος, εὐθὺς παρασχόντας λαβὴν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἀντιλυπῆσαι τοὺς Ῥοδίους. ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Καύνιος Πρωτογένης γράφων τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἰάλυσον διάθεσιν, καὶ τὸν πίνακα μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα

Demetrius from Cyprus two iron coats of mail, each of which weighed only forty pounds. Wishing to show their strength and power of resistance, Zoilus their maker gave orders that a catapult's missile should be shot at one of them from a distance of twenty paces, and in the place where it struck the iron remained intact, although it did get a faint scratch, such as might be made by a graver. This coat of mail Demetrius wore himself; the other was worn by Alcimus the Epeirot, the sturdiest and most warlike of all the men under him, and the only one whose suit of armour weighed a hundred pounds (the rest used suits of fifty pounds weight); he fell in battle at Rhodes near the theatre.

XXII. But the Rhodians on their part made a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius, although he was accomplishing nothing worthy of mention, nevertheless kept up the fight against them in a rage, because, when Phila his wife sent him letters, bedding, and clothing, the Rhodians had captured the vessel containing them, and had sent it, just as it was, to Ptolemy. In this they did not imitate the considerate kindness of the Athenians, who, having captured Philip's letter-carriers when he was making war upon them, read all the other letters, indeed, but one of them, which was from Olympias, they would not open; instead, they sent it back to the king with its seal unbroken. However, although Demetrius was exceedingly exasperated by this, when the Rhodians soon after gave him a chance to retaliate, he would not allow himself to do so. It happened, namely, that Protogenes the Caunian had been making a painting for them which illustrated the story of Ialysus, and this picture, nearly finished,

τοῦ τέλος ἔχειν ἔν τινι τῶν προαστείων ἔλαβεν ὁ Δημήτριος. πεμψάντων δὲ κήρυκα τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ δεομένων φείσασθαι καὶ μὴ διαφθεῖραι τὸ ἔργον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνας ἂν
3 ἐμπρῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης πόνον τοσοῦτον. ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἔτεσι λέγεται συντελέσαι τὴν γραφὴν ὁ Πρωτογένης. καί φησιν ὁ Ἀπελλῆς οὕτως ἐκπλαγῆναι θεασάμενος τὸ ἔργον ὥστε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ὀψὲ δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι "Μέγας ὁ πόνος καὶ θαυμαστὸν τὸ ἔργον," οὐ μὴν ἔχειν γε χάριτας δι' ἃς οὐρανοῦ ψαύειν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφό-
4 μενα. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ταὐτὸ ταῖς ἄλλαις συνωσθεῖσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ πῦρ ἐπενείματο. τῶν δὲ Ῥοδίων κατεξανισταμένων τοῦ πολέμου, 899
δεόμενον προφάσεως τὸν Δημήτριον Ἀθηναῖοι παραγενόμενοι διήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχεῖν Ῥοδίους Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ πλὴν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον.

XXIII. Ἐκάλουν δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Κασάνδρου τὸ ἄστυ πολιορκοῦντος. ὁ δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας τριακοσίαις τριάκοντα καὶ πολλοῖς ὁπλίταις, οὐ μόνον ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὸν Κάσανδρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγοντα μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν διώξας καὶ τρεψάμενος, Ἡράκλειαν ἔλαβεν, ἑκουσίως αὐτῷ προσθεμένην, καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἑξακισχιλίους μεταβαλομένους πρὸς
2 αὐτόν. ἐπανιὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐντὸς Πυλῶν Ἕλληνας ἠλευθέρου, καὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἐποιήσατο συμμάχους,

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[1] When Strabo wrote, during the reign of Augustus, the painting was still at Rhodes, where it had been seen and admired by Cicero (*Orat.* 2, 5); when the elder Pliny wrote,

had been captured by Demetrius in one of the suburbs of the city. The Rhodians sent a herald and begged Demetrius to spare and not destroy the work, whereupon he replied that he would rather burn the likenesses of his father than so great a labour of art. For we are told that it took Protogenes seven years to complete the painting. And Apelles says he was so smitten with amazement on beholding the work that his voice actually failed him, and that when at last he had recovered it, he cried, "Great is the toil and astonishing the work," remarking, however, that it had not the graces which made the fame of his own paintings touch the heavens. This painting, then, crowded into the same place with the rest at Rome, the fire destroyed.[1] As for the Rhodians, they continued their strenuous resistance in the war until Demetrius, who wanted a pretext for abandoning it, was induced to make terms with them by a deputation of Athenians, on condition that the Rhodians should be allies of Antigonus and Demetrius, except in a war against Ptolemy.

XXIII. And now the Athenians called upon Demetrius because Cassander was besieging their city. So Demetrius sailed to their help with three hundred and thirty ships and a great number of men-at-arms, and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but actually pursued him in his headlong flight as far as Thermopylae, and then took Heracleia, which joined him of its own accord, and six thousand Macedonians, who also came over to him. On his return, he gave their freedom to the Greeks on this side of Thermopylae, made the Boeotians his allies,

a generation or two later, it had been carried to Rome and placed in the temple of Peace (cf. Strabo, xiv. p. 652; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 10, 36).

καὶ Κεγχρέας εἶλε· καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Πάνακτον, ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου φρουρούμενα, καταστρεψάμενος ἀπέδωκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐκκεχυμένοι πρότερον εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ κατακεχρημένοι πᾶσαν φιλοτιμίαν, ἐξεῦρον ὅμως καὶ τότε πρόσφατοι καὶ καινοὶ ταῖς
3 κολακείαις φανῆναι. τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ κατάλυσιν· κἀκεῖ δίαιταν εἶχε, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτόν, οὐ πάνυ κόσμιον ξένον οὐδὲ
4 ὡς παρθένῳ πρᾴως ἐπισταθμεύοντα. καίτοι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον αἰσθόμενός ποτε ὁ πατὴρ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καταλύοντα τρεῖς ἐχούσῃ νέας γυναῖκας, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐφθέγξατο, παρόντος δὲ ἐκείνου, τὸν σταθμοδότην μεταπεμψάμενος, "Οὗτος," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐξάξεις μου τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς στενοχωρίας;"

XXIV. Δημήτριος δέ, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, εἰ δι' ἄλλο μηδέν, ὥς γε πρεσβυτέραν ἀδελφὴν αἰσχύνεσθαι (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι), τοσαύτην ὕβριν εἰς παῖδας ἐλευθέρους καὶ γυναῖκας ἀστὰς κατεσκέδασε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὥστε δοκεῖν τότε μάλιστα καθαρεύειν τὸν τόπον, ὅτε Χρυσίδι καὶ Λαμίᾳ καὶ Δημοῖ καὶ Ἀντικύρᾳ, ταῖς πόρναις ἐκείναις, συνακολασταίνοι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σαφῶς ἀπαγγέλλειν οὐ πρέπει διὰ τὴν πόλιν, τὴν δὲ Δημοκλέους ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἄξιόν ἐστι μὴ παρελθεῖν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν ἔτι παῖς ἄνηβος, οὐκ ἔλαθε δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον ἔχων τῆς εὐμορφίας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν κατή-

and captured Cenchreae; he also reduced Phyle and Panactum, fortresses of Attica in which Cassander had garrisons, and gave them back to the Athenians. And they, although before this they had used up and exhausted all the honours that could be bestowed upon him, nevertheless devised a way to show themselves then also the authors of new and fresh flatteries. For instance, they assigned him the rear chamber of the Parthenon for his quarters; and there he lived, and there it was said that Athena received and entertained him, although he was no very orderly guest and did not occupy his quarters with the decorum due to a virgin. And yet on one occasion when his father understood that his brother Philip was quartered in a house occupied by three young women, he said not a word to Philip himself, but in his presence said to the quartermaster whom he had summoned, "See here, wilt thou not remove my son from his narrow quarters?"

XXIV. But Demetrius, who ought to have revered Athena, if for no other reason, at least because she was his elder sister (for this was what he liked to have her called[1]), filled the acropolis with such wanton treatment of free-born youth and native Athenian women that the place was then thought to be particularly pure when he shared his dissolute life there with Chrysis and Lamia and Demo and Anticyra, the well-known prostitutes.

Now, to give all the particulars plainly would disgrace the fair fame of the city, but I may not pass over the modesty and virtue of Democles. He was still a young boy, and it did not escape the notice of Demetrius that he had a surname which indicated

[1] Since the Athenians had made him a "Saviour-god."

γορον· ἐκαλεῖτο γὰρ Δημοκλῆς ὁ καλός. ὡς δὲ
πολλὰ πειρώντων καὶ διδόντων καὶ φοβούντων
ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἡλίσκετο, τέλος δὲ φεύγων τὰς πα-
λαίστρας καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον εἴς τι βαλανεῖον
ἰδιωτικὸν ἐφοίτα λουσόμενος, ἐπιτηρήσας τὸν και-
3 ρὸν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐπεισῆλθεν αὐτῷ μόνῳ. καὶ ὁ
παῖς, ὡς συνεῖδε τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὴν
ἀνάγκην, ἀφελὼν τὸ πῶμα τοῦ χαλκώματος εἰς
ζέον ὕδωρ ἐνήλατο καὶ διέφθειρεν αὑτόν, ἀνάξια
μὲν παθών, ἄξια δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ κάλλους
φρονήσας, οὐχ ὡς Κλεαίνετος ὁ Κλεομέδοντος, ὃς
ὠφληκότι τῷ πατρὶ δίκην πεντήκοντα ταλάντων
ἀφεθῆναι διαπραξάμενος καὶ γράμματα παρὰ
Δημητρίου κομίσας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οὐ μόνον
ἑαυτὸν κατῄσχυνεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνε-
4 τάραξε. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κλεομέδοντα τῆς δίκης
ἀφῆκαν, ἐγράφη δὲ ψήφισμα μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν
ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Δημητρίου κομίζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἀκούσας ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως, ἀλλ' ἠγα-
νάκτησε, δείσαντες αὖθις οὐ μόνον τὸ ψήφισμα
καθεῖλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰσηγησαμένων καὶ συνει-
πόντων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσαν,
ἔτι δὲ προσεψηφίσαντο δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων πᾶν, ὅ τι ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος
κελεύσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσιον καὶ πρὸς
5 ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δίκαιον. εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῶν 900
καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μαίνεσθαι τὸν Στρατο-
κλέα τοιαῦτα γράφοντα, Δημοχάρης ὁ Λευκονοεὺς
"Μαίνοιτο μέντἄν," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο."

his comeliness; for he was called Democles the Beautiful. But he yielded to none of the many who sought to win him by prayers or gifts or threats, and finally, shunning the palaestras and the gymnasium, used to go for his bath to a private bathing-room. Here Demetrius, who had watched his opportunity, came upon him when he was alone. And the boy, when he saw that he was quite alone and in dire straits, took off the lid of the cauldron and jumped into the boiling water, thus destroying himself, and suffering a fate that was unworthy of him, but showing a spirit that was worthy of his country and of his beauty. Not so Cleaenetus the son of Cleomedon, who, in order to obtain a letter from Demetrius to the people and therewith to secure the remission of a fine of fifty talents which had been imposed upon his father, not only disgraced himself, but also got the city into trouble. For the people released Cleomedon from his sentence, but they passed an edict that no citizen should bring a letter from Demetrius before the assembly. However, when Demetrius heard of it and was beyond measure incensed thereat, they took fright again, and not only rescinded the decree, but actually put to death some of those who had introduced and spoken in favour of it, and drove others into exile; furthermore, they voted besides that it was the pleasure of the Athenian people that whatsoever King Demetrius should ordain in future, this should be held righteous towards the gods and just towards men. And when one of the better class of citizens declared that Stratocles was mad to introduce such a motion, Demochares of Leuconoë said: "He would indeed be mad not to be

πολλὰ γὰρ ὁ Στρατοκλῆς ὠφελεῖτο διὰ τὴν κολακείαν. ὁ δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐπὶ τούτῳ διαβληθεὶς ἐφυγαδεύθη. τοιαῦτα ἔπραττον Ἀθηναῖοι φρουρᾶς ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχειν δοκοῦντες.

XXV. Δημήτριος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐδενὸς ὑφισταμένου τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ φευγόντων καὶ προϊεμένων τὰς πόλεις, προσηγάγετο τήν τε καλουμένην Ἀκτὴν καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν, πλὴν Μαντινείας, καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἐλύσατο τάλαντα δοὺς ἑκατὸν τοῖς
2 φρουροῦσιν. ἐν Ἄργει μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν Ἡραίων ἑορτῆς καθηκούσης, ἀγωνοθετῶν καὶ συμπανηγυρίζων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἔγημε τὴν Αἰακίδου θυγατέρα, τοῦ Μολοττῶν βασιλέως, ἀδελφὴν δὲ Πύρρου, Δηϊδάμειαν. Σικυωνίους δὲ φήσας παρὰ τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισεν οὗ νῦν οἰκοῦσι μετοικίσασθαι· τῷ δὲ τόπῳ καὶ τοὔνομα τὴν πόλιν συμμεταβαλοῦσαν ἀντὶ Σικυῶνος Δημη-
3 τριάδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντων, ἡγεμὼν ἀνηγορεύθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὡς πρότερον οἱ περὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον· ὧν ἐκεῖνος οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι βελτίονα, τῇ τύχῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπαιρόμενος. Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀπεστέρησε τῆς ὁμωνυμίας, οὐδὲ αὑτὸν ἀνεῖπε βασιλέων βασιλέα,

mad." For Stratocles reaped much advantage from his flatteries. Demochares, however, was brought under accusation for this and sent into exile. So fared it with the Athenians, who imagined that because they were rid of their garrison they therefore had their freedom.

XXV. And now Demetrius proceeded into Peloponnesus,[1] where not one of his enemies opposed him, but all abandoned their cities and fled. He received into allegiance Acte, as it is called, and Arcadia (except Mantineia), and freed Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth by paying their garrisons a hundred talents. At Argos, then, where there was a celebration of the festival of Hera, he presided at the games and attended the solemn assemblies with the Greeks, and married Deïdameia,[2] the daughter of Aeacides king of the Molossians, and the sister of Pyrrhus. As for the Sicyonians, he told them their city was in the wrong place, and persuaded them to change its site to that which it now has; moreover, with the site he also changed the name of the city, calling it Demetrias instead of Sicyon. And at the Isthmus of Corinth, where a general assembly was held and throngs of people came together, he was proclaimed Commander-in-chief of the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been proclaimed before him; and to these he considered himself in no slight measure superior, lifted up as he was by the good fortune and power which he then enjoyed. And certainly King Alexander never refused to bestow the royal title upon other kings, nor did he proclaim himself King of Kings, although many

[1] Early in 303 B.C.
[2] Although both Eurydice and Phila were still living.

καίτοι πολλοῖς τὸ καλεῖσθαι καὶ εἶναι βασιλέας
4 αὐτὸς δεδωκώς· ἐκεῖνος δὲ χλευάζων καὶ γελῶν
τοὺς ἄλλον τινὰ πλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ
βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντας, ἡδέως ἤκουε τῶν παρὰ
πότον ἐπιχύσεις λαμβανόντων Δημητρίου βασι-
λέως, Σελεύκου δὲ ἐλεφαντάρχου, Πτολεμαίου δὲ
ναυάρχου, Λυσιμάχου δὲ γαζοφύλακος, Ἀγαθο-
5 κλέους δὲ τοῦ Σικελιώτου νησιάρχου. τούτων δὲ
πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκφερομένων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
βασιλεῖς κατεγέλων, Λυσίμαχος δ' ἠγανάκτει
μόνος εἰ σπάδοντα νομίζει Δημήτριος αὐτόν·
ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ εἰώθεισαν εὐνούχους ἔχειν γαζο-
6 φύλακας. ἦν δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεχθέστατος ὁ
Λυσίμαχος αὐτῷ, καὶ λοιδορῶν εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα
τῆς Λαμίας ἔλεγε νῦν πρῶτον ἑωρακέναι πόρνην
προερχομένην ἐκ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος
ἔφη τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόρνην σωφρονεστέραν εἶναι τῆς
ἐκείνου Πηνελόπης.

XXVI. Τότε δ' οὖν ἀναζευγνύων εἰς τὰς Ἀθή-
νας ἔγραψεν ὅτι βούλεται παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς
μυηθῆναι καὶ τὴν τελετὴν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ τῶν
μικρῶν ἄχρι τῶν ἐποπτικῶν παραλαβεῖν. τοῦτο
δὲ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν οὐδὲ γεγονὸς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ
τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἐτελοῦντο, τὰ δὲ
μεγάλα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος· ἐπώπτευον δὲ τοὐ-
λάχιστον ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐνιαυτὸν διαλείποντες.
2 ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων μόνος ἐτόλ-
μησεν ἀντειπεῖν Πυθόδωρος ὁ δᾳδοῦχος, ἐπέρανε
δὲ οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ Στρατοκλέους γνώμην εἰπόντος

kings received their position and title from him; whereas Demetrius used to rail and mock at those who gave the title of King to any one except his father and himself, and was well pleased to hear revellers pledge Demetrius as King, but Seleucus as Master of the Elephants, Ptolemy as Admiral, Lysimachus as Treasurer, and Agathocles as Island Governor of Sicily. When this was reported to these kings, they all laughed at Demetrius, except Lysimachus; he was incensed that Demetrius considered him a eunuch (it was the general practice to have eunuchs for treasurers). And of all the kings Lysimachus had most hatred for Demetrius. He was once reviling the man's passion for Lamia, and said that this was the first time he had ever seen a harlot coming forward to play a great tragic part; Demetrius, however, declared that his own harlot was more chaste than the Penelope of Lysimachus.

XXVI. But to resume the story, when Demetrius was getting ready to return to Athens, he wrote letters to the people saying that he wished to be initiated into the mysteries as soon as he arrived, and to pass through all the grades in the ceremony, from the lowest to the highest (the "epoptica"). Now, this was not lawful, and had not been done before, but the lesser rites were performed in the month Anthesterion, the great rites in Boëdromion; and the supreme rites (the "epoptica") were celebrated after an interval of at least a year from the great rites. And yet when the letter of Demetrius was read, no one ventured to oppose the proposition except Pythodorus the Torch-bearer, and he accomplished nothing; instead, on motion of Stratocles, it was voted to call the current month, which was

Ἀνθεστηριῶνα τὸν Μουνυχιῶνα ψηφισαμένους καλεῖν καὶ νομίζειν, ἐτέλουν τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ πρὸς Ἄγραν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐξ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ὁ Μουνυχιὼν γενόμενος Βοηδρομιὼν ἐδέξατο τὴν λοιπὴν τελετήν, ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐπο-
3 πτείαν τοῦ Δημητρίου προσεπιλαβόντος. διὸ καὶ Φιλιππίδης τὸν Στρατοκλέα λοιδορῶν ἐποίησεν·

ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συντεμὼν εἰς μῆν' ἕνα,

καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι κατασκηνώσεως·

ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πανδοκεῖον ὑπολαβὼν
καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας εἰσαγαγὼν τῇ παρθένῳ. 901

XXVII. Πολλῶν δὲ γενομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε πλημμελημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα λέγεται λυπῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι διακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πορίσαι ταχὺ καὶ δοῦναι προσταχθὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς εἰσπράξεως συντόνου καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου γενομένης, ἰδὼν ἠθροισμένον τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε Λαμίᾳ καὶ ταῖς περὶ αὐτὴν ἑταίραις εἰς σμῆγμα δοθῆναι. ἡ γὰρ αἰσχύνη τῆς ζημίας καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ πράγματος
2 μᾶλλον ἠνώχλησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο Θετταλοῖς, οὐκ Ἀθηναίοις, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συμβῆναι λέγουσι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ Λάμια τῷ βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζουσα δεῖπνον ἠργυρολόγησε πολλούς. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον οὕτως

Munychion, Anthesterion, and so to regard it, and the lesser rites at Agra were performed for Demetrius; after which Munychion was again changed and became Boëdromion instead of Anthesterion, Demetrius received the remaining rites of initiation, and at the same time was also admitted to the highest grade of "epoptos." Hence Philippides, in his abuse of Stratocles, wrote [1]:—

"Who abridged the whole year into a single month,"

and with reference to the quartering of Demetrius in the Parthenon:—

"Who took the acropolis for a caravansery,
And introduced to its virgin goddess his courtesans."

XXVII. But among the many lawless and shocking things done by Demetrius in the city at this time, this is said to have given the Athenians most displeasure, namely, that after he had ordered them to procure speedily two hundred and fifty talents for his use, and after they had levied the money rigorously and inexorably, when he saw the sum that had been collected, he commanded that it should be given to Lamia and her fellow courtesans to buy soap with. For the shame they felt was more intolerable to the people than their loss, and the words which accompanied it than the deed itself. But some say that those who received this treatment were Thessalians, not Athenians. Apart from this incident, however, Lamia, when she was preparing a supper for the king, exacted money on her own account from many citizens. And the costliness

[1] Part of the fragment cited at xii. 4.

ἤνθησε τῇ δόξῃ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν ὥστε ὑπὸ Λυγκέως τοῦ Σαμίου συγγεγράφθαι. διὸ καὶ τῶν κωμικῶν τις οὐ φαύλως τὴν Λάμιαν Ἑλέπολιν ἀληθῶς προσεῖπε. Δημοχάρης δ' ὁ Σόλιος τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτὸν ἐκάλει Μῦθον· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ Λάμιαν.

3 Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῖς γαμεταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ Δημητρίου ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον εὐημεροῦσα καὶ στεργομένη παρεῖχεν. ἀφίκοντο γοῦν τινες παρ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρεσβείαν πρὸς Λυσίμαχον, οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἄγων σχολὴν ἐπέδειξεν ἔν τε τοῖς μηροῖς καὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν ὠτειλὰς βαθείας ὀνύχων λεοντείων· καὶ διηγεῖτο τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς τὸ θηρίον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου συγκαθειρχθέντι τοῦ βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ γελῶντες ἔφασαν καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα δεινοῦ θηρίου
4 δήγματα φέρειν ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ, Λαμίας. ἦν δὲ θαυμαστὸν ὅτι τῆς Φίλας ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡλικίαν δυσχεραίνων, ἥττητο τῆς Λαμίας, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤρα χρόνον, ἤδη παρηκμακυίας. Δημὼ γοῦν, ἡ ἐπικαλουμένη Μανία, παρὰ δεῖπνον αὐλούσης τῆς Λαμίας καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου πυθομένου, "Τί σοι δοκεῖ;" "Γραῦς," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ." πάλιν δὲ τραγημάτων παρατεθέντων κἀκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰπόντος, "Ὁρᾷς ὅσα μοι Λάμια πέμπει;" "Πλείονα," ἔφη, "πεμφθήσεταί σοι παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς μητρός, ἐὰν θέλῃς καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς
5 καθεύδειν." ἀπομνημονεύεται δὲ τῆς Λαμίας καὶ

of this supper gave it so wide a renown that it was described in full by Lynceus the Samian. Hence also a comic poet not inaptly called Lamia "a veritable City-taker."[1] And Demochares of Soli called Demetrius himself "Fable," because he too, like Fable, had a Lamia.[2]

And not only among the wives of Demetrius, but also among his friends, did the favour and affection which he bestowed on Lamia awaken envy and jealousy. At all events, some ambassadors from him once came to Lysimachus, and Lysimachus, in an hour of leisure, showed them on his thighs and shoulders deep scars of wounds made by a lion's claws; he also told them about the battle he had fought against the beast, with which he had been caged by Alexander the king. Then they laughingly told him that their own king also carried, on his neck, the bites of a dreadful wild beast,—a Lamia. And it was astonishing that while in the beginning he was displeased at Phila's disparity in years, he was vanquished by Lamia, and loved her so long, although she was already past her prime. At all events, when Lamia was playing on the flute at a supper, and Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed Mania, what she thought of her, "O King," said Mania, "I think her an old woman." And at another time, when some sweetmeats were served up, and Demetrius said to Mania, "Dost thou see how many presents I get from Lamia?" "My mother," said Mania, "will send thee more, if thou wilt make her also thy mistress." And there is on record also Lamia's

[1] See chapter xx. 4.
[2] The name of a fabulous monster reputed to eat men's flesh.

πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην Βοκχώρεως κρίσιν ἀντίρρησις. ἐπεὶ γάρ τις ἐρῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῆς ἑταίρας Θώνιδος ᾐτεῖτο συχνὸν χρυσίον, εἶτα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους δόξας αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐπαύσατο, δίκην ἔλαχεν ἡ Θωνὶς αὐτῷ τοῦ μισθώ-
6 ματος. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν λόγον ὁ Βόκχωρις ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅσον ᾐτήθη χρυσίον ἠριθμημένον ἐν τῷ ἀγγείῳ διαφέρειν δεῦρο κᾀκεῖσε τῇ χειρί, τὴν δὲ ἑταίραν ἔχεσθαι τῆς σκιᾶς, ὡς τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἀληθείας σκιὰν οὖσαν. οὐκ ᾤετο ταύτην εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν ἡ Λάμια δικαίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπέλυσεν ἡ σκιὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ ἀργυρίου τὴν ἑταίραν, τὸ δὲ ὄναρ ἔπαυσεν ἐρῶντα τὸν νεανίσκον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ Λαμίας.

XXVIII. Τὴν δὲ διήγησιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ κωμικῆς σκηνῆς, πάλιν εἰς τραγικὴν μετάγουσιν αἱ τύχαι καὶ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃν διηγούμεθα. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων βασιλέων ἁπάντων συνισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ συμφερόντων εἰς ταὐτὸ τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀπῆρεν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συμμίξας φιλοτιμουμένῳ παρ' ἡλικίαν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς
2 ἐπερρώσθη. καίτοι δοκεῖ γε Ἀντίγονος, εἰ μικρῶν τινων ὑφεῖτο καὶ τῆς ἄγαν φιλαρχίας ἐχάλασε, μέχρι παντὸς ἂν αὐτῷ διαφυλάξαι κᾀκείνῳ καταλιπεῖν τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι. φύσει δὲ βαρὺς ὢν καὶ ὑπερόπτης, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τοῖς πράγμασι τραχύς, πολλοὺς καὶ νέους καὶ δυνατοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξηγρίαινε καὶ παρώξυνε· καὶ τήν 902

comment on the famous judgment of Bocchoris. There was, namely, a certain Egyptian who was in love with Thonis the courtesan, and offered a great sum of money for her favours; then he dreamed that he enjoyed those favours, and ceased from his desires. Thereupon Thonis brought an action against him for payment due, and Bocchoris, on hearing the case, ordered the man to bring into court in its coffer the sum total demanded of him, and to move it hither and thither with his hand, and the courtesan was to grasp its shadow, since the thing imagined is a shadow of the reality. This judgment Lamia thought to be unjust; for though the dream put an end to the young man's passion, the shadow of the money did not set the courtesan free from her desire for it. So much, then, for Lamia.

XXVIII. But the fortunes and achievements of the man whose Life I am narrating, brings my narrative back, as it were, from the comic to the tragic stage. For all the other kings leagued themselves together against Antigonus and united their forces, and so Demetrius set forth from Greece,[1] and finding his father eager beyond his years for the war, he was himself still more encouraged. And yet it would seem that if Antigonus had made some trifling concessions and had slackened his excessive passion for dominion, he might have always retained the supremacy for himself and have left it to his son. But he was naturally stern and haughty, and was harsh in what he said no less than in what he did, and therefore exasperated and incited against himself many young and powerful men; and their

[1] Late in 302 B.C.

γε τότε σύστασιν καὶ κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν ὥσπερ ὀρνίθων σπερμολόγων συνδρομὴν ἑνὶ λίθῳ καὶ ψόφῳ συνδιαταράξειν.

3 Ἦγε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν ἑπτακισμυρίων πλείους, ἱππεῖς δὲ μυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχόντων πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους τῶν ἐκείνου πλείονας, ἐλέφαντας δὲ τετρακοσίους, ἅρματα δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. γενομένῳ δ' ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν τροπὴν ἔσχεν ἡ διάνοια τῆς
4 ἐλπίδος μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς γνώμης. ὑψηλὸς γὰρ εἶναι καὶ γαῦρος εἰωθὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ χρώμενος φωνῇ τε μεγάλῃ καὶ λόγοις σοβαροῖς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῷ παρασκῶψαί τι καὶ γελοῖον εἰπεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐστάθειαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν, τότε σύννους ἑωρᾶτο καὶ σιωπηλὸς τὰ πολλά, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέδειξε τῷ πλήθει καὶ συνέστησε διάδοχον.
5 ὃ δὲ μάλιστα πάντες ἐθαύμασαν, ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ μόνος διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκ εἰθισμένος ἔχειν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπορρήτους κοινολογίας, ἀλλὰ ἴδιος ὢν γνώμῃ, εἶτα προστάττων φανερῶς καὶ χρώμενος οἷς βουλεύσαιτο καθ' ἑαυτόν. λέγεται γοῦν μειράκιον ἔτι ὄντα τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι πότε μέλλουσιν ἀναζευγνύειν· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὀργήν· "Ἀγωνιᾷς μὴ μόνος σὺ τῆς σάλπιγγος οὐκ ἀκούσῃς;"

XXIX. Τότε μέντοι καὶ σημεῖα μοχθηρὰ κατεδουλοῦτο τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν. Δημήτριος μὲν γὰρ ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Ἀλέξανδρον ὡπλισμένον λαμπρῶς ἐρωτᾶν ὁποῖόν τι σύνθημα διδό-

combination and partnership at this time he said he would scatter asunder with a single stone and a single shout, as if they were a flock of granivorous birds.

He took the field with more than seventy thousand infantry, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants; while his adversaries had sixty-four thousand infantry, five hundred more horse than he, four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty chariots. After he had drawn near them, the cast of his expectations rather than of his purposes underwent a change. For he was wont to be lofty and boastful as he engaged in his conflicts, making pompous speeches in a loud voice, and many times also by the utterance of a casual jest or joke when the enemy was close at hand he would show the firmness of his own spirit and his contempt for them; but now he was observed to be thoughtful and silent for the most part, and he presented his son to the army and pronounced him his successor. But what more than anything else astonished everybody was his conversing alone in his tent with his son, although it was not his custom to have secret conferences even with him; instead, he made his own plans, followed his own counsels, and then gave his orders openly. At all events, we are told that Demetrius, when he was still a stripling, asked his father when they were going to break camp; and that Antigonus replied in anger: "Art thou in distress lest thou alone shouldst not hear the trumpet?"

XXIX. At this time, moreover, bad omens also subdued their spirits. For Demetrius dreamed that Alexander, in brilliant array of armour, asked him what watchword they were going to give for the

ναι πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέλλουσιν· αὐτοῦ δὲ φή-
σαντος, "Δία καὶ Νίκην" "Ἄπειμι τοίνυν,"
φάναι," πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους· ἐκεῖνοι γάρ με
2 παραλαμβάνουσιν." Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραταττο-
μένης ἤδη τῆς φάλαγγος ἐξιὼν προσέπταισεν,
ὥστε πεσεῖν ὅλως ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ διατεθῆναι
χαλεπῶς· ἀναστὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας
πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ᾐτήσατο νίκην παρὰ τῶν θεῶν
ἢ θάνατον ἀναίσθητον πρὸ τῆς ἥττης.
3 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶ Δημήτριος
ἔχων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ κρατίστους τῶν ἱππέων
Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Σελεύκου συνέπεσε, καὶ μέχρι
τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐν
τῇ διώξει σοβαρᾷ καὶ φιλοτίμῳ παρὰ καιρὸν
γενομένῃ τὴν νίκην διέφθειρεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ
οὐκ ἔσχε πάλιν ἀναστρέψας συμμῖξαι τοῖς
πεζοῖς τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐν μέσῳ γενομένων, τὴν
δὲ φάλαγγα γυμνὴν ἱππέων κατιδόντες οἱ περὶ
Σέλευκον οὐκ ἐνέβαλον μέν, ὡς δὲ ἐμβαλοῦντες
ἐφόβουν καὶ περιήλαυνον, μεταβάλλεσθαι δι-
4 δόντες αὐτοῖς· ὃ καὶ συνέβη. πολὺ γὰρ μέρος
ἀπορραγὲν ἑκουσίως μετεχώρησε πρὸς ἐκείνους,
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐτράπη. φερομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ
τὸν Ἀντίγονον καί τινος τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἰπόντος,
"Ἐπὶ σὲ οὗτοι, βασιλεῦ," "Τίνα γάρ," εἶπε,
"πλὴν ἐμοῦ σκοπὸν ἔχουσιν; ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος
5 ἀφίξεται βοηθῶν." καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι παντὸς
ἐλπίζων καὶ περισκοπῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἅμα πολλῶν

battle; and when he replied, "Zeus and Victory," Alexander said: "Then I will go away and join your adversaries; they surely will receive me."[1] Moreover, Antigonus, when his phalanx was already forming and he was leaving his tent, stumbled and fell prone upon his face, injuring himself severely; but he rose to his feet, and stretching out his hands towards heaven prayed that the gods would grant him victory, or a painless death before his defeat.

After the armies had engaged,[2] Demetrius, with the largest and best part of the cavalry, clashed with Antiochus, the son of Seleucus; he fought brilliantly and routed his enemy, but by pursuing him too fiercely and eagerly he threw away the victory. For he himself was not able to turn back and rejoin his infantry, since the enemy's elephants were thrown in his way; and Seleucus, observing that his opponents' phalanx was unprotected by cavalry, took measures accordingly. He did not actually charge upon them, but kept them in fear of a charge by continually riding around them, thus giving them an opportunity to come over to his side. And this was what actually came to pass. For a large body of them, detached from the rest, came over to him of their own accord, and the rest were routed. Then, as throngs of his enemies bore down upon him and one of his followers said, "They are making at thee, O King," "Who else, pray," said Antigonus, "should be their mark? But Demetrius will come to my aid." This was his hope to the last, and to the last he kept watching eagerly for his son; then a whole cloud of javelins

[1] The watchword should have been "Alexander and Victory."

[2] Near the village of Ipsus, in Phrygia, 301 B.C.

ἀκοντισμάτων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντων ἔπεσε· καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολιπόντων ὀπαδῶν καὶ φίλων
μόνος παρέμεινε τῷ νεκρῷ Θώραξ ὁ Λαρισσαῖος.

XXX. Οὕτω δὲ κριθείσης τῆς μάχης, οἱ μὲν
νενικηκότες βασιλεῖς τὴν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ
Δημητρίῳ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ μέγα σῶμα
κατακόπτοντες ἐλάμβανον μερίδας, καὶ προσδιε-
νείμαντο τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπαρχίας αἷς εἶχον αὐτοὶ
πρότερον. Δημήτριος δὲ μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων
πεζῶν καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ἱππέων φεύγων καὶ
συντόνως ἐλάσας εἰς Ἔφεσον, οἰομένων ἁπάντων
ἀποροῦντα χρημάτων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀφέξεσθαι τοῦ
2 ἱεροῦ, φοβηθεὶς τοὺς στρατιώτας μὴ τοῦτο ποιή- 903
σωσιν, ἀνέστη διὰ ταχέων, καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἐπὶ
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐλπίδων ἐν
Ἀθηναίοις ἔχων τὰς μεγίστας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ
ναῦς[1] ἐκεῖ καὶ χρήματα καὶ γυναῖκα Δηϊδάμειαν
ἐτύγχανε καταλελοιπώς, καὶ βεβαιοτέραν οὐκ
ἐνόμιζε καταφυγὴν εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς
3 Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίας. ὅθεν ἐπεὶ γενομένῳ περὶ
τὰς Κυκλάδας αὐτῷ πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀπήν-
τησαν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς πόλεως παρακαλοῦντες,
ὡς ἐψηφισμένου τοῦ δήμου μηδένα δέχεσθαι τῇ
πόλει τῶν βασιλέων, τὴν δὲ Δηϊδάμειαν εἰς
Μέγαρα ἐξέπεμψαν μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ πομπῆς πρε-
πούσης, τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐξέστη δι' ὀργὴν αὐ-
τοῦ, καίπερ ἐνηνοχὼς ῥᾷστα τὴν ἄλλην ἀτυχίαν
καὶ γεγονὼς ἐν τοιαύτῃ μεταβολῇ πραγμάτων οὐ
4 ταπεινὸς οὐδ' ἀγεννής. ἀλλὰ τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα
διεψεῦσθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν δοκοῦσαν
εὔνοιαν ἐξεληλέγχθαι τοῖς πράγμασι κενὴν καὶ
πεπλασμένην οὖσαν ὀδυνηρὸν ἦν αὐτῷ.

[1] καὶ ναῦς Ziegler, with all the MSS. but one: ναῦς.

were let fly at him and he fell. The rest of his friends and attendants abandoned him, and one only remained by his dead body, Thorax of Larissa.

XXX. The battle having been decided in this manner, the victorious kings carved up the entire domain which had been subject to Antigonus and Demetrius, as if it had been a great carcass, and took each his portion, adding thus to the provinces which the victors already had, those of the vanquished kings. But Demetrius, with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, came in unbroken flight to Ephesus. Here everybody thought that his lack of resources would lead him to lay hands upon the temple[1]; but he, fearing lest his soldiers might do this, departed speedily, and sailed for Greece, putting his chief remaining hopes in Athens. For he had left ships there, and moneys, and his wife Deïdameia, and he thought that in his evil plight no refuge could be more secure than the goodwill of Athens. Therefore when, as he drew near the Cyclades islands, an embassy from Athens met him with a request to keep away from the city, on the ground that the people had passed a vote to admit none of the kings, and informing him that Deïdameia had been sent to Megara with fitting escort and honour, his wrath drove him beyond all proper bounds, although he had borne his other misfortunes very easily, and in so great a reversal of his situation had shown himself neither mean-spirited nor ignoble. But that the Athenians should disappoint his hopes and play him false, and that their apparent goodwill should prove on trial to be false and empty, was painful to him.

[1] The rich temple of Artemis (Diana).

Τὸ γὰρ φαυλότατον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐνοίας ὄχλων
βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις τεκμήριόν ἐστιν ὑπερ-
βολὴ τιμῶν, ἧς ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν ἀποδιδόν-
των ἐχούσης τὸ καλὸν ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν πίστιν ὁ
φόβος· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ δεδιότες ψηφίζονται καὶ
5 φιλοῦντες. διόπερ οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες οὐκ εἰς ἀν-
δριάντας οὐδὲ γραφὰς οὐδὲ ἀποθεώσεις, ἀλλὰ
μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν
ἀποβλέποντες ἢ πιστεύουσιν, ὡς τιμαῖς, ἢ ἀπι-
στοῦσιν, ὡς ἀνάγκαις· ὡς οἵ γε δῆμοι πολλάκις
ἐν αὐταῖς μάλιστα ταῖς τιμαῖς μισοῦσι τοὺς ἀμέ-
τρως καὶ ὑπερόγκως καὶ παρ' ἀκόντων λαμβά-
νοντας.

XXXI. Ὁ γοῦν Δημήτριος τότε δεινὰ μὲν
ἡγούμενος πάσχειν, ἀδύνατος δὲ ὢν ἀμύνασθαι,
προσέπεμψε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγκαλῶν μετρίως,
ἀξιῶν δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολαβεῖν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ
τρισκαιδεκήρης. κομισάμενος δὲ παρέπλευσεν
εἰς Ἰσθμόν, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ κακῶς
ἐχόντων (ἐξέπιπτον γὰρ ἑκασταχόθεν αἱ φρουραὶ
καὶ μεθίστατο πάντα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους)
2 ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Πύρρον αὐτὸς ἄρας
ἐπὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον ἔπλευσε· καὶ κακῶς ἅμα
ποιῶν Λυσίμαχον ὠφέλει καὶ συνεῖχε τὴν περὶ
αὑτὸν δύναμιν, ἀρχομένην ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ γί-
νεσθαι πάλιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον. ὁ δὲ Λυσί-
μαχος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἠμελεῖτο, μηδὲν

And verily the least cogent proof, as it would seem, of a people's goodwill towards a king or potentate is an extravagant bestowal of honours; for the beauty of such honours lies in the purpose of those who bestow them, and fear robs them of their worth (for the same decrees may be passed out of fear and out of affection). Therefore men of sense look first of all at their own acts and achievements, and then estimate the value of the statues, paintings, or deifications offered to them, putting faith in these as genuine honours, or refusing to do so on the ground that they are compulsory; since it is certainly true that a people will often, in the very act of conferring its honours, have most hatred for those who accept such honours immoderately, ostentatiously, and from unwilling givers.

XXXI. Be that as it may, in this case Demetrius thought himself grievously wronged; but since he was unable to avenge himself, he sent a message to the Athenians in which he mildly expostulated with them, and asked that his ships be given back to him, among which was also the one having thirteen banks of oars. These he obtained, and then coasted along to the Isthmus, where he found his affairs in a sorry state. For his garrisons were everywhere being expelled, and there was a general defection to his enemies. He therefore left Pyrrhus in charge of Greece, while he himself put to sea and sailed to the Chersonesus.[1] Here he ravaged the territory of Lysimachus, thereby enriching and holding together his own forces, which were beginning to recover their spirit and to show themselves formidable again. Nor did the other kings try to help Lysimachus;

[1] The Thracian Chersonesus, the modern Gallipoli.

ἐπιεικέστερος ἐκείνου δοκῶν εἶναι, τῷ δὲ μᾶλλον
ἰσχύειν καὶ φοβερώτερος.
3 Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Σέλευκος ἐμνᾶτο πέμ-
πων τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ Φίλας θυγατέρα Στρα-
τονίκην, ἔχων μὲν ἐξ Ἀπάμας τῆς Περσίδος υἱὸν
Ἀντίοχον, οἰόμενος δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαδό-
χοις ἀρκεῖν πλείοσι, καὶ δεῖσθαι τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον
οἰκειότητος, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχον ἑώρα τῶν Πτο-
λεμαίου θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἀγα-
4 θοκλεῖ τῷ υἱῷ λαμβάνοντα. Δημητρίῳ δ' ἦν
ἀνέλπιστος εὐτυχία κηδεῦσαι Σελεύκῳ. καὶ τὴν
κόρην ἀναλαβὼν ἔπλει ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις εἰς
Συρίαν, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ γῇ προσέχων ἀναγκαίως καὶ
τῆς Κιλικίας ἁπτόμενος, ἣν Πλείσταρχος εἶχε
μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μάχην ἐξαίρετον αὐτῷ
δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων· ἦν δὲ Κασάνδρου
5 Πλείσταρχος ἀδελφός. ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν χώραν
αὐτοῦ νομίζων ὑπὸ Δημητρίου κατὰ τὰς ἀποβά-
σεις, καὶ μέμψασθαι βουλόμενος τὸν Σέλευκον
ὅτι τῷ κοινῷ διαλλάττεται πολεμίῳ δίχα τῶν
ἄλλων βασιλέων, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτόν.
XXXII. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο Δημήτριος ὥρ-
μησεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ Κυΐνδων· καὶ τῶν
χρημάτων εὑρὼν ἔτι λοιπὰ χίλια καὶ διακόσια
τάλαντα, ταῦτα συσκευασάμενος καὶ φθάσας
ἐμβαλέσθαι διὰ ταχέων ἀνήχθη. καὶ παρούσης
ἤδη Φίλας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ περὶ Ῥωσσὸν ἀπήν- 904
2 τησε Σέλευκος. καὶ τὴν ἔντευξιν εὐθὺς ἄδολον
καὶ ἀνύποπτον καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐποιοῦντο, πρό-

they thought that he was no less objectionable than Demetrius, and that because he had more power he was even more to be feared.

Not long afterwards, however, Seleucus sent and asked the hand of Stratonicé, the daughter of Demetrius and Phila, in marriage. He had already, by Apama the Persian, a son Antiochus; but he thought that his realms would suffice for more successors than one, and that he needed this alliance with Demetrius, since he saw that Lysimachus also was taking one of Ptolemy's daughters for himself, and the other for Agathocles his son. Now, to Demetrius, a marriage alliance with Seleucus was an unexpected piece of good fortune. So he took his daughter and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. He was obliged to touch at several places along the coast, and made landings in Cilicia, which country had been allotted by the kings to Pleistarchus, after their battle with Antigonus, and was now held by him. Pleistarchus was a brother of Cassander. He thought his territories outraged by these descents of Demetrius upon them, and besides, he wished to upbraid Seleucus for making an alliance with the common enemy independently of the other kings. So he went up to see him.

XXXII. On learning of this, Demetrius set out from the sea-coast for the city of Quinda; and finding twelve hundred talents of its treasure still left, he packed them up, got them safely on board ship, and put to sea with all speed. His wife Phila was already with him, and at Rhosus he was met by Seleucus. Their intercourse was at once put on a royal footing, and knew neither guile nor

τερον μὲν Σέλευκος ἑστιάσας ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ Δημήτριον, αὖθις δὲ Δημήτριος
ἐκεῖνον ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκήρει δεξάμενος. ἦσαν δὲ
καὶ σχολαὶ καὶ κοινολογίαι καὶ συνδιημερεύσεις
ἀφρούρων καὶ ἀνόπλων, ἄχρι οὗ Σέλευκος τὴν
Στρατονίκην ἀναλαβὼν λαμπρῶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν
3 ἀνέβη. Δημήτριος δὲ Κιλικίαν κατέσχε, καὶ
Φίλαν τὴν γυναῖκα πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἔπεμψε τὸν
ἀδελφόν, ἀπολυσομένην τὰς Πλειστάρχου κατη-
γορίας. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δηϊδάμεια πλεύσασα πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ συγγενομένη χρόνον
οὐ πολὺν ἐξ ἀρρωστίας τινὸς ἐτελεύτησε. γενο-
μένης δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον διὰ Σελεύκου φιλίας
αὐτῷ, ὡμολογήθη Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν Πτολεμαίου
θυγατέρα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν γυναῖκα.
4 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀστεῖα τοῦ Σελεύκου. Κιλι-
κίαν δὲ ἀξιῶν χρήματα λαβόντα παραδοῦναι
Δημήτριον, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθε, Σιδῶνα καὶ Τύρον
ἀπαιτῶν πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐδόκει βίαιος εἶναι καὶ δεινὰ
ποιεῖν, εἰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν ἄχρι τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν
θαλάσσης ἅπασαν ὑφ' αὑτῷ πεποιημένος οὕτως
ἐνδεής ἐστιν ἔτι πραγμάτων καὶ πτωχὸς ὡς ὑπὲρ
δυεῖν πόλεων ἄνδρα κηδεστὴν καὶ μεταβολῇ
5 τύχης κεχρημένον ἐλαύνειν, λαμπρὰν τῷ Πλά-
τωνι μαρτυρίαν διδοὺς διακελευομένῳ μὴ τὴν
οὐσίαν πλείω, τὴν δὲ ἀπληστίαν ποιεῖν ἐλάσσω
τόν γε βουλόμενον ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι πλούσιον, ὡς
ὅ γε μὴ παύων φιλοπλουτίαν, οὗτος οὔτε πενίας
οὔτε ἀπορίας ἀπήλλακται.

suspicion. First, Seleucus entertained Demetrius at his tent in the camp, then Demetrius in his turn received Seleucus on board the ship with thirteen banks of oars. There were also amusements, long conferences with one another and whole days spent together, all without guards or arms; until at length Seleucus took Stratonicé and went up in great state to Antioch. But Demetrius took possession of Cilicia, and sent Phila his wife to Cassander, who was her brother, that she might bring to naught the denunciations of Pleistarchus. In the meantime, Deïdameia came by sea from Greece to join Demetrius, and after being with him a short time, succumbed to some disease. Then, by the intervention of Seleucus, friendship was made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, and it was agreed that Demetrius should take to wife Ptolemaïs the daughter of Ptolemy.

So far all was courtesy on the part of Seleucus. But presently he asked Demetrius to cede Cilicia to him for a sum of money, and when Demetrius would not consent, angrily demanded Tyre and Sidon from him. It seemed a violent and outrageous proceeding that one who had possessed himself of the whole domain from India to the Syrian sea should be so needy still and so beggarly in spirit as for the sake of two cities to harass a man who was his relative by marriage and had suffered a reverse of fortune. Moreover, he bore splendid testimony to the wisdom of Plato[1] in urging the man who would be truly rich, not to make his possessions greater, but his inordinate desires fewer; since he who puts no end to his greed, this man is never rid of poverty and want.

[1] The passage cannot be determined.

XXXIII. Οὐ μὴν ὑπέπτηξε Δημήτριος, ἀλλὰ
φήσας οὐδ' ἂν μυριάκις ἡττηθῇ μάχας ἄλλας ἐν
Ἴψῳ γαμβρὸν ἀγαπήσειν ἐπὶ μισθῷ Σέλευκον,
τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἐκρατύνατο φρουραῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ
πυθόμενος Λαχάρη στασιάζουσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπι-
θέμενον τυραννεῖν, ἤλπιζε ῥᾳδίως ἐπιφανεὶς λή-
ψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πέλαγος ἀσφαλῶς
διεπεραιώθη μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀτ-
τικὴν παραπλέων ἐχειμάσθη καὶ τὰς πλείστας
ἀπέβαλε τῶν νεῶν, καὶ συνδιεφθάρη πλῆθος ἀν-
2 θρώπων οὐκ ὀλίγον. αὐτὸς δὲ σωθεὶς ἥψατο
μέν τινος πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δ'
οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, πέμψας ναυτικὸν αὖθις ἀθροί-
σοντας αὐτὸς εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρῆλθε καὶ
Μεσσήνην ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ προσμαχόμενος τοῖς
τείχεσιν ἐκινδύνευσε, καταπελτικοῦ βέλους εἰς τὸ
πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ στόμα διὰ τῆς σιαγόνος
3 ἐμπεσόντος. ἀναληφθεὶς δὲ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς
ἀφεστώσας προσαγαγόμενος πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀτ-
τικὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ κρατήσας Ἐλευσῖνος καὶ
Ῥαμνοῦντος ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν, καὶ ναῦν τινα
λαβὼν ἔχουσαν σῖτον καὶ εἰσάγουσαν τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις ἐκρέμασε τὸν ἔμπορον καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην,
ὥστε τῶν ἄλλων ἀποτρεπομένων διὰ φόβον σύν-
τονον λιμὸν ἐν ἄστει γενέσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ λιμῷ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπορίαν. ἁλῶν γοῦν μέδιμνον
ὠνοῦντο τετταράκοντα δραχμῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν
4 μόδιος ὤνιος ἦν τριακοσίων. μικρὰν δὲ τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις ἀναπνοὴν παρέσχον ἑκατὸν πεντή-

XXXIII. Demetrius, however, was not cowed, but declared that not even if he should lose ten thousand battles like that at Ipsus would he consent to pay for the privilege of having Seleucus as a son-in-law. Then he strengthened his cities with garrisons, while he himself, learning that Lachares had usurped sovereign power over the Athenians in consequence of their dissensions, thought to appear upon the scene and make an easy capture of the city. So he crossed the sea in safety with a great fleet,[1] but as he was sailing along the coast of Attica he encountered a storm in which most of his ships were lost and a great number of men perished with them. He himself, however, escaped alive, and began a petty war against the Athenians. But since he could accomplish nothing, he sent men to collect another fleet for him, while he himself passed on into Peloponnesus and laid siege to Messene. Here, in an attack upon the walls, he came near losing his life; for a missile from a catapult struck him in the face and passed through his jaw into his mouth. But he recovered, and after restoring to their allegiance certain cities which had revolted from him, he invaded Attica again, got Eleusis and Rhamnus into his power, and ravaged the country. He also seized a ship laden with grain for Athens, and hung its supercargo and its master. All other ships were thus frightened into turning back, and famine became acute in the city, where, besides lack of food, there was dearth also of other things. At any rate, a bushel of salt sold there for forty drachmas, and a peck of wheat was worth three hundred. A slight respite was afforded the Athenians

[1] In 297 B.C.

κοντα νῆες φανεῖσαι περὶ Αἴγιναν, ἃς ἔπεμψεν ἐπικούρους αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαῖος. εἶτα Δημητρίῳ πολλῶν μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Κύπρου νεῶν παραγενομένων, ὥστε συμπάσας ἀθροισθῆναι τριακοσίας, ἔφυγον ἄραντες οἱ Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Λαχάρης ὁ τύραννος ἀπέδρα προέμενος τὴν πόλιν.

XXXIV. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, καίπερ ψηφισάμενοι θάνατον εἴ μνησθείη τις εἰρήνης καὶ διαλλαγῆς πρὸς Δημήτριον, εὐθὺς ἀνεῴγνυσαν τὰς 905
ἐγγὺς πύλας καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνου χρηστὸν προσδοκῶντες, ἐκβιαζομένης
2 δὲ τῆς ἀπορίας, ἐν ᾗ δυσχερῶν πολλῶν συμπεσόντων λέγεταί τι καὶ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι· πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ἐν οἰκήματι καθέζεσθαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεγνωκότας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὀροφῆς μῦν νεκρὸν ἐκπεσεῖν, τοὺς δέ, ὡς εἶδον, ἀναπηδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρους διαμάχεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τότε καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἐπίκουρον ἱστοροῦσι διαθρέψαι τοὺς συνήθεις κυάμους πρὸς ἀριθμὸν μετ' αὐτῶν διανεμόμενον.

3 Οὕτως οὖν τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης εἰσελθὼν ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ κελεύσας εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀθροισθῆναι πάντας, ὅπλοις μὲν συνέφραξε τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ δορυφόροις τὸ λογεῖον περιέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς, ὥσπερ οἱ τραγῳδοί, διὰ τῶν ἄνω παρόδων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου πέρας ἐποιήσατο τοῦ δέους
4 αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ τόνου φωνῆς καὶ ῥημάτων

by the appearance off Aegina of a hundred and fifty ships which Ptolemy sent to assist them. Then numerous ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus, and many from Cyprus, so that his entire assemblage numbered three hundred, in consequence of which the ships of Ptolemy put off to sea in flight, and Lachares the tyrant abandoned the city and ran away.

XXXIV. Then the Athenians, although they had decreed death to anyone who should so much as mention peace and reconciliation with Demetrius, straightway threw open the nearest gates and sent ambassadors to him. They did not expect any kindly treatment from him, but were driven to the step by their destitution, in which, among many other grievous things, the following also is said to have occurred. A father and a son were sitting in a room and had abandoned all hope. Then a dead mouse fell from the ceiling, and the two, when they saw it, sprang up and fought with one another for it. At this time also, we are told, the philosopher Epicurus sustained the lives of his associates with beans, which he counted out and distributed among them.

Such, then, was the plight of the city when Demetrius made his entry and ordered all the people to assemble in the theatre. He fenced the stage-buildings round with armed men, and encompassed the stage itself with his body-guards, while he himself, like the tragic actors, came down into view through one of the upper side-entrances. The Athenians were more than ever frightened now; but with the first words that he uttered Demetrius put an end to their fears. For avoiding all harshness of tone and

πικρίας φεισάμενος, ἐλαφρῶς δὲ καὶ φιλικῶς μεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς διηλλάσσετο, καὶ δέκα μυριάδας σίτου μεδίμνων ἐπέδωκε, καὶ κατέστησεν ἀρχὰς αἳ μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν. συνιδὼν δὲ Δρομοκλείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἔν τε φωναῖς ὄντα παντοδαπαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπαίνους τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἁμιλλώμενον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, γνώμην ἔγραψε Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Πειραιᾶ παραδοθῆναι καὶ
5 τὴν Μουνυχίαν. ἐπιψηφισθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Δημήτριος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσενέβαλε φρουρὰν εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον, ὡς μὴ πάλιν ἀναχαιτίσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἀσχολίας αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἑτέρων παρασχεῖν.

XXXV. Ἐχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευε τῇ Λακεδαίμονι. καὶ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ νικήσας μάχῃ καὶ τρεψάμενος εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Σπάρτῃ πάλιν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἑλὼν πεντακοσίους καὶ διαφθείρας διακοσίους, ὅσον οὔπω τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν ἐδόκει
2 μέχρι τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀνάλωτον οὖσαν. ἀλλ' ἡ τύχη περὶ οὐδένα τῶν βασιλέων ἔοικεν οὕτω τροπὰς λαβεῖν μεγάλας καὶ ταχείας, οὐδ' ἐν ἑτέροις πράγμασι τοσαυτάκις μικρὰ καὶ πάλιν μεγάλη καὶ ταπεινὴ μὲν ἐκ λαμπρᾶς, ἰσχυρὰ δὲ αὖθις ἐκ φαύλης γενέσθαι. διὸ καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς χείροσι μεταβολαῖς πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀναφθέγγεσθαι τὸ Αἰσχύλειον·

σύ τοί με φυσᾷς, σύ με καταίθειν μοι[1] δοκεῖς.

[1] μοι δοκεῖς Ziegler, with some MSS.: δοκεῖς.

bitterness of speech, he merely chided them lightly and in a friendly manner, and then declared himself reconciled, gave them besides a hundred thousand bushels of grain, and established the magistrates who were most acceptable to the people. So Dromocleides the orator, seeing that the people, in their joy, were shouting all sorts of proposals, and were eager to outdo the customary eulogies of the public speakers on the bema, brought in a motion that Piraeus and Munychia should be handed over to Demetrius the king. This was voted, and Demetrius on his own account put a garrison into the Museium[1] also, that the people might not again shake off the yoke and give him further trouble.

XXXV. And now that he was in possession of Athens, he at once laid plans against Sparta. Near Mantineia, where Archidamus the king confronted him, he conquered and routed his foe, and then invaded Laconia. And after he had fought a second pitched battle hard by Sparta itself, where he captured five hundred men and slew two hundred, it was thought that he as good as had the city in his power, although up to this time it had never been taken. But with none of the kings does Fortune appear to have taken so great and sudden turns, and in the career of no other did she so many times show herself now small and now great, now resplendent and now abased, now insignificant and now all powerful. For this reason, too, we are told that in his worst reverses Demetrius would apostrophise Fortune in the words of Aeschylus:—

"My flame thou fannest, indeed, and thou seemest to quench me, too."[2]

[1] A hill S.W. of the Acropolis.
[2] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2] p. 107 (μ' ἔφυσας).

3 Καὶ γὰρ τότε τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως εὐπόρων αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐπιδιδόντων ἀγγέλλεται Λυσίμαχος μὲν πρῶτος ἀφῃρημένος αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, Κύπρον δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ᾑρηκὼς ἄνευ μιᾶς πόλεως Σαλαμῖνος, ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι πολιορκῶν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα
4 κατειλημμένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τύχη, καθάπερ ἡ παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ γυνὴ τῇ μὲν ὕδωρ ἐφόρει δολοφρονέουσα χειρί, τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ πῦρ, δεινοῖς αὐτὸν οὕτω καὶ φοβεροῖς ἀγγέλμασιν ἀποστήσασα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, εὐθὺς ἑτέρας πραγμάτων καινῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐπήνεγκεν ἐλπίδας ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

XXXVI. Ἐπεὶ Κασάνδρου τελευτήσαντος ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων Φίλιππος οὐ πολὺν χρόνον βασιλεύσας Μακεδόνων ἀπέθανεν, οἱ λοιποὶ δύο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον, θατέρου δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν μητέρα Θεσσαλονίκην φονεύσαντος, ἅτερος ἐκάλει βοηθοὺς ἐκ μὲν Ἠπείρου Πύρρον, ἐκ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Δη-
2 μήτριον. ἔφθασε δὲ Πύρρος ἐλθών, καὶ πολὺ μέρος Μακεδονίας ἀποτεμόμενος τῆς βοηθείας 906
μισθὸν φοβερὸς μὲν ἦν ἤδη παροικῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· Δημητρίου δέ, ὡς ἐδέξατο τὰ γράμματα, μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προσιόντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ νεανίας τοῦτον φοβηθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ Δῖον, ἀσπαζόμενος μὲν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, οὐδὲν δὲ φάσκων ἔτι τῆς ἐκείνου δεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα παρουσίας.
3 ἦσαν οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὑποψίαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς, καὶ βαδίζοντι Δημητρίῳ πρὸς δεῖπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου παρακεκλημένῳ μηνύει τις ἐπι-

And so at this time, when events so generously favoured the increase of his dominion and power, word was brought to him, first, that Lysimachus had deprived him of his cities in Asia, and next, that Ptolemy had taken Cyprus, with the exception of the single city of Salamis, and had shut up in Salamis under siege his children and his mother. However, even Fortune, who, like the woman in Archilochus, "in one deceitful hand bore water, and in the other fire,"[1] while by tidings so dreadful and terrifying she drew him away from Sparta, at once inspired him with other hopes of new and great achievements, and on this wise.

XXXVI. After Cassander's death, the eldest of his sons, Philip, reigned for a short time over the Macedonians and then died, and the two remaining brothers quarrelled with one another over the succession. One of them, Antipater, murdered his mother, Thessalonicé, and the other, Alexander, summoned to his help Pyrrhus from Epeirus, and Demetrius from Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus was first to answer the summons, and after cutting off a large part of Macedonia as a reward for his assistance, was already a neighbour whom Alexander feared. But Demetrius, who, when he received Alexander's letters, had set out with his forces to join him, inspired the young man with still more fear because of his high position and reputation, and he therefore met Demetrius at Dium, and gave him a friendly welcome, but declared that the situation no longer demanded his presence. Owing to these circumstances, then, the men were suspicious of one another, and besides, as Demetrius was on his way to supper at the young man's invi-

[1] Fragment 93 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.[4] p. 410).

βουλήν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πότῳ μελλόντων αὐτὸν
ἀνελεῖν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν διαταραχθείς, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν
ὑφεὶς τῆς πορείας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἐν
τοῖς ὅπλοις τὴν στρατιὰν ἔχειν, ἀκολούθους δὲ
καὶ παῖδας, ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν (ἦσαν δὲ πολὺ
πλείους τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου), συνεισελθεῖν εἰς τὸν
4 ἀνδρῶνα καὶ παραμένειν ἄχρι ἂν ἐξαναστῇ. τοῦ-
το δείσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐτόλ-
μησαν ἐπιχειρῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος οὐκ
ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ποτικῶς σκηψάμενος διὰ
ταχέων ἀπῆλθε· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ ἀναζυγὴν
εἶχε, πράγματα νεώτερα προσπεπτωκέναι φά-
μενος αὐτῷ, καὶ παρῃτεῖτο συγγνώμην ἔχειν τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ τάχιον ἀπαίρει· συνέσεσθαι γὰρ
αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἄλλοτε σχολάζων. ἔχαιρεν οὖν ὁ
Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἔχθραν, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως
ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ προέπεμπεν
5 ἄχρι Θετταλίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Λάρισσαν ἧκον,
αὖθις ἀλλήλοις ἐπήγγελλον ἑστιάσεις ἀντεπι-
βουλεύοντες· ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
ὑποχείριον ἐποίησε τῷ Δημητρίῳ. φυλάττεσθαι
γὰρ ὀκνῶν, ὡς μὴ κἀκεῖνον ἀντιφυλάττεσθαι
διδάξῃ, παθὼν ἔφθασε (δρᾶν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ μὴ
διαφυγεῖν ἐκεῖνον) ὃ ἐμηχανᾶτο. κληθεὶς γὰρ
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον. ὡς δὲ
ἐκεῖνος ἐξανέστη μεταξὺ δειπνῶν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ
Ἀλέξανδρος συνεξανέστη καὶ κατὰ πόδας αὐτῷ

tation, some one told him of a plot to kill him in the very midst of the drinking. Demetrius was not at all disturbed, but delayed his coming a little, and ordered his officers to have their troops under arms, and all the attendants and servants in his train (and they were far more numerous than the retinue of Alexander) to go with him into the banqueting-hall and to remain there until he rose from the table. This frightened Alexander, and he did not venture to attempt anything. Demetrius also made the excuse that he was not in condition to take wine, and went away very soon. On the following day he busied himself with preparations for departure, telling Alexander that unexpected troubles had arisen, which demanded his attention, asking his pardon for leaving so quickly, and assuring him that he would pay him a longer visit at another time when his affairs permitted it. Alexander was therefore well pleased, convinced that Demetrius was leaving his territories, not in hostility, but of his own free will, and escorted him on his way as far as Thessaly. But when they came to Larissa, once more invitations to entertainments passed between them, and each plotted against the life of the other. This, more than anything else, put Alexander into the power of Demetrius. For he hesitated to take measures of precaution, that he might not thereby teach Demetrius also to take counter-measures, and he was forestalled by meeting the doom he was himself devising (since he delayed measures to prevent the other from escaping out of his hands).[1] And so, when Demetrius rose up from table before supper was over, Alexander, filled with fear, rose up also and followed close upon his heels

[1] The Greek of the parenthesis is hopelessly corrupt.

6 πρὸς τὰς θύρας συνηκολούθει. γενόμενος οὖν ὁ
Δημήτριος πρὸς ταῖς θύραις κατὰ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
δορυφόρους καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἰπών, "Κόπτε τὸν
ἑπόμενον," αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος
ὑπ' ἐκείνων κατεκόπη καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ προσβοη-
θοῦντες, ὧν ἕνα λέγουσι σφαττόμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς
ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ φθάσειεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος.

XXXVII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν νὺξ οἷον εἰκὸς θόρυβον
ἔσχεν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ταραττομένοις τοῖς Μακε-
δόσι καὶ φοβουμένοις τὴν τοῦ Δημητρίου δύναμιν,
ὡς ἐπῄει μὲν οὐδεὶς φοβερός, ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος
ἔπεμπε βουλόμενος ἐντυχεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν πε-
πραγμένων ἀπολογήσασθαι, θαρρεῖν παρέστη
2 καὶ δέχεσθαι φιλανθρώπως αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν,
οὐ μακρῶν ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ λόγων, ἀλλὰ τῷ μισεῖν
μὲν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, φονέα μητρὸς ὄντα, βελ-
τίονος δὲ ἀπορεῖν, ἐκεῖνον ἀνηγόρευσαν βασιλέα
Μακεδόνων, καὶ παραλαβόντες εὐθὺς κατῆγον
εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἴκοι Μακεδόσιν
οὐκ ἀκούσιος ἡ μεταβολή, μεμνημένοις ἀεὶ καὶ
μισοῦσιν ἃ Κάσανδρος εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνηκότα
3 παρηνόμησεν. εἰ δέ τις ἔτι μνήμη τῆς Ἀντιπά-
τρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ μετριότητος ὑπελείπετο, καὶ
ταύτην Δημήτριος ἐκαρποῦτο Φίλᾳ συνοικῶν
καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνης υἱὸν ἔχων διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς,
ἤδη τότε μειράκιον ὄντα καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συστρα-
τευόμενον.

towards the door. Demetrius, then, on reaching the door where his own body-guards stood, said merely, "Smite any one who follows me," and quietly went out himself; but Alexander was cut down by the guards, together with those of his friends who came to his aid. One of these, we are told, as he was smitten, said that Demetrius had got one day's start of them.

XXXVII. That night, then, naturally, was full of tumult. But with the day the Macedonians, who were in confusion and afraid of the forces of Demetrius, found that no enemy came against them, but that Demetrius sent to them a request for an interview and for an opportunity to explain what had been done. They therefore took heart and promised to receive him in a friendly spirit. When he came to them, there was no need of his making long speeches, but owing to their hatred of Antipater, who was a matricide, and to their lack of a better man, they proclaimed Demetrius king of the Macedonians, and at once went down with him into Macedonia.[1] Furthermore, to the Macedonians at home the change was not unwelcome, for they ever remembered with hatred the crimes which Cassander had committed against the posterity of Alexander the Great. And if there still remained any kindly memories of the elder Antipater's moderation and justice, of these also Demetrius reaped the benefit, since he was the husband of Phila, Antipater's daughter, and had a son by her to be his successor in the realm, a son who was already quite a youth, and was serving in the army under his father.

[1] In 294 B.C.

XXXVIII. Οὕτω δὲ λαμπρᾷ κεχρημένος εὐ-
τυχίᾳ πυνθάνεται μὲν περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς
μητρὸς ὡς μεθεῖνται, δῶρα καὶ τιμὰς Πτολεμαίου
προσθέντος αὐτοῖς, πυνθάνεται δὲ περὶ τῆς
Σελεύκῳ γαμηθείσης θυγατρὸς ὡς Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ
Σελεύκου συνοικεῖ καὶ βασίλισσα τῶν ἄνω βαρ-
2 βάρων ἀνηγόρευται. συνέβη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν
Ἀντίοχον ἐρασθέντα τῆς Στρατονίκης νέας οὔσης, 907
ἤδη δὲ παιδίον ἐχούσης ἐκ τοῦ Σελεύκου, διακεῖ-
σθαι κακῶς καὶ πολλὰ ποιεῖν τῷ πάθει διαμαχό-
μενον, τέλος δ' ἑαυτοῦ καταγνόντα δεινῶν μὲν
ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀνήκεστα δὲ νοσεῖν, κεκρατῆσθαι δὲ
τῷ λογισμῷ, τρόπον ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου ζητεῖν
καὶ παραλύειν ἀτρέμα καὶ θεραπείας ἀμελείᾳ
καὶ τροφῆς ἀποχῇ τὸ σῶμα, νοσεῖν τινα νόσον
3 σκηπτόμενον. Ἐρασίστρατον δὲ τὸν ἰατρὸν αἰ-
σθέσθαι μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐρῶντος αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ
οὗτινος ἐρᾷ δυστόπαστον ὂν ἐξανευρεῖν βουλό-
μενον ἀεὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ διημερεύειν, εἰ δέ
τις εἰσίοι τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ μειρακίων ἢ γυναικῶν,
ἐγκαθορᾶν τε τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὰ
συμπάσχειν μάλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ τρεπομένῃ πεφυ-
κότα μέρη καὶ κινήματα τοῦ σώματος ἐπισκοπεῖν.
4 ὡς οὖν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εἰσιόντων ὁμοίως εἶχε, τῆς
δὲ Στρατονίκης καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ
Σελεύκου φοιτώσης πολλάκις ἐγίνετο τὰ τῆς
Σαπφοῦς ἐκεῖνα περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα, φωνῆς ἐπί-
σχεσις, ἐρύθημα πυρῶδες, ὄψεων ὑπολείψεις,

XXXVIII. While Demetrius was enjoying a good fortune so illustrious as this, he had tidings concerning his children and his mother, namely, that they had been set free, and that Ptolemy had given them gifts and honours besides; he had tidings also concerning his daughter who was wedded to Seleucus, namely, that she was now the wife of Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and had the title of Queen of Upper Asia. For it came to pass, as it would seem, that Antiochus fell in love with Stratonicé, who was young, and was already mother of a little boy by Seleucus. Antiochus was distressed, and resorted to many means of fighting down his passion, but at last, condemning himself for his inordinate desires, for his incurable malady, and for the subjugation of his reason, he determined to seek a way of escape from life, and to destroy himself gradually by neglecting his person and abstaining from food, under pretence of having some disease. But Erasistratus, his physician, perceived quite easily that he was in love, and wishing to discover who was the object of his passion (a matter not so easy to decide), he would spend day after day in the young man's chamber, and if any of the beauties of the court came in, male or female, he would study the countenance of Antiochus, and watch those parts and movements of his person which nature has made to sympathize most with the inclinations of the soul. Accordingly, when any one else came in, Antiochus showed no change; but whenever Stratonicé came to see him, as she often did, either alone, or with Seleucus, lo, those tell-tale signs of which Sappho sings[1] were all there in him,—stammering speech, fiery flushes, darkened vision,

[1] Fragment 2 (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.[4] pp. 88 ff.).

ἱδρῶτες ὀξεῖς, ἀταξία καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τοῖς σφυγμοῖς, τέλος δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένης[1]
5 ἀπορία καὶ θάμβος καὶ ὠχρίασις, ἐπὶ τούτοις προσλογιζόμενον τὸν Ἐρασίστρατον κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρας ἐρῶν βασιλέως υἱὸς ἐνεκαρτέρει τῷ σιωπᾶν μέχρι θανάτου, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ φράσαι ταῦτα καὶ κατειπεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πιστεύοντα τῇ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ Σελεύκου παρακινδυνεῦσαί ποτε, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἔρως μὲν εἴη τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πάθος, ἔρως δὲ
6 ἀδύνατος καὶ ἀνίατος. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ πυθομένου πῶς ἀνίατος, "Ὅτι νὴ Δία," φάναι τὸν Ἐρασίστρατον, "ἐρᾷ τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικός." "Εἶτα οὐκ ἄν," εἰπεῖν τὸν Σέλευκον, "ἐπιδοίης, Ἐρασίστρατε, τῷ ἐμῷ παιδὶ φίλος ὢν τὸν γάμον, καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ σαλεύοντας;" "Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν σύ," φάναι, "τοῦτο πατὴρ ὢν ἐποίησας, εἰ Στρατονίκης Ἀντίοχος
7 ἐπεθύμησε." καὶ τὸν Σέλευκον "Εἴθε γάρ, ἑταῖρε," εἰπεῖν, "ταχὺ μεταστρέψαι τις ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ μεταβάλοι θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πάθος· ὡς ἐμοὶ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφεῖναι καλὸν Ἀντιόχου περιεχομένῳ." ταῦτα ἐμπαθῶς σφόδρα τοῦ Σελεύκου μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων λέγοντος, ἐμβαλόντα τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐρασίστρατον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδὲν Ἐρασιστράτου δέοιτο· καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ καὶ ἀνὴρ ὢν καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς
8 ἅμα καὶ ἰατρὸς εἴη τῆς οἰκίας ἄριστος. ἐκ τούτου τὸν Σέλευκον ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσαντα πάνδημον εἰπεῖν ὅτι βούλεται καὶ διέγνωκε τῶν ἄνω πάντων τόπων Ἀντίοχον ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα καὶ

[1] ἡττημένης Ziegler, with two MSS.: ἡττωμένης.

sudden sweats, irregular palpitations of the heart, and finally, as his soul was taken by storm, helplessness, stupor, and pallor. And besides all this, Erasistratus reasoned further that in all probability the king's son, had he loved any other woman, would not have persisted to the death in refusing to speak about it. He thought it a difficult matter to explain the case fully to Seleucus, but nevertheless, relying on the father's kindly feelings towards his son, he took the risk one day, and told him that love was the young man's trouble, a love that could neither be satisfied nor cured. The king was amazed, and asked why his son's love could not be satisfied. "Because, indeed," said Erasistratus, "he is in love with my wife." "Then canst thou not, O Erasistratus," said Seleucus, "since thou art my son's friend, give him thy wife in addition to thy friendship, especially when thou seest that he is the only anchor of our storm-tossed house?" "Thou art his father," said Erasistratus, "and yet thou wouldst not have done so if Antiochus had set his affections on Stratonicé." "My friend," said Seleucus, "would that someone in heaven or on earth might speedily convert and turn his passion in this direction; since I would gladly let my kingdom also go, if I might keep Antiochus." So spake Seleucus with deep emotion and many tears, whereupon Erasistratus clasped him by the hand and told him he had no need of Erasistratus; for as father, husband, and king, he was himself at the same time the best physician also for his household. Consequently Seleucus called an assembly of the entire people and declared it to be his wish and purpose to make Antiochus king of all Upper Asia, and Stratonicé his queen,

Στρατονίκην βασιλίδα, ἀλλήλοις συνοικοῦντας· οἴεσθαι δὲ τὸν μὲν υἱὸν εἰθισμένον ἅπαντα πείθεσθαι καὶ κατήκοον ὄντα μηθὲν ἀντερεῖν αὐτῷ
9 πρὸς τὸν γάμον· εἰ δ' ἡ γυνὴ τῷ μὴ νενομισμένῳ δυσκολαίνοι, παρακαλεῖν τοὺς φίλους ὅπως διδάσκωσιν αὐτὴν καὶ πείθωσι καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τὰ δοκοῦντα βασιλεῖ μετὰ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἡγεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀντιόχου καὶ Στρατονίκης γάμον ἐκ τοιαύτης γενέσθαι προφάσεως λέγουσι.

XXXIX. Δημήτριος δὲ μετὰ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θετταλίαν ἦν παρειληφώς. ἔχων δὲ καὶ Πελοποννήσου τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ Μέγαρα καὶ Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἐστράτευσε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένοντο συμβάσεις μέτριαι περὶ φιλίας πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔπειτα Κλεωνύμου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου παραβαλόντος εἰς Θήβας μετὰ στρατιᾶς, ἐπαρθέντες οἱ Βοιωτοί, καὶ Πίσιδος ἅμα τοῦ Θεσπιέως, ὃς ἐπρώτευε δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει τότε,
2 συμπαρορμῶντος αὐτούς, ἀπέστησαν. ὡς δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις ἐπαγαγὼν τὰς μηχανὰς ὁ Δημήτριος 908
ἐπολιόρκει καὶ φοβηθεὶς ὑπεξῆλθεν ὁ Κλεώνυμος, καταπλαγέντες οἱ Βοιωτοὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς. ὁ δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐμβαλὼν φρουρὰν καὶ πραξάμενος πολλὰ χρήματα, καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ ἁρμοστὴν Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ἱστορικόν, ἔδοξεν ἠπίως κεχρῆσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ Πίσιν. ἑλὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαγορεύσας καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς

the two being husband and wife; he also declared it to be his opinion that his son, accustomed as he was to be submissive and obedient in all things, would not oppose his father in this marriage; and that if his wife were reluctant to take this extraordinary step, he called upon his friends to teach and persuade her to regard as just and honourable whatever seemed good to the king and conducive to the general welfare. On this wise, then, we are told, Antiochus and Stratonicé became husband and wife.

XXXIX. As for Demetrius, after Macedonia he became master of Thessaly also. And now that he had most of Peloponnesus, and, on this side the Isthmus, Megara and Athens, he turned his arms against the Boeotians. These at first made friendly agreements with him on reasonable terms; afterwards, however, when Cleonymus the Spartan made his way into Thebes with an army, the Boeotians were lifted up in spirit, and since at the same time Pisis of Thespiae, who was their leading man at this time in reputation and influence, added his instigations to the step, they revolted. But when Demetrius brought up his engines-of-war against Thebes and laid siege to the city, Cleonymus took fright and stole away, and the Boeotians, in terror, surrendered.[1] Demetrius put garrisons in their cities, exacted large sums of money from them, and left as their overseer and governor Hieronymus the historian, thereby getting a reputation for clemency, and particularly by his treatment of Pisis. For after capturing him Demetrius did him no harm, but actually greeted him, showed him kindness, and

[1] In 293 B.C.

3 *πολέμαρχον ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἀπέδειξεν. οὐ πολλῷ*
δὲ ὕστερον ἁλίσκεται Λυσίμαχος ὑπὸ Δρομιχαί-
του· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Δημητρίου κατὰ τάχος
ἐξορμήσαντος ἐπὶ Θρᾴκην, ὥσπερ ἔρημα[1] *κατα-*
ληψομένου, πάλιν ἀπέστησαν οἱ Βοιωτοί, καὶ
Λυσίμαχος ἅμα διειμένος ἀπηγγέλλετο. ταχέως
οὖν καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀναστρέψας ὁ Δημήτριος
εὗρεν ἡττημένους ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιγόνου
μάχῃ τοὺς Βοιωτούς, καὶ τὰς Θήβας αὖθις
ἐπολιόρκει.

XL. *Πύρρου δὲ Θεσσαλίαν κατατρέχοντος καὶ*
μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν παραφανέντος, Ἀντίγονον
ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς ὥρμησεν ἐπ'
ἐκεῖνον. ὀξέως δὲ φυγόντος, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κατα-
στήσας μυρίους ὁπλίτας καὶ χιλίους ἱππεῖς,
αὖθις ἐνέκειτο ταῖς Θήβαις καὶ προσῆγε τὴν
λεγομένην ἑλέπολιν, πολυπόνως καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν
ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ μεγέθους μοχλευομένην, ὡς μόλις
2 *ἐν δυσὶ μησὶ δύο σταδίους προελθεῖν. τῶν δὲ*
Βοιωτῶν ἐρρωμένως ἀμυνομένων καὶ τοῦ Δημη-
τρίου πολλάκις φιλονεικίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ
χρείας μάχεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας
ἀναγκάζοντος, ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος πίπτοντας οὐκ
ὀλίγους καὶ περιπαθῶν, "Τί, ὦ πάτερ," ἔφη,
"παραναλισκομένους οὐκ ἀναγκαίως τούτους
περιορῶμεν;" ὁ δὲ παροξυνθείς, "Σὺ δέ," ἔφη,
"τί δυσχεραίνεις; ἢ διάμετρον ὀφείλεις τοῖς
3 *ἀποθνήσκουσιν;" οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλόμενός*
γε μὴ δοκεῖν ἑτέρων ἀφειδεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

[1] ἔρημα Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to εὕρημα (*treasure-trove*).

appointed him polemarch in Thespiae. Not long afterwards, however, Lysimachus was taken prisoner by Dromichaetes, and in view of this Demetrius set out with all speed for Thrace, thinking to occupy a region destitute of defenders. Thereupon the Boeotians revolted again, and at the same time word was brought that Lysimachus had been set free. Quickly, therefore, and in wrath, Demetrius turned back, and finding that the Boeotians had been defeated in battle by his son Antigonus, once more laid siege to Thebes.

XL. But Pyrrhus now overran Thessaly and was seen as far south as Thermopylae; Demetrius therefore left Antigonus to conduct the siege of Thebes, and himself set out against this new foe. Pyrrhus, however, made a swift retreat, whereupon Demetrius stationed ten thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen in Thessaly and once more devoted himself to Thebes. Here he brought up against the city his famous City-taker,[1] but this was so laboriously and slowly propelled, owing to its weight and great size, that in the space of two months it hardly advanced two furlongs. Besides, the Boeotians made a stout resistance, and Demetrius many times, out of contumacy rather than from need, forced his soldiers to risk their lives in battle. Antigonus saw that they were falling in great numbers, and in great concern said: "Why, my father, should we suffer these lives to be squandered without any necessity for it?" But Demetrius was incensed, and said: "Why, pray, art thou disturbed at this? Are rations due from thee to the dead?" However, wishing not to be thought reckless of other lives

[1] Cf. chapter xxi. 1.

συγκινδυνεύειν τοῖς μαχομένοις, διελαύνεται τὸν τράχηλον ὀξυβελεῖ. καὶ δεινῶς μὲν ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλὰ εἷλε τὰς Θήβας πάλιν. καὶ παρελθὼν ἀνάτασιν μὲν καὶ φόβον ὡς τὰ δεινότατα πεισομένοις παρέσχεν, ἀνελὼν δὲ τρισκαίδεκα καὶ μεταστήσας τινας ἀφῆκε τοὺς ἄλλους.
4 ταῖς μὲν οὖν Θήβαις οὔπω δέκατον οἰκουμέναις ἔτος ἁλῶναι δὶς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ συνέπεσε.

Τῶν δὲ Πυθίων καθηκόντων πρᾶγμα καινότατον ἐπέτρεψεν αὑτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ Δημήτριος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ τὰ περὶ Δελφοὺς στενὰ κατεῖχον, ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐτὸς ἦγε τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν, ὡς δὴ προσῆκον αὐτόθι μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τὸν θεόν, ὃς καὶ πατρῷός ἐστι καὶ λέγεται τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγός.

XLI. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ μήτε αὐτὸς ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν πεφυκὼς τούς τε ἄλλους ὁρῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις μᾶλλον αὐτῷ προσέχοντας, οἴκοι δὲ ταραχώδεις καὶ πολυπράγμονας ὄντας, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰτωλούς· καὶ τὴν χώραν κακώσας καὶ Πάνταυχον ἐν αὐτῇ μέρος ἔχοντα τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ Πύρρον αὐτὸς ἐχώρει καὶ Πύρρος ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον·
2 ἀλλήλων δὲ διαμαρτόντες, ὁ μὲν ἐπόρθει τὴν Ἤπειρον, ὁ δὲ Πανταύχῳ περιπεσὼν καὶ μάχην συνάψας αὐτὸν μὲν ἄχρι τοῦ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν

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[1] In 290 B.C. The siege lasted nearly a year.

only, but also to share the perils of battle, he was pierced through the neck by a catapult-bolt. And yet, sore wounded as he was, he did not give up, but took Thebes again.[1] His entry into the city filled the citizens with acute fear; they thought they were to suffer the most dreadful punishments; but he put to death only thirteen of them, banished a few, and pardoned the rest. And so it was the fate of Thebes, which had been occupied less than ten years,[2] to be captured twice during this time.

Furthermore, the time for the Pythian games being now at hand, Demetrius ventured upon a most unheard of proceeding. Since, namely, the Aetolians occupied the passes about Delphi, he conducted the games and the festival in person at Athens, declaring it to be especially fitting that Apollo should be honoured there, since he was a patron deity of the Athenians and was said to have been the founder of their race.

XLI. From Athens Demetrius returned to Macedonia, and since he was himself not prone by nature to keep quiet, and since he saw that his followers were more devoted to him when they were on a campaign, but at home were turbulent and meddlesome, he made an expedition against the Aetolians. After ravaging the country, he left Pantauchus there with a large part of his forces, while he himself moved against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus also moved against him, but they missed one another on the march. Demetrius therefore plundered Epeirus, but Pyrrhus fell upon Pantauchus, and after a battle in which the two commanders came to close quarters and

[2] Cassander began the restoration of the city (after its utter annihilation by Alexander in 335 B.C.) in 315 B.C.

πληγὴν ἐν χερσὶ γενόμενον ἐτρέψατο, τῶν δὲ
ἄλλων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐζώγρησε δὲ
3 πεντακισχιλίους. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα Δημήτριον
ἐκάκωσεν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μισηθεὶς ὁ Πύρρος ἀφ'
ὧν ἔπραξεν ὡς θαυμασθεὶς διὰ τὸ πλεῖστα τῇ
χειρὶ κατεργάσασθαι, μέγα τε καὶ λαμπρὸν
ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ὄνομα παρὰ τοῖς
Μακεδόσι· καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπῄει λέγειν τῶν Μακε- 909
δόνων ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ τῶν βασιλέων εἴδωλον
ἐνορῷτο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τόλμης, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι,
καὶ μάλιστα Δημήτριος, ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ βάρος
4 ὑποκρίνοιντο καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἦν δὲ
ὡς ἀληθῶς τραγῳδία μεγάλη περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον,
οὐ μόνον ἀμπεχόμενον καὶ διαδούμενον περιττῶς
καυσίαις διμίτροις καὶ χρυσοπαρύφοις ἁλουργί-
σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκ πορφύρας
ἀκράτου συμπεπιλημένης χρυσοβαφεῖς πεποιη-
μένον ἐμβάδας. ἦν δέ τις ὑφαινομένη χλανὶς
αὐτῷ πολὺν χρόνον, ἔργον ὑπερήφανον, εἴκασμα
5 τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινομένων· ὃ
κατελείφθη μὲν ἡμιτελὲς ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν
πραγμάτων, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐτόλμησεν αὐτῇ χρήσα-
σθαι, καίπερ οὐκ ὀλίγων ὕστερον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ
σοβαρῶν γενομένων βασιλέων.

XLII. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτοις τοῖς θεάμασιν ἐλύπει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀήθεις ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ δίαιταν ἐβαρύνοντο· καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ δυσόμιλον αὐτοῦ καὶ δυσπρόσοδον. ἢ γὰρ οὐ παρεῖχε καιρὸν ἐντυχεῖν, ἢ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ τραχὺς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. Ἀθηναίων μὲν γάρ, περὶ οὓς ἐσπουδάκει μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτη δύο πρεσβείαν κατέσχεν· ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος δὲ ἑνὸς πρε-

wounded each other, routed him, took five thousand of his men prisoners, and slew many of the rest. This wrought the greatest harm to the cause of Demetrius. For Pyrrhus, who was not so much hated for what he had done as he was admired for making most of his conquests in person, acquired from this battle a great and splendid name among the Macedonians, and many of them were moved to say that in him alone of all the kings could they see an image of the great Alexander's daring; whereas the others, and particularly Demetrius, did but assume Alexander's majesty and pomp, like actors on a stage. And there was in truth much of the theatrical about Demetrius, who not only had an extravagant array of cloakings and head-gear—double-mitred broad-brimmed hats and purple robes shot with gold, but also equipped his feet with gold-embroidered shoes of the richest purple felt. And there was one cloak which was long in the weaving for him, a magnificent work, on which was represented the world and the heavenly bodies; this was left behind half-finished when the reversal of his fortunes came, and no succeeding king of Macedonia ventured to use it, although not a few of them were given to pomp and luxury.

XLII. And not only by such displays did he vex his subjects, who were unused to them, but his luxurious ways of living were also offensive, and above all else the difficulty of getting access to him or conversing with him. For either he would give no audience at all, or he was stern and harsh with his auditors. For instance, he kept an embassy from the Athenians, for whose favour he was more solicitous than for that of any other Greeks, two years in waiting; and when a single envoy came to him from

σβευτοῦ παραγενομένου καταφρονεῖσθαι δοκῶν
2 ἠγανάκτησεν. ἀστείως μέντοι καὶ Λακωνικῶς ἐκεῖνος, εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ "Τί σὺ λέγεις; ἕνα Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψαν;" "Ναί," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, πρὸς ἕνα." δόξαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε δημοτικώτερον ἐξελαύνειν, καὶ πρὸς ἔντευξιν ἔχειν οὐκ ἀηδῶς, συνέδραμόν τινες ἐγγράφους ἀξιώσεις ἀναδιδόντες. δεξαμένου δὲ πάσας καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι συλλαβόντος ᾔσθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ παρηκολούθουν· ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ γέφυραν, ἀναπτύξας τὴν χλαμύδα πάσας εἰς τὸν
3 ποταμὸν ἐξέρριψε. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ δεινῶς ἠνίασε τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὑβρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας, οὐ βασιλεύεσθαι, καὶ Φιλίππου μνημονεύοντας, ἢ τῶν μνημονευόντων ἀκούοντας, ὡς μέτριος ἦν περὶ ταῦτα καὶ κοινός. καί ποτε πρεσβυτέρου γυναίου κόπτοντος αὐτὸν ἐν παρόδῳ τινὶ καὶ δεομένου πολλάκις ἀκουσθῆναι, φήσας μὴ σχολάζειν, ἐγκραγόντος ἐκείνου καὶ "Μὴ βασίλευε" εἰπόντος,
4 δηχθεὶς σφόδρα καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ γενόμενος ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ πάντα ποιησάμενος ὕστερα, τοῖς ἐντυχεῖν βουλομένοις, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος ἐκείνης, ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐσχόλασεν.

5 Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως βασιλεῖ προσῆκον ὡς τὸ τῆς δίκης ἔργον. Ἄρης μὲν γὰρ τύραννος, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος, νόμος δὲ πάντων βασιλεὺς κατὰ Πίνδαρόν ἐστι· καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ὅμηρός φησιν οὐχ

Sparta, he thought himself despised, and was incensed. However, when he cried, "What meanest thou? Have the Spartans sent but one envoy?" he got the neat and laconic reply, "Yea, O king, to one man." On one occasion, when he was thought to be riding abroad in a more affable mood than usual, and seemed to encounter his subjects without displeasure, there was a large concourse of people who presented him with written petitions. He received them all and folded them away in his cloak, whereupon the people were delighted and escorted him on his way; but when he came to the bridge over the Axius, he shook out the folds of his cloak and cast all the petitions into the river. This was a great vexation to the Macedonians, who thought themselves insulted, not ruled, and they called to mind, or listened to those who called to mind, how reasonable Philip used to be in such matters, and how accessible. An old woman once assailed Demetrius as he was passing by, and demanded many times that he give her a hearing. "I have no time," said Demetrius. "Then don't be king," screamed the old woman. Demetrius was stung to the quick, and after thinking upon the matter, went back to his house, and postponing every thing else, for several days devoted himself entirely to those who wished audience of him, beginning with the old woman who had rebuked him.

And surely nothing so befits a king as the work of justice. For "Ares is tyrant," in the words of Timotheus,[1] but "Law is king of all things," according to Pindar;[2] and Homer speaks of kings as

[1] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.[4] p. 622. Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xiv. 2. [2] Bergk, *op. cit.* i.[4] p. 439.

ἑλεπόλεις οὐδὲ ναῦς χαλκήρεις, ἀλλὰ θέμιστας
παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς λαμβάνοντας ῥύεσθαι καὶ φυλάσ-
σειν, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς οὐ τὸν πολεμικώτατον οὐδὲ τὸν
ἀδικώτατον καὶ φονικώτατον τῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλὰ
τὸν δικαιότατον ὀαριστὴν καὶ μαθητὴν προσηγό-
6 ρευκεν. ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος ἔχαιρε τῷ βασιλεῖ
τῶν θεῶν ἀνομοιοτάτην ἐπιγραφόμενος προσω-
νυμίαν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πολιεὺς καὶ Πολιοῦχος, ὁ δὲ
Πολιορκητὴς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχεν. οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν
τοῦ καλοῦ χώραν τὸ αἰσχρὸν ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ἀμα-
θοῦς ἐπελθὸν συνῳκείωσε τῇ δόξῃ τὴν ἀδικίαν.

XLIII. Ὁ δ' οὖν Δημήτριος ἐπισφαλέστατα
νοσήσας ἐν Πέλλῃ μικροῦ τότε Μακεδονίαν ἀπέ-
βαλε, καταδραμόντος ὀξέως Πύρρου καὶ μέχρις
Ἐδέσσης προελθόντος. ἅμα δὲ τῷ κουφότερος
γενέσθαι πάνυ ῥᾳδίως ἐξελάσας αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατό
τινας ὁμολογίας, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐμποδὼν ὄντι
συνεχῶς προσπταίων καὶ τοπομαχῶν ἧττον εἶναι
2 πρὸς οἷς διενοεῖτο. διενοεῖτο δὲ οὐθὲν ὀλίγον, 910
ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ
γενομένην ἀρχήν. καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος ταύτης καὶ
τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐκ ἀπελείπετο τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς,
ἀλλὰ στρατιᾶς μὲν ἤδη συνετέτακτο πεζῆς μυριά-
δας δέκα δισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσας, καὶ
χωρὶς ἱππέας ὀλίγῳ δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάτ-
3 τους. στόλον δὲ νεῶν ἅμα πεντακοσίων κατα-
βαλλόμενος τὰς μὲν ἐν Πειραιεῖ τρόπεις ἔθετο,
τὰς δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐν Χαλκίδι, τὰς δὲ
περὶ Πέλλαν, αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν ἑκασταχόσε καὶ διδά-
σκων ἃ χρὴ καὶ συντεχνώμενος, ἐκπληττομένων
ἁπάντων οὐ τὰ πλήθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη
4 τῶν ἔργων. οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἶδεν ἀνθρώπων οὔτε

receiving from Zeus for protection and safe-keeping, not city-takers nor bronze-beaked ships, but "ordinances of justice";[1] and he calls a disciple and "confidant" of Zeus, not the most warlike or unjust or murderous of kings, but the most just.[2] Demetrius, on the contrary, was delighted to receive a surname most unlike those given to the king of the gods; for Zeus is surnamed City-guardian, or City-protector; but Demetrius, City-besieger. Thus a power devoid of wisdom advances evil to the place of good, and makes injustice co-dweller with fame.

XLIII. But while Demetrius lay most dangerously sick at Pella, he almost lost Macedonia; for Pyrrhus swiftly overran it and advanced as far as Edessa. As soon, however, as Demetrius had somewhat recovered his strength he easily drove Pyrrhus out of the country, and then came to a kind of agreement with him, being unwilling that continual collisions and local conflicts with this opponent should defeat his set purpose. And his purpose was nothing less than the recovery of all the realm that had been subject to his father. Moreover, his preparations were fully commensurate with his hopes and undertakings. He had already gathered an army which numbered ninety-eight thousand foot, and besides, nearly twelve thousand horsemen. At the same time, moreover, he had laid the keels for a fleet of five hundred ships, some of which were in Piraeus, some at Corinth, some at Chalcis, and some at Pella. And he would visit all these places in person, showing what was to be done and aiding in the plans, while all men wondered, not only at the multitude, but also at the magnitude of the works. Up to this time no man had seen a ship of

[1] *Iliad*, i. 238 f. [2] Minos, *Odyssey*, xix. 179.

πεντεκαιδεκήρη ναῦν πρότερον οὔτε ἑκκαιδεκήρη,
ἀλλ' ὕστερον τεσσαρακοντήρη Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φι-
λοπάτωρ ἐναυπηγήσατο, μῆκος διακοσίων ὀγδοή-
κοντα πηχῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἕως ἀκροστολίου πεντή-
κοντα δυεῖν δεόντων, ναύταις δὲ χωρὶς ἐρετῶν
ἐξηρτυμένην τετρακοσίοις, ἐρέταις δὲ τετρακισ-
χιλίοις, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὁπλίτας δεχομένην ἐπί
τε τῶν παρόδων καὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀλίγῳ
5 τρισχιλίων ἀποδέοντας. ἀλλὰ θέαν μόνην ἐκείνη
παρέσχε· καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον διαφέρουσα τῶν μονί-
μων οἰκοδομημάτων, φανῆναι πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, οὐ
χρείαν, ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ δυσέργως ἐκινήθη. τῶν
δὲ Δημητρίου νεῶν οὐκ ἦν τὸ καλὸν ἀναγώνιστον,
οὐδὲ τῷ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀπεστεροῦντο
τὴν χρείαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιοθεα-
τότερον τοῦ μεγέθους παρεῖχον.

XLIV. Αἱρομένης οὖν τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅσην μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδεὶς ἔσχε
πρότερον, οἱ τρεῖς συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Δημήτριον,
Σέλευκος, Πτολεμαῖος, Λυσίμαχος· ἔπειτα κοινῇ
πρὸς Πύρρον ἀποστείλαντες ἐκέλευον ἐξάπτεσθαι
Μακεδονίας καὶ μὴ νομίζειν σπονδὰς αἷς Δημή-
τριος οὐκ ἐκείνῳ τὸ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι δέδωκεν, ἀλλ'
εἴληφεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ πολεμεῖν οἷς βούλεται πρότερον.
2 δεξαμένου δὲ Πύρρου πολὺς περιέστη πόλεμος
ἔτι μέλλοντα Δημήτριον. ἅμα γὰρ τὴν μὲν Ἑλ-
λάδα πλεύσας στόλῳ μεγάλῳ Πτολεμαῖος ἀφί-
στη, Μακεδονίαν δὲ Λυσίμαχος ἐκ Θρᾴκης, ἐκ δὲ

fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. At a later time, it is true, Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty banks of oars, which had a length of two hundred and eighty cubits, and a height, to the top of her stern, of forty-eight; she was manned by four hundred sailors, who did no rowing, and by four thousand rowers, and besides these she had room, on her gangways and decks, for nearly three thousand men-at-arms. But this ship was merely for show; and since she differed little from a stationary edifice on land, being meant for exhibition and not for use, she was moved only with difficulty and danger. However, in the ships of Demetrius their beauty did not mar their fighting qualities, nor did the magnificence of their equipment rob them of their usefulness, but they had a speed and effectiveness which was more remarkable than their great size.

XLIV. Accordingly, while this great force, the like of which no man had possessed since Alexander, was getting under way against Asia, the three kings, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, formed a league against Demetrius. Next, they sent a joint embassy to Pyrrhus, urging him to attack Macedonia, and not to regard a truce by which Demetrius had not given him the privilege of having no war made upon him, but had taken for himself the privilege of making war first on the enemy of his choice. Pyrrhus granted their requests, and a great war encompassed Demetrius before his preparations were completed. For at one and the same time[1] Ptolemy sailed to Greece with a great fleet and tried to bring it to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus from the neighbouring

[1] In the spring of 287 B.C.

τῆς ὁμόρου Πύρρος ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτουν. ὁ
δὲ τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς
δὲ βοηθῶν Μακεδονίᾳ πρῶτον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Λυσί-
μαχον. ἀγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Πύρρος ᾑρηκὼς
3 πόλιν Βέροιαν. καὶ τοῦ λόγου ταχέως εἰς τοὺς
Μακεδόνας ἐμπεσόντος οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ Δημητρίῳ
κατὰ κόσμον εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ δακ-
ρύων καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀργῆς καὶ βλασφημιῶν
μεστὸν ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ συμμένειν οὐκ
ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἀπιέναι, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι,
4 τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς τὸν Λυσίμαχον. ἔδοξεν οὖν
τῷ Δημητρίῳ Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἀποστῆναι πορ-
ρωτάτω, πρὸς δὲ Πύρρον τρέπεσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ
ὁμόφυλον εἶναι καὶ πολλοῖς συνήθη δι' Ἀλέξαν-
δρον, ἔπηλυν δὲ καὶ ξένον ἄνδρα τὸν Πύρρον οὐκ
ἂν αὐτοῦ προτιμῆσαι Μακεδόνας. τούτων μέντοι
5 πολὺ διεψεύσθη τῶν λογισμῶν. ὡς γὰρ ἐγγὺς
ἐλθὼν τῷ Πύρρῳ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἀεὶ μὲν
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις λαμπρότητα θαυμά-
ζοντες, ἔκ τε τοῦ παλαιοτάτου καὶ βασιλικώ-
τατον[1] εἰθισμένοι νομίζειν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
κράτιστον, τότε δὲ καὶ πρᾴως κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς
ἁλισκομένοις πυνθανόμενοι, πάντως δὲ καὶ πρὸς
ἕτερον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ Δημη-
τρίου ζητοῦντες, ἀπεχώρουν λάθρα καὶ κατ' ὀλί-
γους τό γε πρῶτον, εἶτα φανερῶς ἅπαν εἶχε κίνη-
6 σιν καὶ ταραχὴν τὸ στρατόπεδον, τέλος δὲ τῷ
Δημητρίῳ τολμήσαντές τινες προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον
ἀπιέναι καὶ σώζειν αὐτόν· ἀπειρηκέναι γὰρ ἤδη

[1] καὶ βασιλικώτατον Coraës and Sintenis, with the best MSS.; Bekker omits the καί.

Epeirus, and both plundered the land. But Demetrius left his son in charge of Greece, while he himself, hastening to the rescue of Macedonia, set out first against Lysimachus. But tidings came to him that Pyrrhus had taken Beroea. The report quickly came to the ears of the Macedonians, and then Demetrius could no longer maintain discipline, but his camp was full of lamentations and tears, coupled with wrathful execrations against himself, and the soldiers would not hold together, but insisted on going away, ostensibly to their homes, but in reality to Lysimachus. Demetrius therefore determined to put as much distance as possible between himself and Lysimachus, and to turn his arms against Pyrrhus; for Lysimachus, as he thought, was a fellow-countryman and congenial to many of the Macedonians because of Alexander; while Pyrrhus was a new-comer and a foreigner, and would not be preferred by them before himself. In these calculations, however, he was greatly deceived. For he drew nigh and pitched his camp by that of Pyrrhus; but his soldiers had always admired that leader's brilliant exploits in arms, and from of old they had been wont to consider the man who was mightiest in arms as also the most kingly; besides this, they now learned that Pyrrhus treated his prisoners of war with mildness, and since they were seeking to be rid of Demetrius whether it took them to Pyrrhus or to another, they kept deserting him, at first secretly and in small companies. Then the whole camp was in open agitation and disorder, and at last some of the soldiers ventured to go to Demetrius, bidding him to go away and save himself; for the Macedonians, they said, were tired of

Μακεδόνας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου τρυφῆς πολεμοῦντας. 911 οὗτοι μετριώτατοι τῶν λόγων ἐφαίνοντο τῷ Δημητρίῳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τραχύτητα· καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ σκηνήν, ὥσπερ οὐ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ὑποκριτής, μεταμφιέννυται χλαμύδα φαιὰν ἀντὶ τῆς τραγικῆς ἐκείνης, καὶ διαλαθὼν ὑπεχώρησεν.
7 ὁρμησάντων δὲ τῶν πλείστων εὐθὺς ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμαχομένων καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διασπώντων, ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ Πύρρος ἐκράτησεν αὐτοβοεὶ καὶ κατέσχε τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ γίνεται πρὸς Λυσίμαχον αὐτῷ συμπάσης Μακεδονίας νέμησις, ἑπταετίαν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου βεβαίως ἀρχθείσης.

XLV. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκπεσόντος καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς Κασάνδρειαν, ἡ γυνὴ Φίλα περιπαθὴς γενομένη προσιδεῖν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν αὖθις ἰδιώτην καὶ φυγάδα τὸν τλημονέστατον βασιλέων Δημήτριον, ἀπειπαμένη δὲ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα καὶ μισήσασα τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ βεβαιοτέραν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς οὖσαν ἢ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, πιοῦσα φάρμακον ἀπέθανε. Δημήτριος δὲ ἔτι τῶν λοιπῶν ναυαγίων ἔχεσθαι διανοηθεὶς ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ στρατηγοὺς καὶ φίλους συνῆγεν.
2 Ἣν οὖν ὁ Σοφοκλέους Μενέλαος εἰκόνα ταῖς αὐτοῦ τύχαις παρατίθησιν,

ἀλλ' οὑμὸς ἀεὶ πότμος ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ
τροχῷ κυκλεῖται καὶ μεταλλάσσει φύσιν,
ὥσπερ σελήνης δ' ὄψις εὐφρόνας[1] δύο
στῆναι δύναιτ' ἂν οὔποτ' ἐν μορφῇ μιᾷ,

[1] εὐφρόνας Sintenis with Nauck, after Brunck; Coraës and Bekker retain the εὐφρόναις of the MSS.

waging war in support of his luxurious way of living. Demetrius thought this very moderate language compared with the harshness of the rest; so he went to his tent, and, as if he had been an actor and not a real king, put on a dark cloak in place of his stage-robes of royalty, and stole away unnoticed. Most of the soldiers at once fell to pillaging and tearing down his tent, and fought with one another for the spoils; but Pyrrhus came up, mastered the camp without a blow, and took possession of it. And all Macedonia was divided between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, after Demetrius had reigned over it securely for seven years.[1]

XLV. When Demetrius thus lost his power and fled for refuge to Cassandreia, his wife Phila was full of grief and could not endure to see her husband, that most afflicted of kings, once more in private station and in exile; she gave up all hope, and in hatred of his fortune, which was more secure in adversity than in prosperity, she drank poison and died. But Demetrius, determined to cling still to what was left of his wrecked fortunes, went off to Greece, and tried to assemble his friends and generals who were there.

The Menelaüs of Sophocles[2] applies this simile to his own fortunes:—

"But my fate on the swiftly turning wheel of God
Goes whirling round forever and ever changes shape,
Just as the moon's appearance for two kindly nights
Could never be identical and show no change,

[1] From 394 to 287 B.C.
[2] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2] p. 315.

ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδήλου πρῶτον ἔρχεται νέα
πρόσωπα καλλύνουσα καὶ πληρουμένη,
χὤτανπερ αὑτῆς εὐγενεστάτη φανῇ,
πάλιν διαρρεῖ κεἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἔρχεται,

3 ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἀπεικάσαι τὰ Δημητρίου πράγματα καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν αὐξήσεις καὶ φθίσεις καὶ ἀναπληρώσεις καὶ ταπεινότητας, οὗ γε καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἀπολείπειν καὶ κατασβέννυσθαι δοκοῦντος ἀνέλαμπεν αὖθις ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ δυνάμεις τινὲς ἐπιρρέουσαι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν ἐλπίδα. καὶ τό γε[1] πρῶτον ἰδιώτης καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν κοσμίων ἔρημος ἐπεφοίτα ταῖς πόλεσι, καί τις αὐτὸν ἐν Θήβαις τοιοῦτον θεασάμενος ἐχρήσατο τοῖς Εὐριπίδου στίχοις οὐκ ἀηδῶς·

μορφὴν ἀμείψας ἐκ θεοῦ βροτησίαν
πάρεστι Δίρκης νάματ' Ἰσμηνοῦ θ' ὕδωρ.

XLVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ὥσπερ εἰς ὁδὸν βασιλικὴν τὴν ἐλπίδα κατέστη καὶ συνίστατο πάλιν σῶμα καὶ σχῆμα περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρχῆς, Θηβαίοις μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πολιτείαν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τόν τε Δίφιλον, ὃς ἦν ἱερεὺς τῶν Σωτήρων ἀναγεγραμμένος, ἐκ τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀνεῖλον, ἄρχοντας αἱρεῖσθαι πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἦν πάτριον, ψηφισάμενοι, τόν τε Πύρρον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετε-

[1] τό γε Sintenis: Coraës and Bekker retain the τότε of the MSS.

But out of darkness first she comes forth young and new,
With face that ever grows more beautiful and full,
And when she reaches largest and most generous phase,
Again she vanisheth away and comes to naught."

This simile might be better used of the fortunes of Demetrius, now waxing and now waning, now full-orbed and now diminished, since even at this time, when his power seemed to fail altogether and suffer extinction, it shot forth new rays of light, and sundry accessions of strength little by little filled out the measure of his hopes. At first he went about visiting the cities in the garb of a private man and without the insignia of a king, and one who saw him thus at Thebes applied to him, not inaptly, the verses of Euripides[1] :—

"Exchanging now the form of god for that of man,
He visits Dirce's rivulets and Ismenus' flood."

XLVI. But as soon as he had entered upon the path of hope, as upon a royal highway, and had gathered about himself a body and form of sovereignty, he restored to the Thebans their ancient form of government; the Athenians, however, revolted from him. They voted to elect archons, as had been their custom of old, and took away from Diphilus, who had been appointed priest of the Saviour-gods, the privilege of giving his name to the current year;[2] and when they saw that Demetrius had more strength than they expected, they sum-

[1] *Bacchae*, 4 f., with adaptation from the first person.
[2] See chapter x. 3.

πέμποντο, μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδόκησαν ἰσχύοντα τὸν
2 Δημήτριον ὁρῶντες. ὁ δὲ ὀργῇ μὲν ἐπῆλθεν αὐ-
τοῖς καὶ πολιορκίαν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ συνεστήσατο
καρτεράν, Κράτητος δὲ τοῦ φιλοσόφου πεμ-
φθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου
καὶ δυνατοῦ, τὰ μὲν οἷς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἐδεῖτο πεισθείς, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἐδίδασκε περὶ τῶν
ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων νοήσας ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορ-
κίαν, καὶ συναγαγὼν ὅσαι νῆες ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ
στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ χιλίους σὺν ἱππεῦσιν
ἐμβιβάσας, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔπλει, Λυσιμάχου
Καρίαν καὶ Λυδίαν ἀποστήσων.
3 Δέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Εὐρυδίκη περὶ Μίλητον,
ἀδελφὴ Φίλας, ἄγουσα τῶν αὐτῆς καὶ Πτολε-
μαίου θυγατέρων Πτολεμαΐδα καθωμολογημένην 912
ἐκείνῳ πρότερον διὰ Σελεύκου. ταύτην γαμεῖ
Δημήτριος Εὐρυδίκης ἐκδιδούσης. καὶ μετὰ τὸν
γάμον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τρέπεται, πολλῶν
μὲν ἑκουσίως προστιθεμένων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ βι-
4 αζόμενος. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Σάρδεις· καί τινες τῶν
Λυσιμάχου στρατηγῶν ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν
χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν κομίζοντες. ἐπερχομένου
δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Λυσιμάχου μετὰ δυνάμεως
ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Φρυγίαν, ἐγνωκώς, ἄνπερ Ἀρμενίας
ἐπιλάβηται, Μηδίαν κινεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄνω πραγμά-
των ἔχεσθαι, πολλὰς ἐξωθουμένῳ περιφυγὰς καὶ
5 ἀναχωρήσεις ἐχόντων. ἑπομένου δὲ Ἀγαθοκλέ-
ους ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς περιῆν, ἐπισιτισμοῦ δὲ

moned Pyrrhus to their aid from Macedonia. Demetrius came up against them in a rage, and began a strenuous siege of the city. But the people sent to him Crates the philosopher, a man of great repute and influence, and Demetrius, partly because he was induced to grant the ambassador's appeals in behalf of the Athenians, and partly because he was convinced when the philosopher showed him what would be an advantageous course, raised the siege, and after assembling all the ships he had,[1] and putting on board eleven thousand soldiers, together with his cavalry, he sailed for Asia, to wrest Caria and Lydia from Lysimachus.

He was met at Miletus by Eurydicé, a sister of Phila, who brought with her one of her daughters by Ptolemy, Ptolemaïs, who had been betrothed to Demetrius before this[2] through the agency of Seleucus. Demetrius married her now, and Eurydicé gave the bride away. After the marriage Demetrius at once turned his arms against the cities, many of which attached themselves to him of their own accord, and many also he forced into submission. He took Sardis also; and some of the generals of Lysimachus came over to him bringing money and troops. But when Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, came against him with an army, Demetrius retired into Phrygia; he had determined, if once he could reach Armenia, to bring Media to revolt and attempt the upper provinces, which afforded an ejected commander many refuges and retreats. Agathocles followed him, and though Demetrius had the advantage in their engagements,

[1] See chapter xliii. 3.
[2] As early as 301 B.C. Cf. chapter xxxii. 3.

καὶ προνομῶν εἰργόμενος ἠπορεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις δι' ὑποψίας ἦν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Μηδίαν ἐκτοπίζων. ἅμα δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ λιμὸς ἐπέτεινε, καὶ διαμαρτία τις γενομένη περὶ τὴν τοῦ Λύκου διάβασιν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἁρπασθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀπώλεσεν. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ σκώπτειν οὐκ ἀπείχοντο· προγράφει δέ τις αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τὴν τοῦ Οἰδίποδος[1] ἀρχὴν μικρὸν παραλλάξας·

τέκνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνου· τίνας
χώρους ἀφίγμεθα ;

XLVII. Τέλος δὲ καὶ νόσου τῷ λιμῷ συνεπιτιθεμένης, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ἐπὶ βρώσεις ἀναγκαίας τρεπομένων, τοὺς πάντας οὐκ ἐλάσσονας ὀκτακισχιλίων ἀποβαλὼν ἀνῆγεν ὀπίσω τοὺς λοιπούς· καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Ταρσὸν ἐβούλετο μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας, οὔσης ὑπὸ Σελεύκῳ τότε, καὶ πρό-
2 φασιν ἐκείνῳ μηδεμίαν παρασχεῖν, ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀμήχανον, ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ὄντων ἀπορίαις τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἀπετείχισε, γράφει πρὸς Σέλευκον ἐπιστολὴν μακρόν τινα τῆς αὑτοῦ τύχης ὀδυρμόν, εἶτα πολλὴν ἱκεσίαν καὶ δέησιν ἔχουσαν ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου λαβεῖν οἶκτον, ἄξια καὶ πολεμίοις συναλγῆσαι πεπονθότος.

Ἐπικλασθέντος δέ πως Σελεύκου, καὶ γράψαντος τοῖς ἐκεῖ στρατηγοῖς ὅπως αὐτῷ τε τῷ Δημητρίῳ χορηγίαν βασιλικὴν καὶ τῇ δυνάμει
3 τροφὴν ἄφθονον παρέχωσιν, ἐπελθὼν Πατροκλῆς,

[1] Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1 f. (Ἀντιγόνη).

he was shut off from getting provisions and forage, and was in great straits; besides, his soldiers were suspicious that he was trying to make his way towards Armenia and Media. And not only did famine press them harder, but also some mistake was made in crossing the river Lycus, and a large number of men were carried away by the current and lost. But nevertheless they would have their pleasantries; and one of them wrote up in front of the tent of Demetrius the opening words of the "Oedipus," slightly changed:—

"O child of blind and aged Antigonus, what are
These regions whither we are come?"

XLVII. But at last sickness assailed them as well as famine, which is wont to happen when men have recourse to foods which they must eat to save their lives, and after losing no less than eight thousand men in all, Demetrius retraced his steps with the rest and came down to Tarsus. Here he would gladly have spared the country, which was then under Seleucus, and so have given its ruler no ground of complaint; but this was impossible, for his soldiers were suffering extreme privations, and Agathocles had fortified the passes of the Taurus against him. He therefore wrote a very long letter to Seleucus, bewailing his own misfortunes, and then begging and beseeching him to take pity on a man who was allied to him by marriage, and had suffered enough to win sympathy even from his enemies.

Seleucus was somewhat softened by this appeal, and wrote to his generals in that province that they should furnish Demetrius himself with royal maintenance, and his troops with abundant supplies. But

ἀνὴρ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν καὶ Σελεύκῳ φίλος
πιστός, οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἔφη πλεῖστον εἶναι
τῶν Δημητρίου στρατιωτῶν τρεφομένων, ἀλλ'
ἐνδιατρίβοντα τῇ χώρᾳ Δημήτριον οὐ καλῶς
περιορᾶν αὐτόν, ὃς ἀεὶ βιαιότατος ὢν καὶ μεγαλο-
πραγμονέστατος βασιλέων νῦν ἐν τύχαις γέγονεν
αἳ καὶ τοὺς φύσει μετρίους ἐξάγουσι τολμᾶν καὶ
4 ἀδικεῖν. ἐκ τούτου παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Σέλευκος ἐξώρ-
μησεν εἰς Κιλικίαν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ
δὲ Δημήτριος ἐκπλαγεὶς τῇ δι' ὀλίγου μεταβολῇ
τοῦ Σελεύκου καὶ φοβηθείς, ὑπέστειλε τοῖς ὀχυρω-
τάτοις τοῦ Ταύρου, καὶ διαπεμπόμενος ἠξίου μά-
λιστα μὲν αὐτὸν περιϊδεῖν τῶν αὐτονόμων τινὰ
βαρβάρων κτησάμενον ἀρχήν, ἐν ᾗ καταβιώσεται
πλάνης καὶ φυγῆς παυσάμενος, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν
χειμῶνα διαθρέψαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτόθι, καὶ μὴ
πάντων ἐνδεᾶ καὶ γυμνὸν ἐξελαύνειν καὶ προβάλ-
λειν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

XLVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σέλευκος ταῦτα πάντα ὑπο-
πτεύων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, εἰ βούλεται, δύο μῆνας
ἐν τῇ Καταονίᾳ χειμάσαι, δόντα τοὺς πρώτους
τῶν φίλων ὁμήρους, ἅμα δὲ τὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἀπετεί-
χιζεν ὑπερβολάς, ἐγκλειόμενος, ὥσπερ θηρίον, ὁ
Δημήτριος κύκλῳ καὶ περιβαλλόμενος, ὑπ' ἀν-
άγκης τρέπεται πρὸς ἀλκήν, καὶ τήν τε χώραν
κατέτρεχε καὶ τῷ Σελεύκῳ προσβάλλοντι συμ-
2 πλεκόμενος ἀεὶ πλέον εἶχε. καί ποτε τῶν δρε- 913
πανηφόρων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντων ὑποστὰς τροπὴν

Patrocles, a man in repute for wisdom, and a trusted friend of Seleucus, came to him and told him that the expense of maintaining the soldiers of Demetrius was a very small matter, but that it was unwise for him to allow Demetrius to remain in the country, since he had always been the most violent of the kings, and the most given to grand designs, and was now in a state of fortune where even naturally moderate men are led to commit deeds of daring and injustice. Incited by this advice, Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a large force. Then Demetrius, filled with amazement and alarm at the sudden change of attitude in Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest fastnesses of the Taurus, and sending messengers to Seleucus, asked that above all things he might be permitted to acquire a petty empire among the independent Barbarians, in which he might end his days without further wanderings and flights; but if this might not be, he begged him to give his troops food for the winter there, and not to drive him forth, stripped and destitute of all things, and cast him into the hands of his enemies.

XLVIII. But Seleucus was suspicious of all this, and told Demetrius that he might, if he wished, spend two months in winter quarters in Cataonia, provided he gave the chief among his friends as hostages; and at the same time he fortified the passes into Syria against him. Then Demetrius, like a wild beast, hemmed in and attacked on all sides, was driven to defend himself; he overran the country, and when Seleucus attacked him, engaged with him and always had the advantage. Once in particular, when the scythe-bearing chariots were dashing down upon him, he avoided the charge, routed his

ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τῶν εἰς Συρίαν ὑπερβολῶν τοὺς ἀποτειχίζοντας ἐξελάσας ἐκράτησε. καὶ ὅλως ἐπῆρτο τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνατεθαρρηκότας ὁρῶν παρεσκευάζετο διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἄθλοις, ἠπορη-
3 μένον ἤδη καὶ αὐτόν. ἀπέστρεψε μὲν γὰρ τὴν παρὰ Λυσιμάχου βοήθειαν ἀπιστῶν καὶ φοβούμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὤκνει τῷ Δημητρίῳ συνάψαι, δεδιὼς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀεὶ μεταβολὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀποριῶν τὰς μεγίστας εὐτυχίας ἐπιφέρουσαν.

Νόσος μέντοι βαρεῖα τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν τούτῳ καταλαβοῦσα τό τε σῶμα δεινῶς ἐκάκωσε καὶ τὰ πράγματα παντάπασι διέφθειρεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δὲ διερρύ-
4 ησαν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. μόλις δὲ ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ῥαΐσας καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἀναλαβών, καὶ ὁρμήσας, ὅσον ἰδεῖν καὶ δοξάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπὶ Κιλικίας, εἶτα νυκτὸς ἄνευ σάλπιγγος ἄρας ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ τὸν Ἀμανὸν ὑπερβαλὼν ἐπόρθει τὴν κάτω χώραν ἄχρι τῆς Κυρρηστικῆς.

XLIX. Ἐπιφανέντος δὲ τοῦ Σελεύκου καὶ ποιουμένου τὰς καταλύσεις ἐγγύς, ἀναστήσας ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ στράτευμα νυκτὸς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγνοοῦντα μέχρι πολλοῦ καὶ κοιμώμενον. αὐτομόλων δέ τινων παραγενομένων καὶ φρασάντων τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν, ἅμα τὰς κρηπῖδας ὑποδούμενος καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ὡς θηρίῳ δεινῷ συμπέπλεκται. Δημήτριος δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ τῶν πολεμίων αἰσθόμενος ὅτι μεμήνυται, κατὰ

assailants, drove away those who were fortifying the passes into Syria, and made himself master of them. And now he was completely lifted up in spirit, and seeing that his soldiers had recovered their courage, he made ready to fight to the finish with Seleucus for the supreme prizes. Seleucus himself was already in perplexity. For he had refused the assistance offered by Lysimachus, whom he distrusted and feared; and by himself he hesitated to join battle with Demetrius, fearing the man's desperation and the perpetual change which brought him from the extremest destitution to the greatest affluence.

However, a grievous sickness seized Demetrius at this juncture; it wrought terrible harm to his body, and utterly ruined his cause. For some of his soldiers went over to the enemy, and others dispersed. But at last, after forty days, he recovered strength, and taking the soldiers that remained, set out, so far as his enemies could see or conjecture, for Cilicia; then, in the night and without signal by trumpet, he set out in the opposite direction, crossed the range of Amanus, and plundered the lower country as far as Cyrrhestica.

XLIX. When Seleucus made his appearance there and encamped near by, Demetrius set his army in motion by night and advanced against him. Seleucus was ignorant of his approach for a long time, and lay sleeping. But when some deserters came and told him of his peril, he was astounded, and leaping up ordered the trumpets to be sounded, at the same time pulling on his boots and shouting to his companions that a terrible wild beast was upon them. But Demetrius, perceiving from the noise which his enemies made that they had been informed

2 τάχος ἀπῆγεν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ προσκειμένου τοῦ
Σελεύκου, πέμψας τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὑτὸν ἐπὶ θά-
τερον κέρας ἐποίησέ τινα τροπὴν τῶν ἐναντίων.
εἶτα μέντοι Σέλευκος αὐτὸς ἀφεὶς τὸν ἵππον καὶ
τὸ κράνος ἀποθέμενος καὶ λαβὼν πέλτην ἀπήντα
τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὑτὸν καὶ μετα-
βαλέσθαι παρακαλῶν, ἤδη ποτὲ συμφρονήσαντας
ὅτι φειδόμενος ἐκείνων, οὐ Δημητρίου, χρόνον
3 πολὺν διατετέλεκεν. ἐκ τούτου πάντες ἀσπαζό-
μενοι καὶ βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντες μεθίσταντο.
Δημήτριος δὲ πολλῶν μεταβολῶν αἰσθόμενος
ἐσχάτην ἐκείνην ἤκουσαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐκκλίνας ἐπὶ
τὰς Ἀμανίδας ἔφυγε πύλας, καὶ καταβαλὼν εἰς
ὕλην τινὰ συνηρεφῆ μετὰ φίλων τινῶν καὶ
ἀκολούθων ὀλίγων παντάπασιν ὄντων προσέμενε
τὴν νύκτα, βουλόμενος, εἰ δύναιτο, τῆς ἐπὶ Καῦ-
νον ὁδοῦ λαβέσθαι καὶ διεκπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασ-
4 σαν, οὗ τὸν ναύσταθμον εὑρήσειν ἤλπιζεν. ὡς
δὲ ἔγνω μηδὲ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐφόδιον ἔχοντας
αὐτούς, ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐγένετο λογισμῶν. εἶτα μέν-
τοι Σωσιγένης ἐπῆλθεν, ἑταῖρος αὐτοῦ, χρυσοῦς
τετρακοσίους ὑπεζωσμένος· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλπί-
ζοντες ἄχρι θαλάσσης διαγενήσεσθαι, πρὸς τὰς
ὑπερβολὰς ἐχώρουν σκοταῖοι. πυρῶν δὲ καιομέ-
νων πρὸς αὐταῖς πολεμίων ἀπογνόντες ἐκείνην
τὴν ὁδὸν αὖθις ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον,
οὔτε πάντες (ἔνιοι γὰρ ἀπέδρασαν) οὔτε ὁμοίως
5 οἱ παραμένοντες πρόθυμοι· τολμήσαντος δέ τινος
εἰπεῖν τι, ὡς Σελεύκῳ χρὴ τὸ σῶμα παραδοῦναι

of his approach, drew off his troops with all speed. When day came, however, Seleucus was pressing him hard, so he sent one of his officers to the other wing, and partially routed the enemy. But at this point Seleucus himself, quitting his horse, doffing his helmet, and taking a light shield, went to meet the mercenaries of Demetrius, showing them who he was, and exhorting them to come over to him, since they must for some time have been aware that his long forbearance had them in view, and not Demetrius. Consequently they all welcomed him, hailed him as king, and went over to him.

Then Demetrius, perceiving that the last of many reversals of fortune was now come upon him, left the field and fled to the passes of Amanus, where he plunged into a dense forest along with sundry friends and followers, few all told, and waited for the night. He wished, if possible, to take the road to Caunus and make his way through to the sea, where he expected to find his fleet. But when he learned that the party had not provisions enough even for the coming day, he tried to think of other plans. At this point, however, Sosigenes came up, a companion of his, with four hundred pieces of gold in his belt; so hoping that with this money they could make their way through to the sea, the party set out towards the passes, in the darkness of night. In the passes, however, the enemy were burning fires, so the fugitives despaired of this road and once more returned to their place in the forest—not all of them, for some had run away; nor was the remnant as willing as before. And when one of them ventured to speak out boldly and say that Demetrius ought to

Δημήτριον, ὥρμησε μὲν τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἀνελεῖν ἑαυτόν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι περιστάντες καὶ παραμυθούμενοι συνέπεισαν οὕτω ποιῆσαι. καὶ πέμπει πρὸς Σέλευκον ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν.

L. Ἀκούσας δὲ Σέλευκος οὐκ ἔφη τῇ Δημητρίου τύχῃ σώζεσθαι Δημήτριον, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὑτοῦ, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν αὐτῷ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν διδούσῃ. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς σκηνήν τε πηγνύναι βασιλικὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ παρασκευά- 914
ζειν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν καὶ θεραπείαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς.
2 ἦν δέ τις Ἀπολλωνίδης παρὰ τῷ Σελεύκῳ, τοῦ Δημητρίου γεγονὼς συνήθης· τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπως ἡδίων γένηται καὶ θαρρῶν ὡς πρὸς οἰκεῖον ἄνδρα καὶ κηδεστὴν ἀπαντᾶν. Φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ γενομένης ὀλίγοι τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φίλων ἐξεπήδων παρὰ τὸν Δημήτριον, ἁμιλλώμενοι καὶ φθάνοντες ἀλλήλους· ἠλπίζετο γὰρ εὐθὺς παρὰ τῷ Σελεύκῳ μέγιστος ἔσεσθαι.

3 Τοῦτο δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν εἰς φθόνον μετέβαλε τὸν ἔλεον, τοῖς δὲ κακοήθεσι καὶ βασκάνοις παρέσχεν ἀποτρέψαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκφοβήσασιν αὐτόν, ὡς οὐκ εἰς ἀναβολάς, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ὀφθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα, μεγάλων ἐσομένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νεωτερισ-
4 μῶν. ἄρτι δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἀφιγμένου περιχαροῦς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword and would have killed himself; but his friends encompassed him, and with encouraging words persuaded him to do as the man had said. So he sent to Seleucus and put himself at his disposal.

L. When Seleucus heard of it, he declared that it was not the good fortune of Demetrius that brought him safety, but his own, which, in addition to her other blessings, gave him an opportunity to show generosity and kindness. Then he called his overseers and bade them pitch a royal tent, and to make all other arrangements and preparations for a magnificent reception and entertainment. There was also with Seleucus a certain Apollonides, who had been an intimate friend of Demetrius; this man was at once sent to him by Seleucus, to give him cheerfulness and confidence by reminders that he was coming into the presence of a man who was a friend and relative. When this purpose of Seleucus became evident, first a few of his friends, then the greater part of them, went off hot foot to Demetrius, vying with one another in their efforts to reach him first; for it was expected that he would at once be a very great personage at the court of Seleucus.

But this behaviour of his friends turned the king's pity into jealousy, and gave malicious and mischievous persons an opportunity to thwart and put an end to his generosity. They frightened him by their insinuations that without any delay, but at the first sight of Demetrius, there would be a great revolution in the camp. And so it came to pass that at the very time when Apollonides had come to Demetrius with a joyful countenance, and while the other courtiers

ἐπερχομένων καὶ λόγους θαυμαστοὺς ἀπαγγελλόντων περὶ τοῦ Σελεύκου, καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου μετὰ τηλικαύτην δυστυχίαν καὶ κακοπραγίαν, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἐδόκει τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ σώματος αἰσχρὰν πεποιῆσθαι, τότε μετεγνωκότος διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ πιστεύειν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἦλθε Παυσανίας ἔχων στρατιώτας ὁμοῦ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππεῖς
5 περὶ χιλίους. καὶ τούτοις περισχὼν τὸν Δημήτριον ἄφνω, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀποστήσας, Σελεύκῳ μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς ὄψιν οὐ κατέστησεν, εἰς δὲ Χερρόνησον τὴν Συριακὴν ἀπήγαγεν, ὅπου τὸ λοιπὸν ἰσχυρᾶς φυλακῆς ἐπισταθείσης θεραπεία μὲν ἧκεν ἱκανὴ παρὰ Σελεύκου καὶ χρήματα καὶ δίαιτα παρεσκευάζετο καθ' ἡμέραν οὐ μεμπτή, δρόμοι δὲ καὶ περίπατοι βασιλικοὶ καὶ παράδεισοι θήρας
6 ἔχοντες ἀπεδείχθησαν· ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν συμφυγόντων τῷ βουλομένῳ συνεῖναι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν[1] τινες ὅμως ἐπιφοιτῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου ἧκον κομίζοντες ἐπιεικεῖς λόγους καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλοῦντες, ὡς, ὅταν πρῶτον Ἀντίοχος ἀφίκηται σὺν Στρατονίκῃ, διεθησόμενον.

LI. Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τύχῃ γεγονὼς ἐπέστειλε τοῖς περὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Κόρινθον ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις[2] μήτε γράμμασιν αὐτοῦ μήτε σφραγῖδι πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τεθνηκότος Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰς πόλεις καὶ
2 τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα διαφυλάττειν. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σύλληψιν πυθόμενος καὶ βαρέ-

[1] παρ' αυτὸν Coraës and Bekker, with the MSS.; Sintenis corrects to παρ' αὐτοῦ and deletes ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου.

[2] τοῖς . . . φίλοις Sintenis, with the best MSS. and Stephanus; Coraës and Bekker retain πρὸς . . . φίλους.

were coming up and telling him wonderful tales about Seleucus and his generosity, and when Demetrius, after all his disasters and misfortunes, even if he had once thought his surrender a disgraceful act, had now changed his mind as a result of his courage and hopefulness, up came Pausanias at the head of a thousand soldiers, foot and horse together. With these he surrounded Demetrius on a sudden, and after sending off everybody else, conducted him, not into the presence of Seleucus, but away to the Syrian Chersonese. Here, for the rest of his life, a strong guard was set over him, a sufficient number of attendants came to him from Seleucus, while money and maintenance was provided for him day by day which was not to be despised, nay, royal courses for riding and walking, and parks with wild game in them, were set apart for his use; any friend also who shared his exile and wished to visit him could do so, and notwithstanding his captivity sundry people kept coming to him from Seleucus bringing kindly messages and exhorting him to be of good cheer, since as soon as Antiochus came with Stratonicé, he was to be set at liberty.

LI. Demetrius, however, finding himself in this plight, sent word to his son and the friends and commanders who were at Athens and Corinth, bidding them put no trust in letters or seal purporting to be his, but to treat him as dead, and to preserve for Antigonus his cities and the rest of his power. When Antigonus learned of his father's capture, he

ὡς ἐνεγκὼν καὶ πενθίμην ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα πρός
τε τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς ἔγραψε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
Σέλευκον, δεόμενος, καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι λοιπὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς
παραδιδούς, καὶ πρὸ παντὸς ὁμηρεύειν ἕτοιμος ὢν
αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός. καὶ συνεδέοντο ταῦτα
πόλεις τε πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάσται πλὴν Λυσιμάχου.
3 Λυσίμαχος δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ πέμπων ὑπισ-
χνεῖτο Σελεύκῳ κτείναντι Δημήτριον. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ-
νον μὲν καὶ ἄλλως προβαλλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἐπὶ τούτῳ μιαρὸν ἡγεῖτο καὶ βάρβαρον, Ἀντιόχῳ
δὲ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ Στρατονίκῃ φυλάττων Δημή-
τριον, ὡς ἐκείνων ἡ χάρις γένοιτο, παρῆγε τὸν
χρόνον.

LII. Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος, ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν τύχην
προσπεσοῦσαν ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ῥᾷον ἤδη φέρειν εἰθί-
ζετο τὰ παρόντα, πρῶτον μὲν ἁμῶς γέ πως ἐκίνει
τὸ σῶμα, θήρας, ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν, καὶ δρόμων ἁπτό-
μενος, ἔπειτα κατὰ μικρὸν ὄκνου πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ
νωθείας ἐπίμπλατο, καὶ φέρων ἑαυτὸν εἰς πότους
καὶ κύβους κατέβαλε καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὸν πλεῖ-
2 στον ἐν τούτοις διῆγεν, εἴτε τοὺς ἐν τῷ νήφειν
ἀναλογισμοὺς τῶν παρόντων ἀποδιδράσκων καὶ
παρακαλυπτόμενος τῇ μέθῃ τὴν διάνοιαν, εἴτε
συγγνοὺς ἑαυτῷ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν βίον, ὃν ἔκπαλαι
ποθῶν καὶ διώκων ἄλλως ὑπ' ἀνοίας καὶ κενῆς
δόξης ἐπλάζετο καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἑαυτῷ, πολλὰ
δὲ ἑτέροις πράγματα παρεῖχεν, ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ
στόλοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν ζητῶν, 915
ὃ νῦν ἐν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ καὶ σχολῇ καὶ ἀνα-

was deeply distressed, put on mourning apparel, and wrote to the other kings and especially to Seleucus himself, supplicating him, and offering to surrender to him whatever was left of his own and his father's possessions, and above everything else volunteering to be a hostage himself for his father. Many cities also and many rulers joined in these supplications. But Lysimachus did not; he sent to Seleucus the promise of a large sum of money if he killed Demetrius. But Seleucus, who had always had a feeling of aversion for Lysimachus, all the more for this proposal thought him abominable and barbarous, and continued to keep Demetrius under watch and ward for Antiochus his son and Stratonicé, that the favour of his release might come from them.

LII. But Demetrius, who in the beginning bore up under the misfortune that had come upon him, and presently grew accustomed to it and endured his situation with a better grace, at first, in one way or another, exercised his body, resorting to hunting, so far as he could, or riding; then, little by little, he came to have the greatest indifference and aversion to these sports, took eagerly to drinking and dice, and spent most of his time at these. This was either because he sought escape from the thoughts on his present condition which tormented him when he was sober, and tried to smother his reflections in drunkenness; or because he had convinced himself that this was the real life, which he had long desired and striven to attain, but had foolishly missed it through folly and empty ambition, thereby bringing many troubles upon himself, and many upon others; he had sought in arms and fleets and armies to find the highest good, but now, to his surprise, had discovered

3 παύσει μὴ προσδοκήσας ἀνεύρηκε. τί γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων πέρας ἐστὶ τοῖς φαύλοις βασιλεῦσι, κακῶς καὶ ἀνοήτως διακειμένοις, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τρυφὴν καὶ ἡδονὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ διώκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδὲ ἥδεσθαι μηδὲ τρυφᾶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἴσασιν;

Ὁ δ' οὖν Δημήτριος ἔτος τρίτον ἐν τῇ Χερρονήσῳ καθειργμένος ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ πλησμονῆς καὶ οἴνου νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν, ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ
4 πεντήκοντα βεβιωκώς. καὶ Σέλευκος ἤκουσέ τε κακῶς καὶ μετενόησεν οὐ μετρίως ἐν ὑποψίᾳ τὸν Δημήτριον θέμενος τότε, καὶ μηδὲ Δρομιχαίτην, ἄνδρα βάρβαρον Θρᾷκα, μιμησάμενος οὕτω φιλανθρώπως καὶ βασιλικῶς ἁλόντι Λυσιμάχῳ χρησάμενον.

LIII. Ἔσχε μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ τραγικήν τινα καὶ θεατρικὴν διάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἀντίγονος, ὡς ᾔσθετο τὰ λείψανα κομιζόμενα, πάσαις ἀναχθεὶς ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπὶ νήσων ἀπήντησε· καὶ δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ναυαρχίδων ἔθετο τὴν ὑδρίαν χρυσή-
2 λατον οὖσαν. αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἷς προσεῖχον, τοῦτο μὲν στεφάνους ἐπέφερον τῇ ὑδρίᾳ, τοῦτο δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν σχήματι πενθίμῳ συνθάψοντας καὶ συμπαραπέμψοντας ἀπέστελλον. εἰς δὲ Κόρινθον τοῦ στόλου καταπλέοντος ἥ τε κάλπις ἐκ πρύμνης περιφανὴς ἑωρᾶτο πορφύρᾳ βασιλικῇ καὶ διαδήματι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ παρειστήκεισαν ἐν ὅπλοις νεανίσκοι δορυφοροῦντες. ὁ δὲ τῶν τότε αὐλητῶν ἐλλογιμώτατος Ξενόφαντος ἐγγὺς καθε-

it in idleness and leisure and repose. For what other end than this can worthless kings seek to attain by their wars and perils? Wicked and foolish indeed are they, not only because they seek after luxury and pleasure instead of virtue and honour, but also because they do not even know how to enjoy real pleasure or true luxury.

So, then, Demetrius, after an imprisonment of three years[1] in the Syrian Chersonese, through inactivity and surfeit of food and wine, fell sick and died, in the fifty-fifth year of his life. Seleucus was in ill repute for this, and repented him bitterly for having cherished such suspicions against Demetrius, and for allowing himself to be outdone even by Dromichaetes, a barbarous Thracian, who had given Lysimachus,[2] his captive, a treatment so humane and royal.

LIII. Moreover, there was something dramatic and theatrical even in the funeral ceremonies of Demetrius. For his son Antigonus, when he learned that his remains had been sent home, put to sea with his entire fleet and met them off the islands. They were given to him in a golden urn, and he placed them in the largest of his admiral's ships. Of the cities where the fleet touched in its passage, some brought garlands to adorn the urn, others sent men in funeral attire to assist in escorting it home and burying it. When the fleet put in at Corinth, the cinerary vase was conspicuous on the vessel's poop, adorned with royal purple and a king's diadem, and young men stood about it in arms as a bodyguard. Moreover, the most celebrated flute-player then living, Xenophantus, sat near, and with the

[1] From 386 to 383 B.C. [2] Cf. chapter xxxix. 3.

3 ζόμενος προσηύλει τῶν μελῶν τὸ ἱερώτατον· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀναφερομένης μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ τινος, ἀπήντα ψόφος, ὥσπερ ἐν κοπετῷ, ταῖς τῶν αὐλημάτων περιόδοις· τὸν δὲ πλεῖστον οἶκτον καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντίγονος τοῖς ἠθροισμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὀφθεὶς ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος παρέσχεν. ἐπενεχθεισῶν δὲ τιμῶν καὶ στεφάνων περὶ Κόρινθον εἰς Δημητριάδα κομίσας ἔθηκε τὰ λείψανα, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἐκείνου, συνοικισθεῖσαν ἐκ μικρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰωλκὸν πολιχνίων.

4 Ἀπέλιπε δὲ γενεὰν ὁ Δημήτριος Ἀντίγονον μὲν ἐκ Φίλας καὶ Στρατονίκην, δύο δὲ Δημητρίους, τὸν μὲν Λεπτόν, ἐξ Ἰλλυρίδος γυναικός, τὸν δὲ ἄρξαντα Κυρήνης ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος, ἐκ δὲ Δηϊδαμείας Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατεβίωσε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κόρραγον υἱὸν ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. κατέβη δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ βασιλεῦον εἰς Περσέα τελευταῖον, ἐφ' οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι Μακεδονίαν ὑπηγάγοντο.

Διηγωνισμένου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ δράματος ὥρα τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐπεισαγαγεῖν.

most solemn melody upon his flute accompanied the rowers; to this melody the oars kept perfect time, and their splashing, like funereal beatings of the breast, answered to the cadences of the flute-tones. But the most pity and lamentation among those who had come in throngs to the sea-shore was awakened by the sight of Antigonus himself, who was bowed down and in tears. After garlands and other honours had been bestowed upon the remains at Corinth, they were brought by Antigonus to Demetrias for burial, a city named after his father, who had settled it from the small villages about Iolcus.[1]

The children left by Demetrius were these: Antigonus and Stratonicé, by Phila; two named Demetrius, one who was surnamed the Thin, by a woman of Illyria, and one who ruled Cyrené, by Ptolemaïs; and, by Deïdameia, Alexander, who lived and died in Egypt. It is said also that he had a son named Corrhagus, by Eurydicé. His line came down in a succession of kings to Perseus, the last, in whose reign the Romans subdued Macedonia.

And now that the Macedonian play has been performed, let us introduce the Roman.

[1] Cf. chapter xxv. 2.

ANTONY

ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ

I. Ἀντωνίου πάππος μὲν ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ Ἀντώ-
νιος, ὃν τῆς Σύλλα γενόμενον στάσεως Μάριος
ἀπέκτεινε, πατὴρ δὲ ὁ Κρητικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς
Ἀντώνιος, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν εὐδόκιμος ἐν τοῖς
πολιτικοῖς ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ λαμπρός, εὐγνώμων δὲ καὶ
χρηστός, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταδόσεις
ἐλευθέριος, ὡς ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἄν τις ἔργου καταμάθοι.
2 κεκτημένος γὰρ οὐ πολλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ 916
φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρῆσθαι κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυ-
ναικός, ἐπεί τις ἀφίκετο τῶν συνήθων πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀργυρίου δεόμενος, ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, παι-
δαρίῳ δὲ προσέταξεν εἰς ἀργυροῦν σκύφον ὕδωρ
ἐμβαλόντι κομίσαι· καὶ κομίσαντος, ὡς ξύρεσθαι
3 μέλλων κατέβρεχε τὰ γένεια. τοῦ δὲ παιδαρίου
καθ᾽ ἑτέραν πρόφασιν ἐκποδὼν γενομένου, τὸν
μὲν σκύφον ἔδωκε τῷ φίλῳ χρῆσθαι κελεύσας,
ζητήσεως δὲ πολλῆς ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις οὔσης ὁρῶν
χαλεπαίνουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ βουλομένην καθ᾽
ἕκαστον ἐξετάζειν ὡμολόγησε, συγγνώμην ἔχειν
δεηθείς.

II. Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ Ἰουλία τοῦ Καισάρων
οἴκου, ταῖς ἀρίσταις τότε καὶ σωφρονεστάταις
ἐνάμιλλος. ὑπὸ ταύτης ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντώνιος ἐτράφη
μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Κορνηλίῳ Λέντλῳ

ANTONY

I. ANTONY's grandfather was the orator Antonius, who joined the party of Sulla and was put to death by Marius;[1] his father was Antonius surnamed Creticus, a man of no great repute in public life, nor illustrious, but kindly and honest, and particularly a liberal giver, as one may see from a single instance. He had not much property himself, and therefore was prevented by his wife from indulging his kindly feelings. When, accordingly, one of his intimates came to him with a request for money, money he had not, but he ordered a young slave to put water into a silver bowl and bring it to him, and when it was brought, he moistened his chin, as though about to shave. The slave was then sent away on another errand improvised for the occasion, whereupon Antonius gave the bowl to his friend and bade him dispose of it. Later, when a careful search was made for it among the slaves, seeing that his wife was angry and proposed to put them to the torture one by one, Antonius confessed what he had done, and by his entreaties gained her pardon.

II. His wife was Julia, of the house of the Caesars, and she could vie with the noblest and most discreet women of her time. By this mother her son Antony was reared, after the death of whose father she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero

[1] Cf. the *Marius*, xliv. 1–4.

γαμηθείσης, ὃν Κικέρων ἀπέκτεινε τῶν Κατιλίνα συνωμοτῶν γενόμενον. αὕτη δοκεῖ τῆς σφοδρᾶς ἔχθρας Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς Κικέρωνα πρόφασις
2 καὶ ἀρχὴ γενέσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν Ἀντώνιος οὐδὲ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθῆναι τοῦ Λέντλου πρότερον ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Κικέρωνος τὴν μητέρα δεηθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁμολογουμένως ψεῦδός ἐστιν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἴρχθη ταφῆς τῶν τότε
3 κολασθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος· Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ λαμπρῷ καθ' ὥραν γενομένῳ τὴν Κουρίωνος φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ὥσπερ τινὰ κῆρα προσπεσεῖν λέγουσιν, αὐτοῦ τε περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπαιδεύτου γενομένου, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὡς μᾶλλον εἴη χειροήθης, εἰς πότους καὶ γύναια καὶ δαπάνας πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἀκολάστους ἐμβάλλοντος. ἐξ ὧν ὄφλημα βαρὺ καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνήχθη
4 πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων. τοῦτο πᾶν ἐγγυησαμένου τοῦ Κουρίωνος ὁ πατὴρ αἰσθόμενος ἐξήλασε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δὲ βραχὺν μέν τινα χρόνον τῇ Κλωδίου τοῦ θρασυτάτου καὶ βδελυρωτάτου τῶν τότε δημαγωγῶν φορᾷ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ταραττούσῃ προσέμιξεν ἑαυτόν· ταχὺ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας μεστὸς γενόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τοὺς συνισταμένους ἐπὶ τὸν Κλώδιον, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διέτριβε τό τε σῶμα γυμνάζων πρὸς τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ λέγειν μελετῶν.
5 ἐχρῆτο δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ μὲν Ἀσιανῷ ζήλῳ τῶν λόγων, ἀνθοῦντι μάλιστα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἔχοντι δὲ πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ, κομπώδη καὶ φρυαγματίαν ὄντα καὶ κενοῦ γαυριάματος καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνωμάλου μεστόν.

put to death for joining the conspiracy of Catiline.[1] This would seem to have been the origin and ground of the violent hatred which Antony felt towards Cicero. At any rate, Antony says that not even the dead body of Lentulus was given up to them until his mother had begged it from the wife of Cicero. This, however, is admittedly false; for no one of those who were punished at that time by Cicero was deprived of burial. Antony gave brilliant promise in his youth, they say, until his intimate friendship with Curio fell upon him like a pest. For Curio himself was unrestrained in his pleasures, and in order to make Antony more manageable, engaged him in drinking bouts, and with women, and in immoderate and extravagant expenditures. This involved Antony in a heavy debt and one that was excessive for his years—a debt of two hundred and fifty talents.[2] For this whole sum Curio went surety, but his father heard of it and banished Antony from his house. Then Antony allied himself for a short time with Clodius, the most audacious and low-lived demagogue of his time, in the violent courses which were convulsing the state; but he soon became sated with that miscreant's madness, and fearing the party which was forming against him, left Italy for Greece, where he spent some time in military exercises and the study of oratory. He adopted what was called the Asiatic style of oratory, which was at the height of its popularity in those days and bore a strong resemblance to his own life, which was swashbuckling and boastful, full of empty exultation and distorted ambition.

[1] Cf. the *Cicero*, xxii.

[2] An equivalent, roughly, of £60,000, or $300,000, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Γαβίνιος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς εἰς Συρίαν πλέων ἀνέπειθεν αὐτὸν ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἰδιώτης μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη συνεξελθεῖν, ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἄρχων συνεστράτευε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ' Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίους ἀφιστάντα πεμφθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπέβη τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἐρυμάτων πρῶτος, ἐκεῖνον δὲ πάντων ἐξήλασεν· εἶτα μάχην συνάψας καὶ τρεψάμενος ὀλίγοις τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκείνου πολλαπλασίους ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀριστόβουλος ἥλω.

2 Μετὰ ταῦτα Γαβίνιον ἐπὶ μυρίοις ταλάντοις Πτολεμαίου πείθοντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἅμα συνεμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν, οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἠναντιοῦντο, καὶ Γαβίνιον δὲ ὄκνος τις εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου, καίπερ ἐξηνδραποδισμένον κομιδῇ τοῖς μυρίοις ταλάντοις, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ἐφιέμενος καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ χαριζόμενος δεομένῳ συνέπεισε μὲν καὶ συνεξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν τὸν
3 Γαβίνιον, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁδόν, ἅτε δὴ διὰ ψάμμου βαθείας καὶ ἀνύδρου παρὰ τὸ Ἔκρηγμα καὶ τὰ 917
τῆς Σερβωνίδος ἕλη γινομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πορείας, ἃς Τυφῶνος μὲν ἐκπνοὰς Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι, τῆς δ' ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὑπονόστησις εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ διήθησις, ᾗ βραχυτάτῳ διορίζεται πρὸς τὴν
4 ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἰσθμῷ, πεμφθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἱπ-

III. When Gabinius, a man of consular dignity, was sailing for Syria, he tried to persuade Antony to join the expedition. Antony refused to go out with him in a private capacity, but on being appointed commander of the horse, accompanied him on the campaign.[1] And first, having been sent against Aristobulus, who was bringing the Jews to a revolt,[2] he was himself the first man to mount the highest of the fortifications, and drove Aristobulus from all of them; then he joined battle with him, routed his many times more numerous forces with his own small band, and slew all but a few of them. Aristobulus himself was captured, together with his son.

After this, Ptolemy tried to persuade Gabinius by a bribe of ten thousand talents to join him in an invasion of Egypt and recover the kingdom for him.[3] But the greater part of the officers were opposed to the plan, and Gabinius himself felt a certain dread of the war, although he was completely captivated by the ten thousand talents. Antony, however, who was ambitious of great exploits and eager to gratify the request of Ptolemy, joined the king in persuading and inciting Gabinius to the expedition. But more than the war the march to Pelusium was feared, since their route lay through deep sand, where there was no water, as far as the Ecregma and the Serbonian marshes. These the Egyptians call the blasts of Typhon,[4] although they appear to be a residual arm of the Red Sea, helped by infiltration, where the isthmus between them and the Mediterranean is at its narrowest. Antony was therefore

[1] In 58 B.C. [2] Cf. the *Pompey*, xxxix. 2.

[3] Cf. the *Cato Minor*, xxxv.; the *Pompey*, xlix. 5 ff.

[4] The evil deity of the Egyptians, buried under the Serbonian marshes (Herodotus, iii. 5).

πέων ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐ μόνον τὰ στενὰ κατέσχεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ Πηλούσιον ἑλών, πόλιν μεγάλην, καὶ
τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρῶν κρατήσας, ἅμα καὶ τὴν
ὁδὸν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα
τῆς νίκης ἐποίησε τῷ στρατηγῷ βέβαιον. ἀπέ-
λαυσαν δὲ τῆς φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι.
Πτολεμαίου γὰρ ἅμα τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ Πηλού-
σιον ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ μίσους ὡρμημένου φονεύειν
5 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσεν. ἐν δὲ
ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῖς ἀγῶσι μεγάλοις καὶ συχνοῖς
γενομένοις πολλὰ καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ προνοίας
ἡγεμονικῆς ἀποδειξάμενος, ἐμφανέστατα δὲ τῷ
κυκλώσασθαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν κατόπιν τοὺς πολε-
μίους τὴν νίκην τοῖς κατὰ στόμα παρασχών,
ἀριστεῖα καὶ τιμὰς ἔλαβε πρεπούσας. οὐ διέ-
λαθε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐδὲ ἡ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον
6 αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότα φιλανθρωπία· γεγονὼς γὰρ
αὐτῷ συνήθης καὶ ξένος ἐπολέμει μὲν ἀναγκαίως
ζῶντι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πεσόντος ἐξευρὼν καὶ κοσμή-
σας βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἀλεξαν-
δρεῦσί τε πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ λόγον κατέλιπε, καὶ
Ῥωμαίων τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀνὴρ ἔδοξε λαμ-
πρότατος εἶναι.

IV. Προσῆν δὲ καὶ μορφῆς ἐλευθέριον ἀξίωμα, καὶ πώγων τις οὐκ ἀγεννὴς καὶ πλάτος μετώπου καὶ γρυπότης μυκτῆρος ἐδόκει τοῖς γραφομένοις καὶ πλαττομένοις Ἡρακλέους προσώποις ἐμφερὲς ἔχειν τὸ ἀρρενωπόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λόγος παλαιὸς

sent with the cavalry, and he not only occupied the narrow pass, but actually took Pelusium, a large city, and got its garrison into his power, thus rendering its march safer for the main army and giving its general assured hope of victory. And even the enemy reaped advantage from Antony's love of distinction. For Ptolemy, as soon as he entered Pelusium, was led by wrath and hatred to institute a massacre of the Egyptians; but Antony intervened and prevented him. Moreover, in the ensuing battles and contests, which were many and great, he displayed many deeds of daring and sagacious leadership, the most conspicuous of which was his rendering the van of the army victorious by outflanking the enemy and enveloping them from the rear. For all this he received rewards of valour and fitting honours. Nor did the multitude fail to observe his humane treatment of the dead Archelaüs,[1] for after waging war upon him of necessity while he was living, although he had been a comrade and friend, when he had fallen, Antony found his body and gave it royal adornment and burial. Thus he left among the people of Alexandria a very high reputation, and was thought by the Romans on the expedition to be a most illustrious man.

IV. He had also a noble dignity of form; and a shapely beard, a broad forehead, and an aquiline nose were thought to show the virile qualities peculiar to the portraits and statues of Heracles. Moreover, there was an ancient tradition that the

[1] The pretended son of Mithridates, who had married Berenicé, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, and queen of Egypt after the expulsion of her father. His death occurred in 55 B.C.

Ἡρακλείδας εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντωνίους, ἀπ' Ἄντωνος,
2 παιδὸς Ἡρακλέους, γεγονότας. καὶ τοῦτον ᾤετο τὸν λόγον τῇ τε μορφῇ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ τῇ στολῇ βεβαιοῦν. ἀεὶ γάρ, ὅτε μέλλοι πλείοσιν ὁρᾶσθαι, χιτῶνα εἰς μηρὸν ἔζωστο, καὶ μάχαιρα μεγάλη παρήρτητο, καὶ σάγος περιέκειτο τῶν στερεῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις φορτικὰ δοκοῦντα, μεγαλαυχία καὶ σκῶμμα καὶ κώθων ἐμφανὴς καὶ καθίσαι παρὰ τὸν ἐσθίοντα καὶ φαγεῖν ἐπιστάντα τραπέζῃ στρατιωτικῇ, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον εὐνοίας καὶ
3 πόθου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεποίει τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἦν δέ που καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς ἐδημαγώγει, συμπράττων τε τοῖς ἐρῶσι καὶ σκωπτόμενος οὐκ ἀηδῶς εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους ἔρωτας.

Ἡ δ' ἐλευθεριότης καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ὀλίγῃ χειρὶ μηδὲ φειδομένῃ χαρίζεσθαι στρατιώταις καὶ φίλοις ἀρχήν τε λαμπρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ ἰσχύειν αὐτῷ παρέσχε, καὶ μεγάλου γενομένου τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπῆρεν, ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνατρεπομένην. ἓν δέ τι τοῦ μεγαλοδώρου
4 παράδειγμα διηγήσομαι. τῶν φίλων τινὶ μυριάδας ἐκέλευσε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δοθῆναι· τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι δεκίης καλοῦσι. τοῦ δ' ἐπιτρόπου θαυμάσαντος καὶ ἵνα δείξῃ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ καταβαλόντος ἐν μέσῳ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἠρώτησε παριὼν ὅ τι δὴ τοῦτο εἴη. τοῦ δ' ἐπιτρόπου φήσαντος ὡς

Antonii were Heracleidae, being descendants of Anton, a son of Heracles. And this tradition Antony thought that he confirmed, both by the shape of his body, as has been said, and by his attire. For whenever he was going to be seen by many people, he always wore his tunic girt up to his thigh, a large sword hung at his side, and a heavy cloak enveloped him. However, even what others thought offensive, namely, his jesting and boastfulness, his drinking-horn in evidence, his sitting by a comrade who was eating, or his standing to eat at a soldier's table,—it is astonishing how much goodwill and affection for him all this produced in his soldiers. And somehow even his conduct in the field of love was not without its charm, nay, it actually won for him the favour of many; for he assisted them in their love affairs, and submitted pleasantly to their jests upon his own amours.

Further, his liberality, and his bestowal of favours upon friends and soldiers with no scant or sparing hand, laid a splendid foundation for his growing strength, and when he had become great, lifted his power to yet greater heights, although it was hindered by countless faults besides. One illustration of his lavish giving I will relate. To one of his friends he ordered that two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas should be given (a sum which the Romans call "decies"[1]). His steward was amazed, and in order to show Antony the magnitude of the sum, deposited the money in full view. Antony, passing by, asked what that was; and when

[1] That is *ten times* 100,000 sesterces, or 250,000 denarii. For the Roman denarius Plutarch regularly uses the nearly equivalent Greek drachma (which had about the value of the French franc).

ὃ κελεύσειε δοθῆναι, συμβαλὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν κακοή-
θειαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, "Ἐγὼ πλεῖον ᾤμην," ἔφη,
"τὸ δεκίης εἶναι· τοῦτο δὲ μικρόν ἐστιν· ὥστε
ἄλλο πρόσθες αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον."

V. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Ῥω-
μαίων πράγματα διέστη, τῶν μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῶν
Πομπηΐῳ παρόντι προσθεμένων, τῶν δὲ δημοτι-
κῶν Καίσαρα καλούντων ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐν τοῖς
ὅπλοις ὄντα, Κουρίων ὁ Ἀντωνίου φίλος ἐκ μετα-
βολῆς θεραπεύων τὰ Καίσαρος Ἀντώνιον προση-
γάγετο, καὶ μεγάλην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς
πολλοῖς ἔχων ἰσχύν, χρώμενος δὲ καὶ δαπάναις
ἀφειδῶς ἀφ' ὧν Καῖσαρ ἐχορήγει, δήμαρχον ἀπέ-
δειξε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, εἶτα τῶν ἐπ' οἰωνοῖς ἱερέων,
2 οὓς Αὔγουρας καλοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν 918
παρελθὼν οὐ μικρὸν ἦν ὄφελος τοῖς πολιτευο-
μένοις ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν Μαρ-
κέλλου τοῦ ὑπάτου Πομπηΐῳ τούς τε συνειλεγ-
μένους ἤδη στρατιώτας παρεγγυῶντος καὶ κατα-
λέγειν ἑτέρους διδόντος ἐμποδὼν ἔστη, διάταγμα
γράψας ὅπως ἡ μὲν ἠθροισμένη δύναμις εἰς
Συρίαν πλέῃ καὶ Βύβλῳ βοηθῇ πολεμοῦντι Πάρ-
θοις, οὓς δὲ Πομπήϊος καταλέγει, μὴ προσέχωσιν
3 αὐτῷ· δεύτερον δὲ τὰς Καίσαρος ἐπιστολὰς οὐ
προσιεμένων οὐδὲ ἐώντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τῶν
συγκλητικῶν, αὐτὸς ἰσχύων διὰ τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνέγνω,
καὶ πολλοὺς μετέστησε τῇ γνώμῃ, δίκαια καὶ
μέτρια Καίσαρος ἀξιοῦν ἀφ' ὧν ἔγραψε δόξαντος.
4 τέλος δὲ δυεῖν ἐρωτήσεων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων,

his steward told him it was the gift which he had ordered, he divined the man's malice and said: "I thought the decies was more; this is a trifle; therefore add as much more to it."

V. This, however, was at a later time. But when matters at Rome came to a crisis, the aristocratic party attaching itself to Pompey, who was in the city, and the popular party summoning Caesar from Gaul, where he was in arms, then Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides and was now favouring the cause of Caesar, brought Antony over to it. Curio had great influence with the multitude from his eloquence, and made lavish use of money supplied by Caesar, and so got Antony elected tribune of the people,[1] and afterwards one of the priests, called augurs, who observe the flight of birds. As soon as Antony entered upon his office he was of great assistance to those who were managing affairs in the interests of Caesar. In the first place, when Marcellus the consul proposed to put under Pompey's control the soldiers already collected, and to give him power to levy others, Antony opposed him by introducing a decree that the forces already assembled should sail for Syria and give aid to Bibulus, who was carrying on war with the Parthians, and that the troops which Pompey was then levying should not belong to him. In the second place, when the senate would not receive Caesar's letters nor allow them to be read, Antony, whose office gave him power, read them himself, and thereby changed the opinion of many, who judged from Caesar's letters that he was making only reasonable and just demands. And finally, when two questions were

[1] In 50 B.C.

τῆς μὲν εἰ δοκεῖ Πομπήϊον ἀφεῖναι τὰ στρατεύματα, τῆς δὲ εἰ Καίσαρα, καὶ Πομπήϊον μὲν ὀλίγων τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι, Καίσαρα δὲ πάντων παρ' ὀλίγους κελευόντων, ἀναστὰς Ἀντώνιος ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ καὶ Πομπήϊον ὁμοῦ καὶ Καίσαρα τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀφεῖναι. ταύτην ἐδέξαντο λαμπρῶς τὴν γνώμην ἅπαντες, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἠξίουν ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι. μὴ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, αὖθις ἑτέρας οἱ Καίσαρος φίλοι προὔτειναν ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι δοκούσας ἀξιώσεις, αἷς ὅ τε Κάτων ἀντέπιπτε καὶ Λέντλος ὑπατεύων ἐξέβαλε τῆς βουλῆς τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξιὼν ἐπηράσατο, λαβὼν δὲ θεράποντος ἐσθῆτα καὶ μισθωσάμενος μετὰ Κασσίου Κοΐντου ζεῦγος, ἐξώρμησε πρὸς Καίσαρα· καὶ κατεβόων εὐθὺς ὀφθέντες ὡς οὐδένα κόσμον ἔτι τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πραγμάτων ἐχόντων, ὅτε μηδὲ δημάρχοις παρρησίας μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἐλαύνεται καὶ κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ φθεγξάμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων.

VI. Ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐνέβαλε. διὸ καὶ Κικέρων ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς ἔγραψε τοῦ μὲν Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου τὴν Ἑλένην, τοῦ δ' ἐμφυλίου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀρχὴν
2 γενέσθαι, περιφανῶς ψευδόμενος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐχερὴς ἦν οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκπεσεῖν τῶν λογισμῶν Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ὥστε, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα πάλαι ἔγνωστο πράττειν, οὕτως ἂν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τὸν κατὰ

before the senate, one, whether Pompey should dismiss his forces, and the other, whether Caesar should do so, and only a few were for having Pompey lay down his arms, and all but a few were for having Caesar do so, then Antony rose and asked whether it was the opinion of the senate that Pompey and Caesar alike should lay down their arms and dismiss their forces. This proposal all accepted with alacrity, and with shouts of praise for Antony they demanded that the question be put to vote. But the consuls would not consent to this, and again the friends of Caesar put forward fresh demands which were thought to be reasonable. These Cato opposed, and Lentulus, in his capacity of consul, drove Antony from the senate. Antony went forth heaping many imprecations upon them, and putting on the dress of a slave, and hiring a car in company with Quintus Cassius, he set out to join Caesar. As soon as they came into Caesar's presence they cried loudly that everything was now at loose ends in Rome, since even tribunes of the people had no freedom of speech, but everyone who raised his voice in behalf of justice was persecuted and ran risk of his life.[1]

VI. Upon this, Caesar took his army and invaded Italy. Therefore Cicero, in his "Philippics," wrote that as Helen was the cause of the Trojan war, so Antony was the cause of the civil war.[2] But this is manifestly false. For Caius Caesar was not a pliable man, nor easily led by anger to act on impulse. Therefore, had he not long ago determined upon his course, he would not thus, on the spur of the moment,

[1] For the events narrated in this chapter, cf. also the *Pompey*, lviii. f.; the *Caesar*, xxx. f.

[2] *Phil.* ii. 22, 55: ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exitii fuit.

τῆς πατρίδος ἐξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον, ὅτι φαύλως
ἠμφιεσμένον εἶδεν Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κάσσιον ἐπὶ
3 ζεύγους μισθίου πεφευγότας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
ταῦτα πάλαι δεομένῳ προφάσεως σχῆμα καὶ
λόγον εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ πολέμου παρέσχεν. ἦγε δὲ
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἃ καὶ πρότερον
Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ πάλαι Κῦρον, ἔρως ἀπαρηγόρη-
τος ἀρχῆς καὶ περιμανὴς ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πρῶτον
εἶναι καὶ μέγιστον· ὧν τυχεῖν οὐκ ἦν μὴ Πομ-
πηΐου καταλυθέντος.
4 Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐπελθὼν ἐκράτησε τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ
Πομπήϊον ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν
Ἰβηρίᾳ Πομπηΐου δυνάμεις ἐπιστρέφειν ἔγνω
πρότερον, εἶτα οὕτως παρασκευασάμενος στόλον
ἐπὶ Πομπήϊον διαβαίνειν, Λεπίδῳ μὲν στρατη-
γοῦντι τὴν Ῥώμην, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ δημαρχοῦντι τὰ
5 στρατεύματα καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. ὁ δὲ
τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις εὐθὺς προσφιλὴς ἦν συγ-
γυμναζόμενος καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ
δωρούμενος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις
ἐπαχθής. καὶ γὰρ ἀδικουμένων ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας
ὠλιγώρει, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἠκροᾶτο τῶν ἐντυγ-
χανόντων καὶ κακῶς ἐπὶ γυναιξὶν ἀλλοτρίαις
6 ἤκουε. καὶ ὅλως τὴν Καίσαρος ἀρχήν, πάντα
μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννίδα δι' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον φανεῖσαν,
οἱ φίλοι διέβαλλον, ὧν Ἀντώνιος ἀπ' ἐξουσίας
μεγίστης ἁμαρτάνειν μέγιστα δόξας τὴν πλείστην
αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν.

VII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπανελθὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆς
Ἰβηρίας τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα παρεῖδεν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς
δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ἐνεργῷ καὶ ἀνδρείῳ καὶ ἡγεμο- 919

have made war upon his country, just because he saw that Antony, meanly clad, with Cassius, on a hired car, had come in flight to him; nay, this merely afforded a cloak and a specious reason for war to a man who had long wanted a pretext for it. And that which led him to war against all mankind, as it had led Alexander before him, and Cyrus of old, was an insatiable love of power and a mad desire to be first and greatest; this he could not achieve if Pompey were not put down.

And so he came up against Rome and got it into his power, and drove Pompey out of Italy; and determining first to turn his efforts against the forces of Pompey which were in Spain, and afterwards, when he had got ready a fleet, to cross the sea against Pompey himself, he entrusted Rome to Lepidus, who was praetor, and Italy and the troops to Antony, who was tribune of the people. Antony at once gained the favour of the soldiers by sharing their exercises, living with them for the most part, and making them presents as generously as he could; but to everybody else he was odious. For his easy disposition led him to neglect the wronged, he listened angrily to those who consulted him, and he was in ill repute for his relations with other men's wives. In a word, Caesar's power, which proved to be anything rather than a tyranny so far as his own course was concerned, was brought into odium by his friends; and of these Antony, who had the greatest power and was thought to be the greatest transgressor, incurred the most blame.

VII. However, when Caesar came back from Spain, he ignored the charges against Antony, and since in the war he found him energetic, brave, and a

νικῷ χρώμενος οὐδαμῇ διήμαρτεν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν μετ' ὀλίγων· ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου διαπεράσας τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπεμψεν ὀπίσω τὰ πλοῖα, Γαβινίῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐμβιβάζειν καὶ περαιοῦν
2 κατὰ τάχος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιστείλας. Γαβινίου δὲ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν χαλεπὸν ὄντα χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ καταδειλιάσαντος καὶ πεζῇ μακρὰν ὁδὸν περιάγοντος τὸν στρατόν, Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπειλημμένου πολεμίοις φοβηθεὶς Λίβωνα μὲν ἐφορμοῦντα τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀπεκρούσατο, πολλὰ τῶν λεπτῶν ἀκατίων ταῖς τριήρεσιν αὐτοῦ περιστήσας, ἐμβιβάσας δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἱππεῖς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δισμυρίους
3 ὁπλίτας ἀνήχθη. καὶ γενόμενος καταφανὴς τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν ἐκ τούτων κίνδυνον διέφυγε, λαμπροῦ νότου κῦμα μέγα καὶ κοίλην θάλατταν ταῖς τριήρεσιν αὐτῶν περιστήσαντος, ἐκφερόμενος δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς κρημνοὺς καὶ φάραγγας ἀγχιβαθεῖς οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτη-
4 ρίας εἶχεν. ἄφνω δὲ τοῦ κόλπου πολὺν ἐκπνεύσαντος λίβα, καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος διαχεομένου, μεταβαλόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ πλέων σοβαρῶς ὁρᾷ ναυαγίων περίπλεων τὸν αἰγιαλόν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐξέβαλε τὸ πνεῦμα τὰς διωκούσας αὐτὸν τριήρεις, καὶ διεφθάρησαν οὐκ ὀλίγαι· καὶ σωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἐκράτησεν Ἀντώνιος, καὶ Λίσσον εἷλε, καὶ μέγα Καίσαρι παρέσχε θάρσος ἐν καιρῷ μετὰ τηλικαύτης ἀφικόμενος δυνάμεως.

VIII. Πολλῶν δὲ γινομένων καὶ συνεχῶν ἀγώνων ἐν πᾶσι μὲν ἦν διαπρεπής, δὶς δὲ φεύγοντας προτροπάδην τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀπαντήσας ἀνέ-

capable leader, he made no mistake. Caesar himself, then, after crossing the Ionian sea from Brundisium with a few soldiers,[1] sent back his transports with orders to Gabinius and Antony to embark their forces and come with all speed into Macedonia. But Gabinius was afraid to make the voyage, which was difficult in the winter time, and started to lead his army a long way round by land. Antony, therefore, fearing for Caesar, who was hemmed in among numerous enemies, beat off Libo, who was blockading the harbour of Brundisium, by surrounding his galleys with a great number of small skiffs, and then, embarking eight hundred horsemen and twenty thousand legionaries, put to sea. Being discovered by the enemy and pursued, he escaped the danger from them, since a violent south wind brought a heavy swell and put their galleys in the trough of the sea; but he was carried with his own ships towards a precipitous and craggy shore, and had no hope of escape. Suddenly, however, there blew from the bay a strong south-west wind, and the swell began to run from the land out to sea, so that he was able to reverse his course, and, as he sailed gallantly along, he saw the shore covered with wrecks. For there the wind had cast up the galleys which were in pursuit of him, and many of them had been destroyed. Antony took many prisoners and much booty, captured Lissus, and inspired Caesar with great confidence by arriving in the nick of time with so large a force.

VIII. The struggles which followed were many and continuous, and in all of them Antony distinguished himself. Twice, when Caesar's men were

[1] Early in 48 B.C. Cf. the *Caesar*, xxxvii. 2.

στρεψε καὶ στῆναι καὶ συμβαλεῖν αὖθις τοῖς διώκουσιν ἀναγκάσας ἐνίκησεν. ἦν οὖν αὐτοῦ μετὰ
2 Καίσαρα πλεῖστος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λόγος· ἐδήλωσε δὲ Καῖσαρ ἣν ἔχοι περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔμελλε τὴν τελευταίαν καὶ τὰ ὅλα κρίνασαν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην μάχεσθαι, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αὐτὸς εἶχε κέρας, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἀντωνίῳ παρέδωκεν, ὡς πολεμικωτάτῳ τῶν ὑφ'
3 ἑαυτῷ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην δικτάτωρ ἀναγορευθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐδίωκε Πομπήϊον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ ἵππαρχον ἑλόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ δευτέρα τοῦ δικτάτορος παρόντος· ἂν δὲ μὴ παρῇ, πρώτη καὶ μόνη σχεδόν· ἡ γὰρ δημαρχία διαμένει, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας καταλύουσι πάσας δικτάτορος αἱρεθέντος.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε δημαρχῶν Δολοβέλλας, νέος ἀνὴρ καὶ νέων πραγμάτων ὀρεγόμενος, εἰσηγεῖτο χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτῷ τε φίλον ὄντα καὶ βουλόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν ἔπειθε συμπράττειν καὶ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ πολιτεύματος. Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Τρεβελλίου τἀναντία παρακαλούντων ὑπόνοια δεινὴ κατὰ τύχην τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσέπεσεν ὡς ἀδικουμένῳ περὶ τὸν
2 γάμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα βαρέως ἐνεγκὼν τήν τε γυναῖκα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξήλασεν ἀνεψιὰν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ (θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἦν Γαΐου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Κικέρωνι συνυπατεύσαντος), καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀσίνιον δεξάμενος ἐπολέμει τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. κατέλαβε γὰρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκεῖνος ὡς βίᾳ κυρώσων τὸν νόμον. Ἀντώνιος δέ, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ὅπλων δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν

in headlong flight, he met them, turned them back, forced them to stand and engage again their pursuers, and won the victory. Accordingly, next to Caesar, he was the man most talked about in the camp. And Caesar showed plainly what opinion he had of him. For when he was about to fight the last and all-decisive battle at Pharsalus, he himself took the right wing, but he gave the command of the left to Antony, as the most capable officer under him. And after the victory, when he had been proclaimed dictator, he himself pursued Pompey, but he chose Antony as his Master of Horse and sent him to Rome. This office is second in rank when the dictator is in the city; but when he is absent, it is the first and almost the only one. For only the tribuneship continues when a dictator has been chosen; all the other offices are abolished.

IX. However, Dolabella, who was tribune at this time—a newcomer in politics who aimed at a new order of things, introduced a law for the abolition of debts, and tried to persuade Antony, who was his friend and always sought to please the multitude, to take common action with him in the measure. But Asinius and Trebellius advised Antony to the contrary, and, as chance would have it, a dire suspicion fell upon him that he was wronged as a husband by Dolabella. Antony took the matter much to heart, drove his wife from his house (she was his cousin, being a daughter of the Caius Antonius who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship), made common cause with Asinius and Trebellius, and waged war upon Dolabella. For Dolabella had occupied the forum in order to force the passage of his law; so Antony, after the senate had voted that arms

Δολοβέλλαν, ἐπελθὼν καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἀπέκτεινέ τέ τινας τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέ-
3 *βαλε. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἀπηχθάνετο, τοῖς δὲ χρηστοῖς καὶ σώφροσι διὰ τὸν ἄλλον βίον οὐκ ἦν ἀρεστός, ὡς* Κικέρων *φησίν, ἀλλ' ἐμισεῖτο, βδελυττομένων αὐτοῦ μέθας ἀώρους καὶ δαπάνας ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ κυλινδήσεις ἐν γυναίοις,* 920 *καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ὕπνους καὶ περιπάτους ἀλύοντος καὶ κραιπαλῶντος, νύκτωρ δὲ κώμους καὶ θέατρα καὶ διατριβὰς ἐν γάμοις μίμων καὶ γελω-*
4 *τοποιῶν. λέγεται γοῦν, ὡς ἐν* Ἱππίου *ποτὲ τοῦ μίμου γάμοις ἑστιαθεὶς καὶ πιὼν διὰ νυκτός, εἶτα πρωῒ τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθὼν ἔτι τροφῆς μεστὸς ἐμέσειε, τῶν φίλων τινὸς ὑποσχόντος τὸ ἱμάτιον. ἦν δὲ καὶ* Σέργιος *ὁ μῖμος τῶν μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυναμένων, καὶ* Κυθηρὶς *ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς παλαίστρας γύναιον ἀγαπώμενον, ὃ δὴ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐν φορείῳ περιήγετο, καὶ τὸ φορεῖον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐ-*
5 *τοῦ περιέποντες ἠκολούθουν. ἐλύπουν δὲ καὶ χρυσῶν ἐκπωμάτων ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς ταῖς ἀποδημίαις διαφερομένων ὄψεις, καὶ στάσεις ἐνόδιοι σκηνῶν, καὶ πρὸς ἄλσεσι καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀρίστων πολυτελῶν διαθέσεις, καὶ λέοντες ἅρμασιν ὑπεζευγμένοι, καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν οἰκίαι χαμαιτύπαις καὶ σαμβυκιστρίαις ἐπισταθ-*
6 *μευόμεναι. δεινὸν γὰρ ἐποιοῦντο* Καίσαρα *μὲν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς* Ἰταλίας *θυραυλεῖν, τὰ περιόντα*

must be employed against Dolabella, came up against him, joined battle, slew some of his men, and lost some of his own. This course naturally made him odious to the multitude, and to men of worth and uprightness he was not acceptable because of his life in general, as Cicero says,[1] nay, he was hated by them. They loathed his ill-timed drunkenness, his heavy expenditures, his debauches with women, his spending the days in sleep or in wandering about with crazed and aching head, the nights in revelry or at shows, or in attendance at the nuptial feasts of mimes and jesters. We are told, at any rate, that he once feasted at the nuptials of Hippias the mime, drank all night, and then, early in the morning, when the people summoned him to the forum, came before them still surfeited with food and vomited into his toga, which one of his friends held at his service. Sergius the mime also was one of those who had the greatest influence with him, and Cytheris, a woman from the same school of acting, a great favourite, whom he took about with him in a litter on his visits to the cities, and her litter was followed by as many attendants as that of his mother. Moreover, people were vexed at the sight of golden beakers borne about on his excursions from the city as in sacred processions, at the pitching of tents when he travelled, at the laying out of costly repasts near groves and rivers, at chariots drawn by lions, and at the use of honest men and women's houses as quarters for harlots and psaltery-players. For it was thought a monstrous thing that, while Caesar himself was lodging under the skies outside of Italy

[1] The second *Philippic* pictures Antony's excesses.

τοῦ πολέμου μεγάλοις πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἀνακαθαιρόμενον, ἑτέρους δὲ δι' ἐκεῖνον τρυφᾶν τοῖς πολίταις ἐνυβρίζοντας.

X. Ταῦτα καὶ τὴν στάσιν αὐξῆσαι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς ὕβρεις δεινὰς καὶ πλεονεξίας ἀνεῖναι. διὸ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐπανελθὼν Δολοβέλλᾳ τε συγγνώμην ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ τρίτον αἱρεθεὶς ὕπατος οὐκ Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ Λέπιδον εἵλετο συνάρ-
2 χοντα. τὴν δὲ Πομπηΐου πωλουμένην οἰκίαν ὠνήσατο μὲν Ἀντώνιος, ἀπαιτούμενος δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ἠγανάκτει· καί φησιν αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ μετασχεῖν Καίσαρι τῆς εἰς Λιβύην στρατείας, ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις κατορθώμασιν οὐ τυχὼν ἀμοιβῆς. ἔοικε μέντοι τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀβελτερίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσωτίας ἀφελεῖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἀναισθήτως
3 τὰ πλημμελήματα δεξάμενος. ἀπαλλαγεὶς γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου γάμῳ προσέσχε, Φουλβίαν ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Κλωδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ συνοικήσασαν, οὐ ταλασίαν οὐδὲ οἰκουρίαν φρονοῦν γύναιον, οὐδὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου κρατεῖν ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν καὶ στρατηγοῦντος στρατηγεῖν βουλόμενον, ὥστε Κλεοπάτραν διδασκάλια Φουλβίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικοκρατίας ὀφείλειν, πάνυ χειροήθη καὶ πεπαιδαγωγημένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀκροᾶσθαι γυναικῶν παραλαβοῦσαν αὐτόν.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀκείνην ἐπειρᾶτο προσπαίζων καὶ μειρακιευόμενος ἱλαρωτέραν ποιεῖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· οἷον ὅτε, Καίσαρι πολλῶν ἀπαντώντων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ νίκην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξῆλθεν. εἶτα

and clearing away the remnants of the war at great toil and peril, his adherents, by virtue of his efforts, should revel in luxury and mock at their fellow citizens.

X. These things are also thought to have augmented the discord, and to have incited the soldiery to deeds of violence and rapacity. For this reason, too, when Caesar came back, he pardoned Dolabella, and, on being chosen consul for the third time, selected Lepidus as his colleague, and not Antony. The house of Pompey, when put up for sale, was bought by Antony; but when he was asked to pay the price for it, he was indignant. And he says himself that this was the reason why he did not go with Caesar on his African campaign, since he got no recompense for his previous successes. However, it would seem that Caesar cured him of most of his prodigality and folly by not allowing his errors to pass unnoticed. For Antony put away his reprehensible way of living, and turned his thoughts to marriage, taking to wife Fulvia, the widow of Clodius the demagogue. She was a woman who took no thought for spinning or housekeeping, nor would she deign to bear sway over a man of private station, but she wished to rule a ruler and command a commander. Therefore Cleopatra was indebted to Fulvia for teaching Antony to endure a woman's sway, since she took him over quite tamed, and schooled at the outset to obey women.

However, Antony tried, by sportive ways and youthful sallies, to make even Fulvia more light-hearted. For instance, when many were going out to meet Caesar after his victory in Spain, Antony himself went forth. Then, on a sudden, a report

ἄφνω φήμης εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμπεσούσης ὡς ἐπ-
ίασιν οἱ πολέμιοι Καίσαρος τεθνηκότος, ἀνέστρε-
ψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. λαβὼν δὲ θεράποντος ἐσθῆτα
νύκτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἦλθε, καὶ φήσας ἐπιστολὴν
Φουλβίᾳ παρ' Ἀντωνίου κομίζειν εἰσήχθη πρὸς
5 αὐτὴν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος. εἶτα ἡ μὲν ἐκπαθὴς οὖσα,
πρὶν ἢ τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν ἠρώτησεν εἰ ζῇ ὁ
Ἀντώνιος· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σιωπῇ προτείνας
ἀρξαμένην λύειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν περιβαλὼν
κατεφίλησε.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγα πολλῶν ὄντων ἕνεκα δείγ-
ματος ἐξενηνόχαμεν.

XI. Ἐκ δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐπανιόντι Καίσαρι πάντες
μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπήντων,
ἐτιμήθη δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐκπρεπῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. κομι-
ζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ ζεύγους διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἀντώ-
νιον εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συνοχούμενον, ὄπισθεν δὲ
Βροῦτον Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς υἱὸν
Ὀκταουϊανόν, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ὠνομάσθη 921
2 καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦρξε πλεῖστον χρόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ
πέμπτον ἀπεδείχθη Καῖσαρ ὕπατος, προσείλετο
μὲν εὐθὺς συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐβούλετο
δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπάμενος Δολοβέλλᾳ παρεγ-
γυῆσαι· καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξή-
νεγκεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ τραχέως ἀντιπεσόντος καὶ
πολλὰ μὲν εἰπόντος κακὰ Δολοβέλλαν, οὐκ
ἐλάττονα δὲ ἀκούσαντος, τότε μὲν αἰσχυνθεὶς τὴν
3 ἀκοσμίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπηλλάγη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
προελθὼν ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν Δολοβέλλαν, Ἀν-
τωνίου τοὺς οἰωνοὺς ἐναντιοῦσθαι βοῶντος, εἶξε
καὶ προήκατο Δολοβέλλαν ἀχθόμενον. ἐδόκει

burst upon Italy that Caesar was dead and his enemies advancing upon the country, and Antony turned back to Rome. He took the dress of a slave and came by night to his house, and on saying that he was the bearer of a letter to Fulvia from Antony, was admitted to her presence, his face all muffled. Then Fulvia, in great distress, before taking the letter, asked whether Antony was still alive; and he, after handing her the letter without a word, as she began to open and read it, threw his arms about her and kissed her.

These few details, then, out of many, I have adduced by way of illustration.

XI. When Caesar returned from Spain,[1] all the principal men went many days' journey to meet him, but it was Antony who was conspicuously honoured by him. For as he journeyed through Italy he had Antony in the same car with himself, but behind him Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, his niece's son, who was afterwards named Caesar and ruled Rome for a very long time. Moreover, when Caesar had for the fifth time been appointed consul, he immediately chose Antony as his colleague. It was his purpose also to resign his own office and make it over to Dolabella; and he proposed this to the senate. But since Antony vehemently opposed the plan, heaped much abuse upon Dolabella, and received as much in return, for the time being Caesar desisted, being ashamed of their unseemly conduct. And afterwards, when Caesar came before the people to proclaim Dolabella, Antony shouted that the omens were opposed. Caesar therefore yielded, and gave up Dolabella, who was much annoyed. And it

[1] In 45 B.C.

*δὲ κἀκεῖνον οὐδὲν ἧττον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βδελύτ-
τεσθαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς, ἀμφοτέρους τινὸς ὁμοῦ
διαβάλλοντος πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴποι, μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς
παχεῖς τούτους καὶ κομήτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὠχροὺς
καὶ λεπτοὺς ἐκείνους, Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον
ἀποδεικνύμενος,[1] ὑφ' ὧν ἔμελλεν ἐπιβουλευθεὶς
ἀναιρεῖσθαι.*

XII. *Κἀκείνοις δὲ τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην πρό-
φασιν ἄκων παρέσχεν Ἀντώνιος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ
τῶν Λυκαίων ἑορτὴ Ῥωμαίοις, ἣν Λουπερκάλια
καλοῦσι, Καῖσαρ δὲ κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι θριαμ-
βικῇ καὶ καθήμενος ὑπὲρ βήματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοὺς
διαθέοντας ἐθεᾶτο· διαθέουσι δὲ τῶν εὐγενῶν
νέοι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀληλιμμένοι
λίπα, σκύτεσι λασίοις καθικνούμενοι μετὰ παι-*
2 *διᾶς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων. ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἀντώνιος
διαθέων τὰ μὲν πάτρια χαίρειν εἴασε, διάδημα
δὲ δάφνης στεφάνῳ περιελίξας προσέδραμε τῷ
βήματι, καὶ συνεξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συνθεόντων
ἐπέθηκε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡς δὴ
βασιλεύειν αὐτῷ προσῆκον. ἐκείνου δὲ θρυπτο-
μένου καὶ διακλίνοντος ἡσθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἀνεκρό-*
3 *τησε· καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπῆγε, καὶ πάλιν
ἐκεῖνος ἀπετρίβετο. καὶ πολὺν χρόνον οὕτω
διαμαχομένων Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ὀλίγοι τῶν φίλων
βιαζομένῳ, Καίσαρι δὲ ἀρνουμένῳ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος
ἐπεκρότει μετὰ βοῆς· ὃ καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἦν, ὅτι
τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ τῶν βασιλευομένων ὑπομένοντες
τοὔνομα τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς κατάλυσιν τῆς ἐλευ-*

[1] **ἀποδεικνύμενος** Coraës and Sintenis, after the Aldine edition; Bekker omits, with the MSS. In the *Morals*, p. 206 F, Plutarch has **δείξας**.

would seem that Caesar abominated Dolabella also no less than he did Antony. For we are told that when a certain man was accusing both of them to him, he said he had no fear of those fat and long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale and thin ones, indicating Brutus and Cassius, by whom he was to be conspired against and slain.[1]

XII. And it was Antony who also unwittingly supplied the conspirators with their most specious pretext. For at the festival of the Lycaea, which the Romans call Lupercalia, Caesar, arrayed in a triumphal robe and seated in the forum upon the rostra, was viewing the runners to and fro. Now, the runners to and fro are many noble youths and many of the magistrates, anointed with oil, and with leathern thongs they strike in sport those whom they meet. Antony was one of these runners, but he gave the ancient usages the go-by, and twining a wreath of laurel round a diadem, he ran with it to the rostra, where he was lifted on high by his fellow runners and put it on the head of Caesar, thus intimating that he ought to be king. When Caesar with affected modesty declined the diadem, the people were delighted and clapped their hands. Again Antony tried to put the diadem on Caesar's head, and again Caesar pushed it away. This contest went on for some time, a few of Antony's friends applauding his efforts to force the diadem upon Caesar, but all the people applauding with loud cries when Caesar refused it. And this was strange, too, that while the people were willing to conduct themselves like the subjects of a king, they shunned the name of king as though it meant the abolition of

[1] Cf. the *Caesar*, lxii. 5; the *Brutus*, viii. 1.

4 θερίας ἔφευγον. ἀνέστη μὲν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀχθεσθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπάγων ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου τῷ βουλομένῳ παρέχειν τὴν σφαγὴν ἐβόα. τὸν δὲ στέφανον ἑνὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων αὐτοῦ περιτεθέντα δήμαρχοί τινες κατέσπασαν, οὓς ὁ δῆμος εὐφημῶν μετὰ κρότου παρείπετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν.

XIII. Ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἐπέρρωσε· καὶ τῶν φίλων τοὺς πιστοὺς καταλέγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐσκέπτοντο περὶ Ἀντωνίου. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων προσιεμένων τὸν ἄνδρα Τρεβώνιος ἀντεῖπεν· ἔφη γὰρ ὑφ' ὃν χρόνον ἀπήντων ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπανιόντι Καίσαρι, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συσκηνοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνοδεύοντος, ἅψασθαι τῆς γνώμης ἀτρέμα πως καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας, τὸν δὲ νοῆσαι μέν, οὐ δέξασθαι δὲ τὴν πεῖραν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατειπεῖν,
2 ἀλλὰ πιστῶς κατασιωπῆσαι τὸν λόγον. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἐβουλεύοντο Καίσαρα κτείναντες ἐπισφάττειν Ἀντώνιον· ἐκώλυσε δὲ Βροῦτος, ἀξιῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τολμωμένην πρᾶξιν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν ἀδικίας εἶναι. φοβούμενοι δὲ τήν τε ῥώμην τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα, τάττουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐνίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας, ὅπως, ὅταν εἰσίῃ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ μέλλῃ δρᾶσθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἔξω διαλεγόμενοί τι καὶ σπουδάζοντες κατέχωσιν αὐτόν.

their freedom. At last Caesar rose from the rostra in displeasure, and pulling back the toga from his throat cried out that any one who pleased might smite him there. The wreath, which had been hung upon one of his statues, certain tribunes of the people tore down. These men the people greeted with favouring cries and clapping of hands; but Caesar deprived them of their office.[1]

XIII. This incident strengthened the party of Brutus and Cassius; and when they were taking count of the friends whom they could trust for their enterprise, they raised a question about Antony. The rest were for making him one of them, but Trebonius opposed it. For, he said, while people were going out to meet Caesar on his return from Spain, Antony had travelled with him and shared his tent, and he had sounded him quietly and cautiously; Antony had understood him, he said, but had not responded to his advances; Antony had not, however, reported the conversation to Caesar, but had faithfully kept silence about it. Upon this, the conspirators again took counsel to kill Antony after they had slain Caesar; but Brutus prevented this, urging that the deed adventured in behalf of law and justice must be pure and free from injustice. But the conspirators were afraid of Antony's strength, and of the consideration which his office gave him, and therefore appointed some of their number to look out for him, in order that, when Caesar entered the senate-chamber and their deed was about to be done, they might engage Antony outside in conversation about some urgent matter and detain him there.

[1] Cf. the *Caesar*, chapter lxi.

XIV. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ὡς συνετέθη, καὶ πεσόντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εὐθὺς μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐσθῆτα θεράποντος μεταλαβὼν ἔκρυψεν αὐτόν. ὡς δ' ἔγνω τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιχειροῦντας μὲν οὐδενί, συνηθροισμένους δὲ εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἔπεισε καταβῆναι λαβόντας ὅμηρον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν· καὶ Κάσσιον μὲν αὐτὸς
2 ἐδείπνισε, Βροῦτον δὲ Λέπιδος. συναγαγὼν δὲ 922
βουλὴν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμνηστίας εἶπε καὶ διανομῆς ἐπαρχιῶν τοῖς περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐκύρωσε ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος γεγονότων ἐψηφίσαντο μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν. ἐξῄει δὲ τῆς βουλῆς λαμπρότατος ἀνθρώπων ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀνῃρηκέναι δοκῶν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καὶ πράγμασι δυσκολίας ἔχουσι καὶ ταραχὰς οὐ τὰς τυχούσας ἐμφρονέστατα κεχρῆσθαι καὶ πολιτικώτατα.

3 Τούτων μέντοι ταχὺ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐξέσεισεν αὐτὸν ἡ παρὰ τῶν ὄχλων δόξα, πρῶτον ἐλπίσαντα βεβαίως ἔσεσθαι Βρούτου καταλυθέντος. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν ἐκκομιζομένου Καίσαρος, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ διεξιὼν ἐγκώμιον· ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὑπερφυῶς ἀγόμενον καὶ κηλούμενον ἐνέμιξε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις οἶκτον ἅμα καὶ δείνωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τελευτῶντι[1] τούς τε χιτωνίσκους τοῦ τεθνηκότος ᾐμαγμένους καὶ διακεκομ-
4 μένους τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀνασείων, καὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους ταῦτα καλῶν παλαμναίους καὶ ἀνδροφόνους, τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὥστε τὸ

[1] τῷ λόγῳ τελευτῶντι Sintenis, after Bryan; τελευτῶν Bekker, with the MSS., bracketing τῷ λόγῳ; καὶ τῶν λόγων τελευτῶν Coraës; καὶ τῷ λόγῳ. Τελευτῶν τε τοὺς χιτωνίσκους κτλ. Stephanus.

XIV. This was done as planned, and Caesar fell in the senate-chamber. At once, then, Antony put on the dress of a slave and hid himself. But when he learned that the conspirators were laying hands upon nobody, but were merely assembled together on the Capitol, he persuaded them to come down by giving them his son as hostage; moreover, he himself entertained Cassius, and Lepidus entertained Brutus. Besides, he called the senate together and spoke in favour of amnesty and a distribution of provinces among Brutus and Cassius and their partisans, and the senate ratified this proposal, and voted that no change should be made in what Caesar had done.[1] So Antony went out of the senate the most illustrious of men; for he was thought to have put an end to civil war, and to have handled matters involving great difficulty and extraordinary confusion in a most prudent and statesmanlike manner.

From such considerations as these, however, he was soon shaken by the repute in which he stood with the multitude, and he had hopes that he would surely be first in the state if Brutus were overthrown. Now, it happened that when Caesar's body was carried forth for burial, Antony pronounced the customary eulogy over it in the forum. And when he saw that the people were mightily swayed and charmed by his words, he mingled with his praises sorrow and indignation over the dreadful deed, and at the close of his speech shook on high the garments of the dead, all bloody and tattered by the swords as they were, called those who had wrought such work villains and murderers, and inspired his hearers with

[1] Cf. the *Caesar*, lxvii. 4; the *Brutus*, xix. 3.

μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθαγίσαι, συνενεγκαμένους τὰ βάθρα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας, ἁρπάζοντας δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς δαλοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας θεῖν τῶν ἀπεκτονότων καὶ προσμάχεσθαι.

XV. Διὰ ταῦτα τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθόντων οἵ τε φίλοι τοῦ Καίσαρος συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἥ τε γυνὴ Καλπουρνία πιστεύσασα τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα κατέθετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, εἰς λόγον τὰ σύμπαντα τετρακισχιλίων ταλάντων.
2 ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐν οἷς ὑπομνήματα τῶν κεκριμένων καὶ δεδογμένων ἦν ἀναγεγραμμένα· καὶ τούτοις παρεγγράφων οὓς ἐβούλετο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυε, πολλοὺς δὲ βουλευτάς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ κατῆγε πεφυγαδευμένους καὶ καθειργμένους ἔλυεν, ὡς
3 δὴ ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι δόξαντα. διὸ τούτους ἅπαντας ἐπισκώπτοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Χαρωνίτας ἐκάλουν· ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ εἰς τοὺς τοῦ νεκροῦ κατέφευγον ὑπομνηματισμούς. καὶ τἆλλα δὲ ἔπραττεν αὐτοκρατορικῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπατεύων, τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἔχων συνάρχοντας, Γάϊον μὲν στρατηγόν, Λεύκιον δὲ δήμαρχον.

XVI. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ὁ νέος ἀφικνεῖται Καῖσαρ εἰς Ῥώμην, ἀδελφιδῆς μὲν ὢν τοῦ τεθνηκότος υἱός, ὡς εἴρηται, κληρονόμος δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπολελειμμένος, ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ δὲ διατρίβων ὑφ' ὃν χρόνον ἀνῄρητο Καῖσαρ. οὗτος εὐθὺς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς δὴ πατρῷον φίλον, ἀσπασάμενος τῶν παρακαταθηκῶν ἐμέμνητο. καὶ γὰρ ὤφειλε Ῥωμαίων ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς

such rage that they heaped together benches and tables and burned Caesar's body in the forum, and then, snatching the blazing faggots from the pyre, ran to the houses of the assassins and assaulted them.[1]

XV. On account of these things Brutus and his associates left the city, the friends of Caesar united in support of Antony, and Caesar's wife, Calpurnia, putting confidence in Antony, took most of the treasure from Caesar's house and put it in his charge; it amounted in all to four thousand talents. Antony received also the papers of Caesar, in which there were written memoranda of his decisions and decrees; and making insertions in these, he appointed many magistrates and many senators according to his own wishes. He also brought some men back from exile, and released others from prison, as though Caesar had decided upon all this. Wherefore the Romans in mockery called all such men Charonitae;[2] for when put to the test they appealed to the memoranda of the dead. And Antony managed everything else in autocratic fashion, being consul himself, and having his brothers in office at the same time, Caius as praetor, and Lucius as tribune of the people.

XVI. At this state of affairs the young Caesar came to Rome, a son of the dead Caesar's niece, as has been said,[3] who had been left heir to his property. He had been staying at Apollonia when Caesar was assassinated. The young man greeted Antony as his father's friend, and reminded him of the moneys deposited with him. For he was under obligation to

[1] Cf. the *Cicero*, xlii. 2 ff.; the *Brutus*, xx. 3.
[2] In Latin, Orcini, from Orcus, the god of the lower world, to whom the Greek Charon is made to correspond.
[3] Chapter xi. 1.

ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε δοῦναι, Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς
2 διαθήκαις γράψαντος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς μειρακίου καταφρονῶν ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρενῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ φίλων ἔρημον ὄντα φορτίον ἀβάστακτον αἴρεσθαι τὴν Καίσαρος διαδοχήν· μὴ πειθομένου δὲ τούτοις, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτοῦντος τὰ χρήματα, πολλὰ καὶ λέγων πρὸς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ πράττων διετέλει. δημαρχίαν τε γὰρ ἐνέστη μετιόντι, καὶ δίφρον χρυσοῦν τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο, τιθέντος ἠπείλησεν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπάξειν, εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο
3 δημαγωγῶν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι Κικέρωνι δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ὁ νεανίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐμίσουν, δι' ἐκείνων μὲν ᾠκειοῦτο τὴν βουλήν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικιῶν συνῆγε, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνῆλθεν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ διηλλάγησαν.

Εἶτα κοιμώμενος ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ὄψιν εἶδεν ἄτοπον ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν
4 χεῖρα βεβλῆσθαι κεραυνῷ. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐνέπεσε λόγος ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι Καῖσαρ 923
αὐτῷ. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μέν, οὐκ ἔπειθε δέ· καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐνεργὸς ἡ ἔχθρα, καὶ περιθέοντες ἀμφότεροι τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ μὲν ἱδρυμένον ἐν ταῖς κατοικίαις ἤδη τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ μεγάλοις ἀνίστασαν μισθοῖς, τὸ δ' ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτι τεταγμένον ὑποφθάνοντες ἀλλήλους προσήγοντο.

give every Roman seventy-five drachmas, according to the terms of Caesar's will. But Antony, at first despising him as a mere stripling, told him he was out of his senses, and that in his utter lack of good judgment and of friends he was taking up a crushing burden in the succession of Caesar. And when the young man refused to listen to this, and demanded the moneys, Antony kept saying and doing many things to insult him. For instance, he opposed him in his canvass for a tribuneship, and when he attempted to dedicate a golden chair in honour of his father by adoption, according to a decree of the senate, Antony threatened to hale him off to prison unless he stopped trying to win popular favour. When, however, the young man made common cause with Cicero and all the other haters of Antony, and with their aid won the support of the senate, while he himself got the goodwill of the people and assembled the soldiers of Caesar from their colonies, then Antony was struck with fear and came to a conference with him on the Capitol, and they were reconciled.

Afterwards, as he lay asleep that night, Antony had a strange vision. He thought, namely, that his right hand was smitten by a thunder-bolt. And after a few days a report fell upon his ears that the young Caesar was plotting against him. Caesar tried to make explanations, but did not succeed in convincing Antony. So once more their hatred was in full career, and both were hurrying about Italy trying to bring into the field by large pay that part of the soldiery which was already settled in their colonies, and to get the start of one another in winning the support of that part which was still arrayed in arms.

XVII. Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει Κικέρων μέγιστον δυνάμενος, καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, τέλος ἔπεισε τὴν βουλὴν ἐκεῖνον μὲν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι, Καίσαρι δὲ ῥαβδουχίαν πέμψαι καὶ στρατηγικὰ κόσμια, Πάνσαν δὲ καὶ Ἵρτιον ἀποστέλλειν ἐξελῶντας Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ὕπατοι τότε· καὶ συμβαλόντες Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ πόλιν Μυτίνην, Καίσαρος παρόντος καὶ συμμαχομένου, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἐνίκων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπέθανον.
2 φεύγοντι δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ πολλὰ συνέπιπτε τῶν ἀπόρων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἀπορώτατον. ἀλλὰ φύσει παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας ἐγίνετο βέλτιστος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δυστυχῶν ὁμοιότατος ἦν ἀγαθῷ, κοινοῦ μὲν ὄντος τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῖς δι' ἀπορίαν τινὰ σφαλλομένοις, οὐ μὴν ἁπάντων ἃ ζηλοῦσι μιμεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγειν ἃ δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐρρωμένων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνίων τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδιδόντων ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας καὶ
3 θραυομένων τὸν λογισμόν. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος τότε θαυμαστὸν ἦν παράδειγμα τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἀπὸ τρυφῆς τοσαύτης καὶ πολυτελείας ὕδωρ τε πίνων διεφθαρμένον εὐκόλως, καὶ καρποὺς ἀγρίους καὶ ῥίζας προσφερόμενος. ἐβρώθη δὲ καὶ φλοιός, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ ζῴων ἀγεύστων πρότερον ἥψαντο τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερβάλλοντες.

XVIII. Ἦν δὲ ὁρμὴ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα στρατεύμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ὧν Λέπιδος ἦρχε, φίλος εἶναι δοκῶν Ἀντωνίου καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Καίσαρος φιλίας ἀπολελαυκέναι δι' αὐτόν. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας πλησίον, ὡς οὐθὲν ἀπήντα

XVII. But Cicero, who was the most influential man in the city, and was trying to incite everybody against Antony, persuaded the senate to vote him a public enemy, to send to Caesar the fasces and other insignia of a praetor, and to dispatch Pansa and Hirtius to drive Antony out of Italy. These men were consuls at that time, and in an engagement with Antony near the city of Mutina, at which Octavius Caesar was present and fought on their side, they conquered the enemy, but fell themselves.[1] Many difficulties befell Antony in his flight, the greatest of which was famine. But it was his nature to rise to his highest level when in an evil plight, and he was most like a good and true man when he was unfortunate. For it is a common trait in those whom some difficulty has laid low, that they perceive plainly what virtue is, but all have not the strength amid reverses to imitate what they admire and shun what they hate, nay, some are then even more prone to yield to their habits through weakness, and to let their judgment be shattered. Antony, however, was at this time an amazing example to his soldiers, after such a life of luxury and extravagance as he had led drinking foul water contentedly and eating wild fruits and roots. Bark also was eaten, we are told, and animals never tasted before were food for them as they crossed the Alps.

XVIII. They were eager to fall in with the troops in those parts which Lepidus commanded, for he was thought to be a friend of Antony, and through him had reaped much advantage from Caesar's friendship. But when Antony came and encamped near by, he met with no tokens of friendliness, and therefore de-

[1] In 43 B.C. Cf. the *Cicero*, xlv. 3.

φιλάνθρωπον, ἔγνω παραβαλέσθαι. καὶ κόμη μὲν ἀτημελὴς καὶ βαθὺς πώγων μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν εὐθὺς ἦν αὐτῷ καθειμένος, λαβὼν δὲ φαιὸν ἱμάτιον ἐγγὺς προσῆγε τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Λεπίδου
2 καὶ λέγειν ἤρξατο. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐπικλωμένων καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀγομένων, δείσας ὁ Λέπιδος τὰς σάλπιγγας ἐκέλευσε συνηχούσας ἀφελέσθαι τὸ κατακούεσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται μᾶλλον ᾤκτειραν καὶ διελέγοντο κρύφα, Λαίλιον καὶ Κλώδιον ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐσθῆτας λαβόντας ἑταιρευομένων γυναικῶν, οἱ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκέλευον ἐπιχειρεῖν θαρροῦντα τῷ χάρακι· πολλοὺς γὰρ εἶναι δεξομένους[1] καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον, εἰ βούλοιτο, κτενοῦντας.
3 Ἀντώνιος δὲ Λεπίδου μὲν οὐκ εἴασεν ἅψασθαι, μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἀπεπειρᾶτο τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐμβὰς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ὄχθην, ὁρῶν ἤδη πολλοὺς τῶν Λεπίδου στρατιωτῶν τάς τε χεῖρας ὀρέγοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χάρακα διασπῶντας. εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ κρατήσας ἁπάντων ἡμερώτατα Λεπίδῳ προσηνέχθη. πατέρα γὰρ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν ἀσπασάμενος· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πάντων αὐτὸς ἦν κύριος, ἐκείνῳ δ' ὄνομα καὶ τιμὴν αὐτοκράτορος
4 διετέλει φυλάττων. τοῦτο καὶ Πλάγκον αὐτῷ Μουνάτιον ἐποίησε προσθέσθαι, καθήμενον οὐ πρόσω μετὰ συχνῆς δυνάμεως. οὕτω δὲ μέγας ἀρθεὶς αὖθις ὑπερέβαλε τὰς Ἄλπεις, εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄγων ἑπτακαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μυρίους ἱππεῖς· χωρὶς δὲ φρουρὰν Γαλατίας

[1] τοὺς δεξομένους Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: δεξομένους with the MSS.

termined upon a bold stroke. His hair was unkempt, and his beard had been allowed to grow long ever since his defeat, and putting on a dark garment he came up to the camp of Lepidus and began to speak. Many of the soldiers were melted at his appearance and moved by his words, so that Lepidus was alarmed and ordered the trumpets to sound all at once in order to prevent Antony from being heard. But the soldiers felt all the more pity for Antony, and held a secret parley with him, sending Laelius and Clodius to him in the garb of women of the camp. These urged Antony to attack their camp boldly; for there were many, they said, who would welcome him and kill Lepidus, if he wished. But Antony would not permit them to lay hands on Lepidus, and next day began to cross the river with his army. He himself was first to plunge in, and made his way towards the opposite bank, seeing already that many of the soldiers of Lepidus were stretching out their hands to him and tearing down their ramparts. After entering the camp and making himself master of everything, he treated Lepidus with the greatest kindness. Indeed, he embraced him and called him father; and though in fact he was in full control himself, still he did not cease to preserve for Lepidus the name and the honour of imperator. This induced Munacius Plancus also to join him, who was encamped at no great distance with a considerable force. Thus raised again to great power, he crossed the Alps and led into Italy with him seventeen legions of infantry and ten thousand horse. And besides these, he left to

ἓξ τάγματα λελοίπει μετὰ Οὐαρίου τινὸς τῶν
συνήθων καὶ συμποτῶν, ὃν Κοτύλωνα προσ-
ηγόρευον.

XIX. Καῖσαρ δὲ Κικέρωνι μὲν οὐκέτι προσεῖχε,
τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὁρῶν περιεχόμενον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ
προὐκαλεῖτο διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς διαλύσεις. καὶ 924
συνελθόντες οἱ τρεῖς εἰς νησῖδα ποταμῷ περιρρεο-
μένην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συνήδρευσαν. καὶ τἆλλα
μὲν ἐπιεικῶς ὡμολογεῖτο, καὶ διενείμαντο τὴν
σύμπασαν ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ οὐσίαν πατρῴαν ἀλλή-
λοις, ἡ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπολουμένων ἀνδρῶν
ἀμφισβήτησις αὐτοῖς πλεῖστα πράγματα παρέ-
σχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἀνελεῖν ἑκάστου, σῶσαι
2 δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἀξιοῦντος. τέλος δὲ τῇ
πρὸς τοὺς μισουμένους ὀργῇ καὶ συγγενῶν τιμὴν
καὶ φίλων εὔνοιαν προέμενοι, Κικέρωνος μὲν
Ἀντωνίῳ Καῖσαρ ἐξέστη, τούτῳ δὲ Ἀντώνιος
Λευκίου Καίσαρος, ὃς ἦν θεῖος αὐτῷ πρὸς μητρός·
ἐδόθη δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ Παῦλον ἀνελεῖν τὸν
ἀδελφόν· οἱ δέ φασιν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τὸν
Λέπιδον ἐκείνοις ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν αἰτησαμένοις.
3 οὐδὲν ὠμότερον οὐδὲ ἀγριώτερον τῆς διαμείψεως
ταύτης δοκῶ γενέσθαι. φόνων γὰρ ἀντικαταλ-
λασσόμενοι φόνους ὁμοίως μὲν οἷς ἐλάμβανον
ἀνῄρουν οὓς ἐδίδοσαν, ἀδικώτεροι δὲ περὶ τοὺς
φίλους ἦσαν, οὓς ἀπεκτίννυσαν μηδὲ μισοῦντες.

XX. Ἐπὶ δ' οὖν ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ταύταις οἱ
στρατιῶται περιστάντες ἠξίουν καὶ γάμῳ τινὶ

guard Gaul six legions with Varius, one of his intimates and boon companions, who was surnamed Cotylon.

XIX. Now, Octavius Caesar no longer held with Cicero, because he saw that Cicero was devoted to liberty, and he sent his friends to Antony with an invitation to come to terms. So the three men came together on a small island in the midst of a river,[1] and there held conference for three days. All other matters were easily agreed upon, and they divided up the whole empire among themselves as though it were an ancestral inheritance; but the dispute about the men who were to be put to death gave them the greatest trouble. Each demanded the privilege of slaying his enemies and saving his kinsmen. But at last their wrath against those whom they hated led them to abandon both the honour due to their kinsmen and the goodwill due to their friends, and Caesar gave up Cicero to Antony, while Antony gave up to him Lucius Caesar, who was Antony's uncle on the mother's side. Lepidus also was permitted to put to death Paulus his brother; although some say that Lepidus gave up Paulus to Antony and Caesar, who demanded his death. Nothing, in my opinion, could be more savage or cruel than this exchange. For by this barter of murder for murder they put to death those whom they surrendered just as truly as those whom they seized; but their injustice was greater towards their friends, whom they slew without so much as hating them.

XX. To complete this reconciliation, then, the soldiers surrounded them and demanded that Caesar

[1] Cf. the *Cicero*, xlvi. 3.

τὴν φιλίαν συνάψαι Καίσαρα, λαβόντα τὴν Φουλβίας τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικὸς θυγατέρα Κλωδίαν. ὁμολογηθέντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τριακόσιοι μὲν ἐκ προγραφῆς ἐθανατώθησαν ὑπ'
2 αὐτῶν· Κικέρωνος δὲ σφαγέντος ἐκέλευσεν Ἀντώνιος τήν τε κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν, ᾗ τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ἔγραψε. καὶ κομισθέντων ἐθεᾶτο γεγηθὼς καὶ ἀνακαγχάζων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς πολλάκις· εἶτα ἐμπλησθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βήματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τεθῆναι, καθάπερ εἰς τὸν νεκρὸν ὑβρίζων, οὐχ αὑτὸν ἐνυβρίζοντα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ καταισχύνοντα τὴν
3 ἐξουσίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος. ὁ δὲ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ ζητούμενος καὶ διωκόμενος κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφήν. ἡ δέ, τῶν σφαγέων ἐπιστάντων καὶ βιαζομένων εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτῆς, ἐν ταῖς θύραις στᾶσα καὶ διασχοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας ἐβόα πολλάκις· "Οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε Καίσαρα Λεύκιον, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε τὴν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τεκοῦσαν." ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη γενομένη διέκλεψε καὶ διέσωσε τὸν ἀδελφόν.

XXI. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαχθὴς ἡ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχή· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῆς αἰτίας εἶχε, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὢν Καίσαρος, Λεπίδου δὲ δυνατώτερος, εἰς δὲ τὸν βίον ἐκεῖνον αὖθις τὸν ἡδυπαθῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ὡς πρῶτον
2 ἀνεχαίτισε τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐκκεχυμένος. προσῆν δὲ τῇ κοινῇ κακοδοξίᾳ τὸ διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ μικρὸν μῖσος, ἣν ᾤκει, Πομπηΐου τοῦ Μεγάλου γενομένην, ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ἧττον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τῷ τεταγμένως καὶ δημοτικῶς διαιτᾶσθαι θαυ-

should also cement the friendship by a marriage, and should take to wife Clodia, a daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia. After this also had been agreed upon, three hundred men were proscribed and put to death by them; moreover, after Cicero had been butchered, Antony ordered his head to be cut off, and that right hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against him.[1] When they were brought to him, he gazed upon them exultantly, laughing aloud for joy many times; then, when he was sated, he ordered them to be placed on the rostra in the forum, just as though he were putting insult upon the dead, and not rather making a display of his own insolence in good fortune and abuse of power. His uncle, Lucius Caesar, being sought for and pursued, took refuge with his sister. She, when the executioners were at hand and trying to force their way into her chamber, stood in the doorway, spread out her arms, and cried repeatedly: "Ye shall not slay Lucius Caesar unless ye first slay me, the mother of your imperator." By such behaviour, then, she got her brother out of the way and saved his life.

XXI. Now, for the most part, the government of the triumvirate was odious to the Romans; and Antony bore most of the blame, since he was older than Caesar, more powerful than Lepidus, and threw himself once more into his old life of pleasure and dissipation as soon as he had shaken off some of his troubles. And to his general ill-repute there was added the great hatred caused by the house in which he dwelt. It had been that of Pompey the Great, a man no less admired for sobriety and for the orderly and democratic disposition of his life than because of

[1] Cf. the *Cicero*, xlviii. 4.

μασθέντος ἢ διὰ τοὺς τρεῖς θριάμβους. ἤχθοντο
γὰρ ὁρῶντες αὐτὴν τὰ πολλὰ κεκλεισμένην μὲν
ἡγεμόσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ πρέσβεσιν, ὠθου-
μένοις πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν, μεστὴν δὲ
μίμων καὶ θαυματοποιῶν καὶ κολάκων κραιπα-
λώντων, εἰς οὓς τὰ πλεῖστα κατανηλίσκετο τῶν
χρημάτων τῷ βιαιοτάτῳ καὶ χαλεπωτάτῳ τρόπῳ
3 ποριζομένων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπώλουν οὐσίας τῶν
φονευομένων, ἐπισυκοφαντοῦντες οἰκείους καὶ
γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τελῶν πᾶν ἐκίνησαν γένος,
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς Ἑστιάσι πυθόμενοι παρ-
θένοις παρακαταθήκας τινὰς κεῖσθαι καὶ ξένων
4 καὶ πολιτῶν ἔλαβον ἐπελθόντες. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν
ἱκανὸν Ἀντωνίῳ, Καῖσαρ ἠξίωσε νείμασθαι τὰ
χρήματα πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐνείμαντο δὲ καὶ τὸν
στρατόν, ἐπὶ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον εἰς Μακε- 925
δονίαν στρατεύοντες ἀμφότεροι, Λεπίδῳ δὲ τὴν
Ῥώμην ἐπέτρεψαν.

XXII. Ὡς μέντοι διαβάντες ἥψαντο πολέμου
καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, Ἀντωνί-
ου μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένου Κασσίῳ, Βρούτῳ δὲ Καί-
σαρος, οὐθὲν ἔργον ἐφάνη μέγα τοῦ Καίσαρος,
ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιος ἦν ὁ νικῶν πάντα καὶ κατορθῶν.
2 τῇ μέν γε προτέρᾳ μάχῃ Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ Βρούτου
κατὰ κράτος ἡττηθεὶς ἀπέβαλε τὸ στρατόπεδον,
καὶ μικρὸν ἔφθη τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπεκφυγών· ὡς
δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφε, τῶν φίλων
τινὸς ὄναρ ἰδόντος ἀνεχώρησε πρὸ τῆς μάχης.
3 Ἀντώνιος δὲ Κάσσιον ἐνίκησε· καίτοι γεγράφασιν
ἔνιοι μὴ παραγενέσθαι τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον,
ἀλλὰ προσγενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἤδη διώ-

his three triumphs. Men were distressed, therefore, to see the house closed for the most part against commanders, magistrates, and ambassadors, who were thrust with insolence from its doors, and filled instead with mimes, jugglers, and drunken flatterers, on whom were squandered the greater part of the moneys got in the most violent and cruel manner. For the triumvirate not only sold the properties of those whom they slew, bringing false charges against their wives and kindred, while they set on foot every kind of taxation, but learning that there were deposits with the Vestal Virgins made by both strangers and citizens, they went and took them. And since nothing was sufficient for Antony, Caesar demanded to share the moneys with him. They shared the army also, and both led their forces into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius, entrusting Rome to Lepidus.

XXII. However, after they had crossed the sea, taken up war, and encamped near the enemy, Antony being opposed to Cassius, and Caesar to Brutus, no great achievements were performed by Caesar, but it was Antony who was everywhere victorious and successful. In the first battle, at least, Caesar was overwhelmingly defeated by Brutus, lost his camp, and narrowly escaped his pursuers by secret flight; although he himself says in his Memoirs that he withdrew before the battle in consequence of a friend's dream. But Antony conquered Cassius; although some write that Antony was not present in the battle, but came up after the battle when his

κουσι. Κάσσιον δὲ Πίνδαρος τῶν πιστῶν τις ἀπελευθέρων αὐτοῦ δεομένου καὶ κελεύοντος ἔσφαξεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω νενικηκότα Βροῦτον.
4 ὀλίγων δὲ ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων πάλιν ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ Βροῦτος μὲν ἡττηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνεῖλεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῆς νίκης ἠνέγκατο τῇ δόξῃ τὸ πλεῖστον, ἅτε δὴ καὶ νοσοῦντος τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἐπιστὰς δὲ τῷ Βρούτου νεκρῷ μικρὰ μὲν ὠνείδισεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαΐου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τελευτῆς (ἀνῃρήκει γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ὁ Βροῦτος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Κικέρωνι τιμωρῶν), φήσας δὲ μᾶλλον Ὁρτήσιον ἢ Βροῦτον αἰτιᾶσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σφαγῆς Ὁρτήσιον μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπισφάξαι τῷ μνήματι, Βρούτῳ δὲ τὴν αὑτοῦ φοινικίδα πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀξίαν οὖσαν ἐπέρριψε, καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξε τῆς ταφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι. τοῦτον ὕστερον γνοὺς οὐ συγκατακαύσαντα τὴν φοινικίδα τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πολλὰ τῆς εἰς τὴν ταφὴν δαπάνης ὑφῃρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν.

XXIII. Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκομίζετο, δοκῶν οὐ περιέσεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας, Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὰς πρὸς ἕω πάσας ἐπαρχίας ἀργυρολογήσων διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων· ὑπεσχημένοι γὰρ ἑκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας ἐδέοντο συντονωτέρου χρηματισμοῦ καὶ δασμολογίας.
2 τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἄτοπος οὐδὲ φορτικὸς συνηνέχθη τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παῖζον αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀκροάσεις φιλολόγων καὶ θέας ἀγώνων καὶ μυήσεις ἔτρεπε, καὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἦν ἐπιεικής, καὶ φιλέλλην ἀκούων ἔχαιρεν, ἔτι δὲ

men were already in pursuit. Cassius, at his own request and command, was killed by Pindar, one of his trusty freedmen; for Cassius was not aware that Brutus was victorious. After a few days had intervened, a second battle was fought, and Brutus, being defeated, slew himself; but Antony won the greater credit for the victory, since, indeed, Caesar was sick. And as he stood beside the dead body of Brutus, Antony chided him a little for the death of his brother Caius, whom Brutus had executed in Macedonia to avenge Cicero, and declaring that Hortensius was more to blame than Brutus for his brother's murder, he ordered Hortensius to be slaughtered on his brother's tomb; but over Brutus he cast his own purple cloak, which was of great value, and ordered one of his own freedmen to see to the burial of the body. And learning afterwards that this fellow had not burned the purple cloak with the body of Brutus, and had purloined much of what had been devoted to the burial, he put him to death.

XXIII. After this, Caesar repaired to Rome, since it was thought that he would not live long in consequence of his illness; but Antony, that he might levy money in all the eastern provinces, made his way into Greece with a large army; for since the triumvirate had promised every one of their soldiers five hundred drachmas, they required a more vigorous policy in raising money and collecting tributes. Toward the Greeks, then, Antony conducted himself without rudeness or offence, at least in the beginning, nay, he indulged his fondness for amusement by listening to literary discussions and by witnessing games and religious rites. In his judicial decisions also he was reasonable, and delighted to be called a

μᾶλλον φιλαθήναιος προσαγορευόμενος, καὶ τῇ
3 *πόλει πλείστας δωρεὰς ἔδωκε. βουλομένων δέ τι καὶ* Μεγαρέων *καλὸν ἀντεπιδείξασθαι ταῖς* Ἀθήναις *καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιωσάντων ἀναβὰς καὶ θεασάμενος, ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο τί δοκοίη,* "Μικρὸν *μέν,*" *ἔφη,* "*σαπρὸν δέ.*" *καὶ τὸν τοῦ* Πυθίου *νεὼν κατεμέτρησεν ὡς συντελέσων· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπέσχετο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον.*

XXIV. Ἐπεὶ *δὲ* Λεύκιον Κηνσωρῖνον *ἐπὶ τῆς* Ἑλλάδος *καταλιπὼν εἰς* Ἀσίαν *διέβη καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πλούτων ἥψατο, καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ θύρας ἐφοίτων καὶ βασιλέων γυναῖκες ἁμιλλώμεναι δωρεαῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ κάλλεσιν ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐν* Ῥώμῃ *δὲ* Καίσαρος *στάσεσι καὶ πολέμοις ἀποτρυχομένου πολλὴν αὐτὸς ἄγων σχολὴν καὶ εἰρήνην ἀνεκυκλεῖτο τοῖς πάθεσιν εἰς τὸν*
2 *συνήθη βίον,* Ἀναξήνορες *δὲ κιθαρῳδοὶ καὶ* Ξοῦθοι *χοραῦλαι καὶ* Μητρόδωρός *τις ὀρχηστὴς καὶ τοιοῦτος ἄλλος* Ἀσιανῶν *ἀκροαμάτων θίασος, ὑπερβαλλομένων λαμυρίᾳ καὶ βωμολοχίᾳ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς* Ἰταλίας *κῆρας, εἰσερρύη καὶ διῴκει τὴν αὐλήν, οὐδὲν ἦν ἀνεκτόν, εἰς ταῦτα φορουμένων*
3 *ἁπάντων. ἡ γὰρ* Ἀσία *πᾶσα, καθάπερ ἡ* Σοφόκλειος *ἐκείνη πόλις, ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων ἔγεμεν,* 926

ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων.

εἰς γοῦν Ἔφεσον *εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς* Βάκχας, *ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς* Σατύρους *καὶ*

Philhellene, and still more to be addressed as Philathenian, and he gave the city very many gifts. But when the Megarians wished to show him something fine to rival Athens, and thought that he ought to see their senate-house, he went up and took a view of it; and when they asked him what he thought of it, "It is small," he said, "but rotten." He also had measurements taken of the temple of Pythian Apollo, with the purpose of completing it; indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

XXIV. But presently he left Lucius Censorinus in charge of Greece, and crossing over into Asia[1] laid hands on the wealth that was there. Kings would come often to his doors, and wives of kings, vying with one another in their gifts and their beauty, would yield up their honour for his pleasure; and while at Rome Caesar was wearing himself out in civil strifes and wars, Antony himself was enjoying abundant peace and leisure, and was swept back by his passions into his wonted mode of life. Lute-players like Anaxenor, flute-players like Xanthus, one Metrodorus, a dancer, and such other rabble of Asiatic performers, who surpassed in impudence and effrontery the pests from Italy, poured like a flood into his quarters and held sway there. It was past all endurance that everything was devoted to these extravagances. For all Asia, like the famous city of Sophocles,[2] "was filled alike with incense-offerings,

Alike with paeans, too, and voice of heavy groans."

At any rate, when Antony made his entry into Ephesus, women arrayed like Bacchus, and men and

[1] In 41 B.C. [2] Thebes, in the *Oedipus Rex*, 4.

Πᾶνας ἡγοῦντο διεσκευασμένοι, κιττοῦ δὲ καὶ θύρ-
σων καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἡ
πόλις ἦν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων
4 χαριδότην καὶ μειλίχιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος
ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὠμηστὴς καὶ ἀγριώνιος.
ἀφῃρεῖτο γὰρ εὐγενεῖς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὄντα μαστι-
γίαις καὶ κόλαξι χαριζόμενος. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ
ζώντων ὡς τεθνηκότων αἰτησάμενοί τινες οὐσίας
ἔλαβον. ἀνδρὸς δὲ Μάγνητος οἶκον ἐδωρήσατο
μαγείρῳ περὶ ἕν, ὡς λέγεται, δεῖπνον εὐδοκιμή-
5 σαντι. τέλος δέ, ταῖς πόλεσι δεύτερον ἐπιβάλ-
λοντος φόρον, ἐτόλμησεν Ὑβρέας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας
λέγων εἰπεῖν ἀγοραίως μὲν ἐκεῖνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν
Ἀντωνίου ζῆλον οὐκ ἀηδῶς, "Εἰ δύνασαι δὶς
λαβεῖν ἑνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ φόρον, δύνασαι καὶ δὶς ἡμῖν
ποιήσασθαι θέρος καὶ δὶς ὀπώραν," πρακτικῶς δὲ
καὶ παραβόλως συναγαγὼν ὅτι μυριάδας εἴκοσι
ταλάντων ἡ Ἀσία δέδωκε, "ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "εἰ
μὲν οὐκ εἴληφας, ἀπαίτει παρὰ τῶν λαβόντων· εἰ
6 δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἔχεις, ἀπολώλαμεν." ἐτρέψατο
τούτῳ δεινῶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ἠγνόει γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ
τῶν γιγνομένων, οὐχ οὕτω ῥᾴθυμος ὤν, ὡς δι'
ἁπλότητα πιστεύων τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν.

Ἐνῆν γὰρ ἁπλότης τῷ ἤθει καὶ βραδεῖα μὲν
αἴσθησις, αἰσθανομένῳ δὲ τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων
ἰσχυρὰ μετάνοια καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξομολόγησις
τοὺς ἀγνωμονηθέντας, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς

boys like Satyrs and Pans, led the way before him, and the city was full of ivy and thyrsus-wands and harps and pipes and flutes, the people hailing him as Dionysus Giver of Joy and Beneficent. For he was such, undoubtedly, to some; but to the greater part he was Dionysus Carnivorous and Savage. For he took their property from well-born men and bestowed it on flatterers and scoundrels. From many, too, who were actually alive, men got their property by asking him for it on the plea that the owners were dead. The house of a man of Magnesia he gave to a cook, who, as we are told, had won reputation by a single supper. But finally, when he was imposing a second contribution on the cities, Hybreas, speaking in behalf of Asia, plucked up courage to say this: "If thou canst take a contribution twice in one year, thou hast power also to make summer for us twice, and harvest-time twice." These words were rhetorical, it is true, and not unpleasant for the high spirit of Antony; but the speaker added in plain and bold words that Asia had given him two hundred thousand talents; "If," said he, "thou hast not received this money, demand it from those who took it; but if thou didst receive it, and hast it not, we are undone." This speech made a powerful impression upon Antony; for he was ignorant of most that was going on, not so much because he was of an easy disposition, as because he was simple enough to trust those about him.

For there was simplicity in his nature, and slowness of perception, though when he did perceive his errors he showed keen repentance, and made full acknowledgement to the very men who had been unfairly dealt with, and there was largeness both in

ἀμοιβὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας. μᾶλλόν γε μὴν ἐδόκει χαριζόμενος ἢ κολάζων ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ μέτριον.
7 ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπισκώψεις ὕβρις ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φάρμακον εἶχεν. ἀντισκῶψαι γὰρ ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνθυβρίσαι, καὶ γελώμενος οὐχ ἧττον ἢ γελῶν ἔχαιρε. καὶ τοῦτο διελυμήνατο τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τῷ παίζειν παρρησιαζομένους οὐκ ἂν οἰηθεὶς σπουδάζοντας κολακεύειν αὐτὸν ἡλίσκετο ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων,
8 ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὴν παρρησίαν τινὲς ὡς ὑποστῦφον ἥδυσμα τῇ κολακείᾳ παραμιγνύντες ἀφῄρουν τὸ πλήσμιον, τῇ παρὰ τὴν κύλικα θρασύτητι καὶ λαλιᾷ διαμηχανώμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὕφεσιν καὶ συγκατάθεσιν μὴ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλούντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν ἡττωμένων φαίνεσθαι.

XXV. Τοιούτῳ δ' οὖν ὄντι τὴν φύσιν Ἀντωνίῳ τελευταῖον κακὸν ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρως ἐπιγενόμενος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἔτι κρυπτομένων ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀτρεμούντων παθῶν ἐγείρας καὶ ἀναβακχεύσας, εἴ τι χρηστὸν ἢ σωτήριον ὅμως ἀντεῖχεν, ἠφάνισε καὶ προσδιέφθειρεν. ἁλίσκεται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἁπτόμενος τοῦ Παρθικοῦ πολέμου ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτήν, κελεύων εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον ὑφέξουσαν ὧν ἐνεκαλεῖτο τοῖς περὶ Κάσσιον δοῦναι πολλὰ καὶ συμβαλέσθαι
2 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς Δέλλιος, ὡς εἶδε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ κατέμαθε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινότητα καὶ πανουργίαν, εὐθὺς αἰσθόμενος ὅτι

his restitution to the wronged and in his punishment of the wrong-doers. Yet he was thought to exceed due bounds more in conferring favours than in inflicting punishments. And his wantonness in mirth and jest carried its own remedy with it. For a man might pay back his jests and insolence, and he delighted in being laughed at no less than in laughing at others. And this vitiated most of his undertakings. For he could not believe that those who used bold speech in jest could flatter him in earnest, and so was easily captivated by their praises, not knowing that some men would mingle bold speech, like a piquant sauce, with flattery, and thus would take away from flattery its cloying character. Such men would use their bold babbling over the cups to make their submissive yielding in matters of business seem to be the way, not of those who associate with a man merely to please him, but of those who are vanquished by superior wisdom.

XXV. Such, then, was the nature of Antony, where now as a crowning evil his love for Cleopatra supervened, roused and drove to frenzy many of the passions that were still hidden and quiescent in him, and dissipated and destroyed whatever good and saving qualities still offered resistance. And he was taken captive in this manner. As he was getting ready for the Parthian war, he sent to Cleopatra, ordering her to meet him in Cilicia in order to make answer to the charges made against her of raising and giving to Cassius much money for the war. But Dellius, Antony's messenger, when he saw how Cleopatra looked, and noticed her subtlety and cleverness in conversation, at once

κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲ μελλήσει τι ποιεῖν γυναῖκα τοιαύτην Ἀντώνιος, ἔσται δὲ μεγίστη παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προτρέπεσθαι τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ὁμηρικόν, ἐλθεῖν εἰς Κιλικίαν εὖ ἐντύνασαν ἓ αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἥδιστον ἡγεμόνων ὄντα καὶ φιλ-
3 *ανθρωπότατον. ἡ δὲ καὶ Δελλίῳ πεισθεῖσα, καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Γναῖον τὸν Πομπηΐου παῖδα πρότερον αὐτῇ γενομένοις ἀφ᾽ ὥρας συμβολαίοις τεκμαιρομένη, ῥᾷον ἤλπιζεν ὑπάξεσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔτι κόρην καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἔγνωσαν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον* 927
ἔμελλε φοιτήσειν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καιροῦ γυναῖκες ὥραν τε λαμπροτάτην ἔχουσι καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν
4 *ἀκμάζουσι. διὸ πολλὰ μὲν συνεσκευάσατο δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ κόσμον οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπὸ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ βασιλείας εὐδαίμονος κομίζειν, τὰς δὲ πλείστας ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν μαγγανεύμασι καὶ φίλτροις ἐλπίδας θεμένη παρεγένετο.*

XXVI. *Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων δεχομένη γράμματα καλούντων, οὕτω κατεφρόνησε καὶ κατεγέλασε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥστε πλεῖν ἀνὰ τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν ἐν πορθμείῳ χρυσοπρύμνῳ, τῶν μὲν ἱστίων ἁλουργῶν ἐκπεπετασμένων, τῆς δὲ εἰρεσίας ἀργυραῖς κώπαις ἀναφερομένης πρὸς αὐλὸν ἅμα σύριγξι καὶ κιθάραις συν-*
2 *ηρμοσμένον. αὐτὴ δὲ κατέκειτο μὲν ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοπάστῳ κεκοσμημένη γραφικῶς ὥσπερ Ἀφροδίτη, παῖδες δὲ τοῖς γραφικοῖς Ἔρωσιν εἰκασμένοι παρ᾽ ἑκάτερον ἑστῶτες ἐρρίπιζον. ὁμοίως*

perceived that Antony would not so much as think of doing such a woman any harm, but that she would have the greatest influence with him. He therefore resorted to flattery and tried to induce the Egyptian to go to Cilicia "decked out in fine array"[1] (as Homer would say), and not to be afraid of Antony, who was the most agreeable and humane of commanders. She was persuaded by Dellius, and judging by the proofs which she had had before this of the effect of her beauty upon Caius Caesar and Gnaeus the son of Pompey, she had hopes that she would more easily bring Antony to her feet. For Caesar and Pompey had known her when she was still a girl and inexperienced in affairs, but she was going to visit Antony at the very time when women have most brilliant beauty and are at the acme of intellectual power. Therefore she provided herself with many gifts, much money, and such ornaments as her high position and prosperous kingdom made it natural for her to take; but she went putting her greatest confidence in herself, and in the charms and sorceries of her own person.

XXVI. Though she received many letters of summons both from Antony himself and from his friends, she so despised and laughed the man to scorn as to sail up the river Cydnus in a barge with gilded poop, its sails spread purple, its rowers urging it on with silver oars to the sound of the flute blended with pipes and lutes. She herself reclined beneath a canopy spangled with gold, adorned like Venus in a painting, while boys like Loves in paintings stood on either side and fanned her. Likewise also the

[1] *Iliad*, xiv. 162, of Hera, decking herself for a meeting with Zeus.

δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδες αἱ καλλιστεύουσαι Νηρηΐδων ἔχουσαι καὶ Χαρίτων στολάς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς οἴαξιν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς κάλοις ἦσαν. ὀδμαὶ δὲ θαυμασταὶ τὰς ὄχθας ἀπὸ θυμιαμάτων πολλῶν κατεῖχον.
3 τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρωμάρτουν ἑκατέρωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ἐκχεομένου δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὄχλου τέλος αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ βήματος καθεζόμενος ἀπελείφθη μόνος. καί τις λόγος ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων ὡς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη κωμάζοι παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἀσίας.

Ἔπεμψε μὲν οὖν καλῶν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἡ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνον ἠξίου πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἥκειν.
4 εὐθὺς οὖν τινὰ βουλόμενος εὐκολίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ὑπήκουσε καὶ ἦλθεν. ἐντυχὼν δὲ παρασκευῇ λόγου κρείττονι μάλιστα τῶν φώτων τὸ πλῆθος ἐξεπλάγη. τοσαῦτα γὰρ λέγεται καθίεσθαι καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι πανταχόθεν ἅμα, καὶ τοιαύταις πρὸς ἄλληλα κλίσεσι καὶ θέσεσι διακεκοσμημένα καὶ συντεταγμένα πλαισίων καὶ περιφερῶν τρόπῳ, ὥστε τῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις ἀξιοθεάτων καὶ καλῶν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν.

XXVII. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ἀνθεστιῶν αὐτὴν ἐφιλοτιμήθη μὲν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐμμέλειαν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ λειπόμενος, καὶ κρατούμενος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις, πρῶτος ἔσκωπτεν εἰς αὐχμὸν καὶ ἀγροικίαν τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ. πολὺν δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ τοῖς σκώμμασι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὸν στρατιώτην ἐνορῶσα καὶ βάναυσον, ἐχρῆτο καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνειμένως ἤδη καὶ
2 κατατεθαρρηκότως. καὶ γὰρ ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν,

fairest of her serving-maidens, attired like Nereïds and Graces, were stationed, some at the rudder-sweeps, and others at the reefing-ropes. Wondrous odours from countless incense-offerings diffused themselves along the river-banks. Of the inhabitants, some accompanied her on either bank of the river from its very mouth, while others went down from the city to behold the sight. The throng in the market-place gradually streamed away, until at last Antony himself, seated on his tribunal, was left alone. And a rumour spread on every hand that Venus was come to revel with Bacchus for the good of Asia.

Antony sent, therefore, and invited her to supper; but she thought it meet that he should rather come to her. At once, then, wishing to display his complacency and friendly feelings, Antony obeyed and went. He found there a preparation that beggared description, but was most amazed at the multitude of lights. For, as we are told, so many of these were let down and displayed on all sides at once, and they were arranged and ordered with so many inclinations and adjustments to each other in the form of rectangles and circles, that few sights were so beautiful or so worthy to be seen as this.

XXVII. On the following day Antony feasted her in his turn, and was ambitious to surpass her splendour and elegance, but in both regards he was left behind, and vanquished in these very points, and was first to rail at the meagreness and rusticity of his own arrangements. Cleopatra observed in the jests of Antony much of the soldier and the common man, and adopted this manner also towards him, without restraint now, and boldly. For her beauty, as we are

*αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὑτὸ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς οὐ πάνυ
δυσπαράβλητον, οὐδὲ οἷον ἐκπλῆξαι τοὺς ἰδόντας,
ἁφὴν δ' εἶχεν ἡ συνδιαίτησις ἄφυκτον, ἥ τε μορφὴ
μετὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι πιθανότητος καὶ τοῦ
περιθέοντος ἅμα πως περὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἤθους ἀνέ-*
3 *φερέ τι κέντρον. ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ φθεγγομένης ἐπῆν
τῷ ἤχῳ· καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν, ὥσπερ ὄργανόν τι
πολύχορδον, εὐπετῶς τρέπουσα καθ' ἣν βούλοιτο
διάλεκτον ὀλίγοις παντάπασι δι' ἑρμηνέως ἐνε-
τύγχανε βαρβάροις, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις αὐτὴ δι'
αὑτῆς ἀπεδίδου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οἷον Αἰθίοψι,*
Τρωγλοδύταις, Ἑβραίοις, Ἄραψι, Σύροις, Μή-
4 δοις, Παρθυαίοις. *πολλῶν δὲ λέγεται καὶ ἄλλων
ἐκμαθεῖν γλώττας, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς βασιλέων
οὐδὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἀνασχομένων παραλαβεῖν
διάλεκτον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ μακεδονίζειν ἐκλι-
πόντων.*

XXVIII. Οὕτω δ' οὖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἥρπασεν
ὥστε, πολεμούσης μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι Φουλ-
βίας τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων,
αἰωρουμένης δὲ Παρθικῆς στρατιᾶς περὶ τὴν Μεσο-
ποταμίαν, ἧς Λαβιηνὸν οἱ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ
Παρθικὸν ἀναγορεύσαντες αὐτοκράτορα Συρίας 928
ἐπιβατεύσειν ἔμελλον, οἴχεσθαι φερόμενον ὑπ'
αὐτῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ μειρακίου σχολὴν
ἄγοντος διατριβαῖς καὶ παιδιαῖς χρώμενον ἀνα-
λίσκειν καὶ καθηδυπαθεῖν τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ὡς
2 Ἀντιφῶν εἶπεν, ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον. ἦν γάρ
τις αὐτοῖς σύνοδος ἀμιμητοβίων λεγομένη· καὶ
καθ' ἡμέραν εἱστίων ἀλλήλους, ἄπιστόν τινα
ποιούμενοι τῶν ἀναλισκομένων ἀμετρίαν. διη-

told, was in itself not altogether incomparable, nor such as to strike those who saw her; but converse with her had an irresistible charm, and her presence, combined with the persuasiveness of her discourse and the character which was somehow diffused about her behaviour towards others, had something stimulating about it. There was sweetness also in the tones of her voice; and her tongue, like an instrument of many strings, she could readily turn to whatever language she pleased, so that in her interviews with Barbarians she very seldom had need of an interpreter, but made her replies to most of them herself and unassisted, whether they were Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes or Parthians. Nay, it is said that she knew the speech of many other peoples also, although the kings of Egypt before her had not even made an effort to learn the native language, and some actually gave up their Macedonian dialect.

XXVIII. Accordingly, she made such booty of Antony that, while Fulvia his wife was carrying on war at Rome with Caesar in defence of her husband's interests, and while a Parthian army was hovering about Mesopotamia (over this country the generals of the king had appointed Labienus Parthian commander-in-chief, and were about to invade Syria), he suffered her to hurry him off to Alexandria. There, indulging in the sports and diversions of a young man of leisure, he squandered and spent upon pleasures that which Antiphon calls the most costly outlay, namely, time. For they had an association called The Inimitable Livers, and every day they feasted one another, making their expenditures of incredible profusion. At any rate, Philotas, the

γεῖτο γοῦν ἡμῶν τῷ πάππῳ Λαμπρίᾳ Φιλώτας ὁ Ἀμφισσεὺς ἰατρὸς εἶναι μὲν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τότε, μανθάνων τὴν τέχνην, γενόμενος δέ τινι τῶν βασιλικῶν ὀψοποιῶν συνήθης ἀναπεισθῆναι νέος ὢν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὴν παρα-
3 σκευὴν τοῦ δείπνου θεάσασθαι. παρεισαχθεὶς οὖν εἰς τοὐπτανεῖον, ὡς τά τε ἄλλα πάμπολλα ἑώρα καὶ σῦς ἀγρίους ὀπτωμένους ὀκτώ, θαυμάσαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δειπνούντων. τὸν δὲ ὀψοποιὸν γελάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ δειπνοῦντες, ἀλλὰ περὶ δώδεκα· δεῖ δ' ἀκμὴν ἔχειν τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἕκαστον, ἣν ἀκαρὲς ὥρας μαραίνει. καὶ γὰρ αὐτίκα γένοιτ' ἂν Ἀντώνιον δείπνου δεηθῆναι καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, ἂν δὲ οὕτω τύχῃ, παραγαγεῖν αἰτήσαντα ποτήριον ἢ λόγου
4 τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος. ὅθεν οὐχ ἕν, ἀλλὰ πολλά, φάναι, δεῖπνα συντέτακται· δυσστόχαστος γὰρ ὁ καιρός. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ Φιλώτας ἔλεγε, καὶ χρόνου προϊόντος ἐν τοῖς θεραπεύουσι γενέσθαι τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἀντωνίου παίδων, ὃν ἐκ Φουλβίας εἶχε, καὶ συνδειπνεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων ἐπιεικῶς, ὁπότε μὴ δειπνοίη μετὰ τοῦ
5 πατρός. ἰατρὸν οὖν ποτε θρασυνόμενον καὶ πράγματα πολλὰ παρέχοντα δειπνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστομίσαι τοιούτῳ σοφίσματι· "Τῷ πως πυρεττοντι δοτέον ψυχρόν· πᾶς δὲ ὁ πυρέττων πως πυρέττει· παντὶ ἄρα πυρέττοντι δοτέον ψυχρόν." πληγέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ σιωπήσαντος,

physician of Amphissa, used to tell my grandfather, Lamprias, that he was in Alexandria at this time, studying his profession, and that having got well acquainted with one of the royal cooks, he was easily persuaded by him (young man that he was) to take a view of the extravagant preparations for a royal supper. Accordingly, he was introduced into the kitchen, and when he saw all the other provisions in great abundance, and eight wild boars a-roasting, he expressed his amazement at what must be the number of the guests. But the cook burst out laughing and said: "The guests are not many, only about twelve; but everything that is set before them must be at perfection, and this an instant of time reduces. For it might happen that Antony would ask for supper immediately, and after a little while, perhaps, would postpone it and call for a cup of wine, or engage in conversation with some one. Wherefore," he said, "not one, but many suppers are arranged; for the precise time is hard to hit." This tale, then, Philotas used to tell; and he said also that as time went on he became one of the medical attendants of Antony's oldest son, whom he had of Fulvia, and that he usually supped with him at his house in company with the rest of his comrades, when the young man did not sup with his father. Accordingly, on one occasion, as a physician was making too bold and giving much annoyance to them as they supped, Philotas stopped his mouth with some such sophism as this: "To the patient who is somewhat feverish cold water must be given; but everyone who has a fever is somewhat feverish; therefore to everyone who has a fever cold water should be given." The fellow was confounded and put to silence, whereat

ἡσθέντα τὸν παῖδα γελάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, "Ταῦτα, ὦ Φιλώτα, χαρίζομαί πάντα σοι," δείξαντα πολλῶν τινων καὶ μεγάλων ἐκπωμάτων μεστὴν τρά-
6 πεζαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν ἀποδεξαμένου, πόρρω δ' ὄντος τοῦ νομίζειν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι παιδὶ τηλικούτῳ δωρεῖσθαι τοσαῦτα, μετὰ μικρὸν ἁψάμενόν τινα τῶν παίδων ἐν ἀγγείῳ τὰ ἐκπώματα προσφέρειν καὶ σημήνασθαι κελεύειν. ἀφοσιουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ δεδοικότος λαβεῖν, "Τί, ὦ πόνηρε," φάναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "ὀκνεῖς; οὐκ οἶδας ὡς ὁ διδοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖς ἐστιν, ᾧ τοσαῦ-
7 τα πάρεστι χρυσᾶ χαρίσασθαι; ἐμοὶ μέντοι πειθόμενος πάντα διάμειψαι πρὸς ἀργύριον ἡμῖν· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καὶ ποθήσειεν ὁ πατὴρ ἔνια τῶν παλαιῶν ὄντα καὶ σπουδαζομένων κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἔργων." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἔλεγεν ὁ πάππος ἑκάστοτε διηγεῖσθαι τὸν Φιλώταν.

XXIX. Ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν κολακείαν οὐχ, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων φησί, τετραχῇ, πολλαχῇ δὲ διελοῦσα, καὶ σπουδῆς ἁπτομένῳ καὶ παιδιᾶς ἀεί τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσα καὶ χάριν, διεπαιδαγώγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας ἀνιεῖσα. καὶ γὰρ συνεκύβευε καὶ συνέπινε καὶ συνεθήρευε καὶ γυμναζόμενον ἐν ὅπλοις ἐθεᾶτο, καὶ νύκτωρ προσισταμένῳ θύραις καὶ θυρίσι δημοτῶν καὶ σκώπτοντι τοὺς ἔνδον συνεπλανᾶτο καὶ συνήλυε θεραπαινιδίου στολὴν λαμβάνουσα.
2 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐπειρᾶτο σκευάζειν ἑαυτόν. ὅθεν ἀεὶ σκωμμάτων, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πληγῶν

Antony's son was delighted and said with a laugh: "All this I bestow upon thee, Philotas," pointing to a table covered with a great many large beakers. Philotas acknowleded his good intentions, but was far from supposing that a boy so young had the power to give away so much. After a little while, however, one of the slaves brought the beakers to him in a sack, and bade him put his seal upon it. And when Philotas protested and was afraid to take them, "You miserable man," said the fellow, "why hesitate? Don't you know that the giver is the son of Antony, and that he has the right to bestow so many golden vessels? However, take my advice and exchange them all with us for money; since perchance the boy's father might miss some of the vessels, which are of ancient workmanship and highly valued for their art." Such details, then, my grandfather used to tell me, Philotas would recount at every opportunity.

XXIX. But Cleopatra, distributing her flattery, not into the four forms of which Plato speaks,[1] but into many, and ever contributing some fresh delight and charm to Antony's hours of seriousness or mirth, kept him in constant tutelage, and released him neither night nor day. She played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and watched him as he exercised himself in arms; and when by night he would station himself at the doors or windows of the common folk and scoff at those within, she would go with him on his round of mad follies, wearing the garb of a serving maiden. For Antony also would try to array himself like a servant. Therefore he always reaped a harvest of abuse, and often of blows, before coming back

[1] *Gorgias*, p. 464.

ἀπολαύσας ἐπανήρχετο· τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις ἦν δι' ὑπονοίας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσέχαιρον αὐτοῦ τῇ βωμολοχίᾳ καὶ συνέπαιζον οὐκ ἀρρύθμως οὐδὲ ἀμούσως οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ἀγαπῶντες καὶ λέγοντες ὡς τῷ τραγικῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους χρῆται προσώπῳ, τῷ δὲ κωμικῷ πρὸς αὐτούς.

3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παιζομένων 929
διηγεῖσθαι πολὺς ἂν εἴη φλύαρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἁλιεύων ποτὲ καὶ δυσαγρῶν ἤχθετο παρούσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἁλιεῖς ὑπονηξαμένους κρύφα τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ περικαθάπτειν ἰχθῦς τῶν προεαλωκότων, καὶ δὶς ἢ τρὶς ἀνασπάσας οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν. προσποιουμένη δὲ θαυμάζειν τοῖς φίλοις διηγεῖτο, καὶ παρεκάλει τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ γενέ-
4 σθαι θεατάς. ἐμβάντων δὲ πολλῶν εἰς τὰς ἁλιάδας καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὴν ὁρμιὰν καθέντος, ἐκέλευσέ τινα τῶν αὑτῆς ὑποφθάσαντα καὶ προσνηξάμενον τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ περιπεῖραι Ποντικὸν τάριχος. ὡς δὲ ἔχειν πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνεῖλκε, γέλωτος, οἷον εἰκός, γενομένου, "Παράδος ἡμῖν," ἔφη, "τὸν κάλαμον, αὐτόκρατορ, τοῖς Φαρίταις καὶ Κανωβίταις ἁλιεῦσιν·[1] ἡ δὲ σὴ θήρα πόλεις εἰσὶ καὶ βασιλεῖαι καὶ ἤπειροι."

XXX. Τοιαῦτα ληροῦντα καὶ μειρακιευόμενον τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀγγελίαι δύο καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, Λεύκιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Φουλβίαν τὴν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις στασιάσαντας, εἶτα Καίσαρι πολεμήσαντας, ἀποβεβλη-

[1] ἁλιεῦσιν Bekker, after Hüllman: βασιλεῦσιν.

home; though most people suspected who he was. However, the Alexandrians took delight in his coarse wit, and joined in his amusements in their graceful and cultivated way; they liked him, and said that he used the tragic mask with the Romans, but the comic mask with them.

Now, to recount the greater part of his boyish pranks would be great nonsense. One instance will suffice. He was fishing once, and had bad luck, and was vexed at it because Cleopatra was there to see. He therefore ordered his fishermen to dive down and secretly fasten to his hook some fish that had been previously caught, and pulled up two or three of them. But the Egyptian saw through the trick, and pretending to admire her lover's skill, told her friends about it, and invited them to be spectators of it on the following day. So great numbers of them got into the fishing boats, and when Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her own attendants to get the start of him by swimming to his hook and fastening on it a salted Pontic herring. Antony thought he had caught something, and pulled it up, whereupon there was great laughter, as was natural, and Cleopatra said: "Imperator, hand over thy fishing-rod to the fishermen of Pharos and Canopus; thy sport is the hunting of cities, realms, and continents."

XXX. While Antony was indulging in such trifles and youthful follies, he was surprised by reports from two quarters: one from Rome, that Lucius his brother and Fulvia his wife had first quarrelled with one another, and then had waged war with Octavius Caesar, but had lost their cause

κέναι τὰ πράγματα καὶ φεύγειν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ἑτέρα δὲ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἐπιεικεστέρα, Λαβιηνὸν ἐπάγοντα Πάρθους τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καὶ Συρίας ἄχρι Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν κατα-
2 στρέφεσθαι. μόλις οὖν ὥσπερ ἐξυπνισθεὶς καὶ ἀποκραιπαλήσας ὥρμησε μὲν Πάρθοις ἐνίστασθαι καὶ μέχρι Φοινίκης προῆλθε, Φουλβίας δὲ γράμματα θρήνων μεστὰ πεμπούσης ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἄγων ναῦς διακοσίας. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ κατὰ πλοῦν τῶν φίλων τοὺς πεφευγότας ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν Φουλβίαν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι, φύσει μὲν οὖσαν πολυπράγμονα καὶ θρασεῖαν, ἐλπίζουσαν δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀπάξειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἴ τι γένοιτο
3 κίνημα περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. συμβαίνει δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ Φουλβίαν πλέουσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν Σικυῶνι νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι· διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ πρὸς Καίσαρα διαλλαγαὶ καιρὸν ἔσχον. ὡς γὰρ προσέμιξε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἦν φανερὸς ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐθὲν ἐγκαλῶν, αὐτὸς δ' ὧν ἐνεκαλεῖτο τὰς αἰτίας τῇ Φουλβίᾳ προστριβόμενος, οὐκ εἴων
4 ἐξελέγχειν οἱ φίλοι τὴν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ διέλυον ἀμφοτέρους καὶ διῄρουν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὅρον ποιούμενοι τὸν Ἰόνιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑῷα νέμοντες Ἀντωνίῳ, τὰ δ' ἑσπέρια Καίσαρι, Λέπιδον δὲ Λιβύην ἔχειν ἐῶντες, ὑπατεύειν δὲ τάξαντες, ὅτε μὴ δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, φίλους ἑκατέρων παρὰ μέρος.

XXXI. Ταῦτα ἔχειν καλῶς δοκοῦντα πίστεως ἐδεῖτο σφοδροτέρας, ἣν ἡ τύχη παρέσχεν. Ὀκταουία γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὴ πρεσβυτέρα μέν, οὐχ ὁμο-

and were in flight from Italy; and another, not a whit more agreeable than this, that Labienus at the head of the Parthians was subduing Asia from the Euphrates and Syria as far as Lydia and Ionia. At last, then, like a man roused from sleep after a deep debauch, he set out to oppose the Parthians, and advanced as far as Phoenicia;[1] but on receiving from Fulvia a letter full of lamentations, he turned his course towards Italy, at the head of two hundred ships. On the voyage, however, he picked up his friends who were in flight from Italy, and learned from them that Fulvia had been to blame for the war, being naturally a meddlesome and headstrong woman, and hoping to draw Antony away from Cleopatra in case there should be a disturbance in Italy. It happened, too, that Fulvia, who was sailing to meet him, fell sick and died at Sicyon. Therefore there was even more opportunity for a reconciliation with Caesar. For when Antony reached Italy, and Caesar manifestly intended to make no charges against him, and Antony himself was ready to put upon Fulvia the blame for whatever was charged against himself, the friends of the two men would not permit any examination of the proffered excuse, but reconciled them, and divided up the empire, making the Ionian sea a boundary, and assigning the East to Antony, and the West to Caesar; they also permitted Lepidus to have Africa, and arranged that, when they did not wish for the office themselves, the friends of each should have the consulship by turns.

XXXI. These arrangements were thought to be fair, but they needed a stronger security, and this security Fortune offered. Octavia was a sister of Caesar, older than he, though not by the same

[1] Towards the end of the year 40 B.C.

μητρία δὲ Καίσαρι· ἐγεγόνει γὰρ ἐξ Ἀγχαρίας, ὁ
δὲ ὕστερον ἐξ Ἀτίας. ἔστεργε δ' ὑπερφυῶς τὴν
ἀδελφήν, χρῆμα θαυμαστόν, ὡς λέγεται, γυναικὸς
2 γενομένην. αὕτη, Γαΐου Μαρκέλλου τοῦ γήμαντος
αὐτὴν οὐ πάλαι τεθνηκότος, ἐχήρευεν. ἐδόκει δὲ
καὶ Φουλβίας ἀποιχομένης χηρεύειν Ἀντώνιος,
ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἀρνούμενος Κλεοπάτραν, γάμῳ δὲ
οὐχ ὁμολογῶν, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ περί γε τούτου
πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς Αἰγυπτίας μαχόμενος.
τοῦτον ἅπαντες εἰσηγοῦντο τὸν γάμον, ἐλπίζοντες
τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἐπὶ κάλλει τοσούτῳ σεμνότητα
καὶ νοῦν ἔχουσαν, εἰς ταὐτὸν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ
παραγενομένην καὶ στερχθεῖσαν, ὡς εἰκὸς τοιαύ-
την γυναῖκα, πάντων πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν
3 ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύγκρασιν. ὡς οὖν ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέ-
ροις, ἀναβάντες εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπετέλουν τὸν
Ὀκταουίας γάμον, οὐκ ἐῶντος μὲν νόμου πρὸ
δέκα μηνῶν ἀνδρὸς τελευτήσαντος γαμεῖσθαι, τῆς 930
δὲ συγκλήτου δόγματι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνοις ἀνεί-
σης.

XXXII. Σέξτου δὲ Πομπηΐου Σικελίαν μὲν
ἔχοντος, Ἰταλίαν δὲ πορθοῦντος, λῃστρίσι δὲ
ναυσὶ πολλαῖς, ὧν Μηνᾶς ὁ πειρατὴς καὶ Μενε-
κράτης ἦρχον, ἄπλουν τὴν θάλασσαν πεποιηκότος,
Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ κεχρῆσθαι δοκοῦντος φιλανθρώπως
(ὑπεδέξατο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα τῇ Φουλβίᾳ
συνεκπεσοῦσαν), ἔδοξε καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον διαλυ-
2 θῆναι. καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς ταὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐν
Μισηνοῖς ἄκραν καὶ τὸ χῶμα, Πομπηΐῳ μὲν τοῦ
στόλου παρορμοῦντος, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι
τῶν πεζῶν παρακεκριμένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέθεντο
Πομπήϊον ἔχοντα Σαρδόνα καὶ Σικελίαν καθαρὰν

mother; for she was the child of Ancharia, but he, by a later marriage, of Atia. Caesar was exceedingly fond of his sister, who was, as the saying is, a wonder of a woman. Her husband, Caius Marcellus, had died a short time before, and she was a widow. Antony, too, now that Fulvia was gone, was held to be a widower, although he did not deny his relations with Cleopatra; he would not admit, however, that she was his wife, and in this matter his reason was still battling with his love for the Egyptian. Everybody tried to bring about this marriage. For they hoped that Octavia, who, besides her great beauty, had intelligence and dignity, when united to Antony and beloved by him, as such a woman naturally must be, would restore harmony and be their complete salvation. Accordingly, when both men were agreed, they went up to Rome and celebrated Octavia's marriage, although the law did not permit a woman to marry before her husband had been dead ten months. In this case, however, the senate passed a decree remitting the restriction in time.

XXXII. Now, Sextus Pompeius was holding Sicily, was ravaging Italy, and, with his numerous piratical ships under the command of Menas the corsair and Menecrates, had made the sea unsafe for sailors. But he was thought to be kindly disposed towards Antony, since he had given refuge to Antony's mother when she fled from Rome with Fulvia, and so it was decided to make terms with him. The men met at the promontory and mole of Misenum, near which Pompey's fleet lay at anchor and the forces of Antony and Caesar were drawn up. After it had been agreed that Pompey should have

τε λῃστηρίων παρέχειν τὴν θάλατταν καὶ σίτου τι τεταγμένον ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐκάλουν
3 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀλλήλους. κληρουμένων δὲ πρῶτος ἑστιᾶν αὐτοὺς ἔλαχε Πομπήϊος. ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου, ποῦ δειπνήσουσιν, "Ἐνταῦθα," ἔφη, δείξας τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν οὖσαν ἑξήρη "πατρῷος γὰρ οἶκος αὕτη Πομπηΐῳ λέλειπται." ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὀνειδίζων ἔλεγεν, ἐπεὶ τὴν Πομπηΐου τοῦ πατρὸς γενομένην οἰκίαν ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν. ὁρμίσας δὲ τὴν ναῦν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν καὶ διάβασίν τινα γεφυρώσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἀνελάμ-
4 βανεν αὐτοὺς προθύμως. ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ τῶν εἰς Κλεοπάτραν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἀνθούντων σκωμμάτων, Μηνᾶς ὁ πειρατὴς τῷ Πομπηΐῳ προσελθὼν ὡς μὴ κατακούειν ἐκείνους, "Βούλει," φησί, "τὰς ἀγκύρας τῆς νεὼς ὑποτέμω καὶ ποιήσω σε μὴ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδόνος, ἀλλὰ
5 τῆς Ῥωμαίων κύριον ἡγεμονίας;" ὁ δὲ Πομπήϊος ἀκούσας καὶ πρὸς αὑτῷ γενόμενος βραχὺν χρόνον, "Ἔδει σε," φησίν, "ὦ Μηνᾶ, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ μὴ προειπόντα ποιῆσαι· νυνὶ δὲ τὰ παρόντα στέργωμεν· ἐπιορκεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐμόν." οὗτος μὲν οὖν πάλιν ἀνθεστιαθεὶς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπέπλευσεν.

XXXIII. Ἀντώνιος δὲ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις Οὐεντίδιον μὲν εἰς Ἀσίαν προὔπεμπε Πάρθοις ἐμποδὼν ἐσόμενον τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἱερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος· καὶ τἆλλα κοινῶς καὶ φιλικῶς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις ἔπραττον. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς ἅμιλλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλύπουν

Sardinia and Sicily, should keep the sea clear of robbers, and should send up to Rome a stipulated amount of grain, they invited one another to supper. Lots were cast, and it was the lot of Pompey to entertain the others first. And when Antony asked him where the supper would be held, "There," said he, pointing to his admiral's ship with its six banks of oars, "for this is the ancestral house that is left to Pompey." This he said by way of reproach to Antony, who was now occupying the house which had belonged to the elder Pompey. So he brought his ship to anchor, made a sort of bridge on which to cross to it from the headland, and gave his guests a hearty welcome on board. When their good fellowship was at its height and the jokes about Antony and Cleopatra were in full career, Menas the pirate came up to Pompey and said, so that the others could not hear, "Shall I cut the ship's cables and make thee master, not of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire?" Pompey, on hearing this, communed with himself a little while, and then said: "Menas, you ought to have done this without speaking to me about it beforehand; but now let us be satisfied with things as they are; for perjury is not my way." Pompey, then, after being feasted in his turn by Antony and Caesar, sailed back to Sicily.

XXXIII. After this settlement, Antony sent Ventidius on ahead into Asia to oppose the further progress of the Parthians, while he himself, as a favour to Caesar, was appointed to the priesthood of the elder Caesar;[1] everything else also of the most important political nature they transacted together and in a friendly spirit. But their competitive diversions gave

[1] That is, he was made Pontifex Maximus.

2 ἀεὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλαττον φερόμενον. ἦν γάρ τις ἀνὴρ σὺν αὐτῷ μαντικὸς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τῶν τὰς γενέσεις ἐπισκοπούντων, ὃς εἴτε Κλεοπάτρᾳ χαριζόμενος εἴτε χρώμενος ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπαρρησιάζετο, λέγων τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ λαμπροτάτην οὖσαν καὶ μεγίστην ὑπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀμαυροῦσθαι, καὶ συνεβούλευε πορρωτάτω τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιεῖν ἑαυτόν. "Ὁ γὰρ σός," ἔφη, "δαίμων τὸν τούτου φοβεῖται· καὶ γαῦρος ὢν καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὅταν ᾖ καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὑπ' ἐκείνου γίνεται ταπεινότερος ἐγγίσαντος καὶ ἀγεννέστε-
3 ρος." καὶ μέντοι τὰ γινόμενα τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ μαρτυρεῖν ἐδόκει. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι κληρουμένων μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐφ' ὅτῳ τύχοιεν ἑκάστοτε καὶ κυβευόντων ἔλαττον ἔχων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπῄει. πολλάκις δὲ συμβαλόντων ἀλεκτρυόνας, πολλάκις δὲ μαχίμους ὄρτυγας, ἐνίκων οἱ Καίσαρος.

Ἐφ' οἷς ἀνιώμενος ἀδήλως ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ μᾶλλόν τι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ προσέχων, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐγχειρίσας Καίσαρι τὰ οἰκεῖα· τὴν δὲ Ὀκταουίαν ἄχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπήγετο θυ-
4 γατρίου γεγονότος αὐτοῖς. διαχειμάζοντι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγέλλεται τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Οὐεντιδίου κατορθωμάτων, ὅτι μάχῃ τοὺς Πάρθους κρατήσας Λαβιηνὸν ἀπεκτόνοι καὶ Φαρναπάτην ἡγεμονικώτατον τῶν Ὑρώδου βασιλέως στρατηγῶν. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἱστία τοὺς Ἕλληνας, 931
ἐγυμνασιάρχει δὲ Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας παράσημα καταλιπὼν οἴκοι μετὰ τῶν γυμνασιαρχικῶν ῥάβδων ἐν ἱματίῳ καὶ φαικασίοις προῄει καὶ διαλαμβάνων τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐτραχήλιζεν.

Antony annoyance, because he always came off with less than Caesar. Now, there was with him a seer from Egypt, one of those who cast nativities. This man, either as a favour to Cleopatra, or dealing truly with Antony, used frank language with him, saying that his fortune, though most great and splendid, was obscured by that of Caesar; and he advised Antony to put as much distance as possible between himself and that young man. "For thy guardian genius," said he, "is afraid of his; and though it has a spirited and lofty mien when it is by itself, when his comes near, thine is cowed and humbled by it." And indeed events seemed to testify in favour of the Egyptian. For we are told that whenever, by way of diversion, lots were cast or dice thrown to decide matters in which they were engaged, Antony came off worsted. They would often match cocks, and often fighting quails, and Caesar's would always be victorious.

At all this Antony was annoyed, though he did not show it, and giving rather more heed now to the Egyptian, he departed from Italy, after putting his private affairs in the hands of Caesar; and he took Octavia with him as far as Greece (she had borne him a daughter). It was while he was spending the winter at Athens that word was brought to him of the first successes of Ventidius, who had conquered the Parthians in battle and slain Labienus, as well as Pharnapates, the most capable general of King Hyrodes. To celebrate this victory Antony feasted the Greeks, and acted as gymnasiarch for the Athenians. He left at home the insignia of his command, and went forth carrying the wands of a gymnasiarch, in a Greek robe and white shoes, and he would take the young combatants by the neck and part them.

XXXIV. Ἐξιέναι δὲ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας στέφανον ἔλαβε, καὶ κατά τι λόγιον ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας ὕδατος ἐμπλησάμενος ἀγγεῖον ἐκόμιζεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πάκορον τὸν βασιλέως παῖδα, μεγάλῳ στρατῷ Πάρθων αὖθις ἐπὶ Συρίαν ἐλαύνοντα, συμπεσὼν Οὐεντίδιος ἐν τῇ Κυρρηστικῇ τρέπεται, καὶ διαφθείρει παμπόλλους, ἐν πρώτοις Πακόρου πεσόντος.
2 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐν τοῖς ἀοιδιμωτάτοις γενόμενον Ῥωμαίοις τε τῶν κατὰ Κράσσον ἀτυχημάτων ἔκπλεω ποινὴν παρέσχε, καὶ Πάρθους αὖθις εἴσω Μηδίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας συνέστειλε, τρισὶ μάχαις ἐφεξῆς κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένους. Οὐεντίδιος δὲ Πάρθους μὲν προσωτέρω διώκειν ἀπέγνω, φθόνον Ἀντωνίου δείσας, τοὺς δὲ ἀφεστῶτας ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο καὶ τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν Ἀντί-
3 οχον ἐν πόλει Σαμοσάτοις ἐπολιόρκει. δεομένου δὲ χίλια τάλαντα δοῦναι καὶ ποιεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἐκέλευε πέμπειν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ἤδη γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἦν ἐπιών, καὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον οὐκ εἴα σπένδεσθαι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, βουλόμενος ἕν γε τοῦτο τῶν ἔργων ἐπώνυμον αὑτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ
4 πάντα διὰ Οὐεντιδίου κατορθοῦσθαι. τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης καὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ὡς ἀπέγνωσαν τὰς διαλύσεις, πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπομένων, πράττων οὐδέν, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δὲ καὶ μεταγνώσει γενόμενος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις σπένδε-

XXXIV. When he was about to go forth to the war, he took a wreath from the sacred olive-tree,[1] and, in obedience to a certain oracle, filled a vessel with water from the Clepsydra[2] and carried it with him. In the meantime Pacorus, the king's son, advanced again with a large army of Parthians against Syria; but Ventidius engaged and routed him in Cyrrhestica, and slew great numbers of his men.[3] Pacorus fell among the first. This exploit, which became one of the most celebrated, gave the Romans full satisfaction for the disaster under Crassus, and shut the Parthians up again within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia, after they had been utterly defeated in three successive battles. Ventidius, however, decided not to pursue the Parthians further, because he feared the jealousy of Antony; but he attacked and subdued the peoples which had revolted from Rome, and besieged Antiochus of Commagené in the city of Samosata. When Antiochus proposed to pay a thousand talents and obey the behests of Antony, Ventidius ordered him to send his proposal to Antony, who had now advanced into the neighbourhood, and would not permit Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus. He insisted that this one exploit at least should bear his own name, and that not all the successes should be due to Ventidius. But the siege was protracted, and the besieged, since they despaired of coming to terms, betook themselves to a vigorous defence. Antony could therefore accomplish nothing, and feeling ashamed and repentant, was glad to make peace with

[1] In the Erechtheium, on the Acropolis.

[2] A sacred spring just below the ancient portal of the Acropolis (Pausanias, i. 28, 4).

[3] In 38 B.C. See the *Crassus*, xxxiii. 5, with the note.

ται ταλάντοις πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν
ἐν Συρίᾳ καταστησάμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπανῆλθε,
καὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον οἷς ἔπρεπε τιμήσας ἔπεμψεν
ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον.

5 Οὗτος ἀπὸ Πάρθων ἄχρι δεῦρο τεθριάμβευκε
μόνος, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν ἀφανής, ἀπολαύσας δὲ τῆς
Ἀντωνίου φιλίας τὸ λαβεῖν ἀφορμὰς πράξεων
μεγάλων, αἷς κάλλιστα χρησάμενος ἐβεβαίωσε
τὸν περὶ Ἀντωνίου λεγόμενον καὶ Καίσαρος λό-
γον, ὡς εὐτυχέστεροι δι' ἑτέρων ἦσαν ἢ δι' αὑτῶν
6 στρατηγεῖν. καὶ γὰρ Σόσσιος Ἀντωνίου στρα-
τηγὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ πολλὰ διεπράττετο, καὶ Κανίδιος
ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀρμενίαν τούτους τε
νικῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν βασιλέας
ἄχρι τοῦ Καυκάσου προῆλθεν. ἀφ' ὧν ἐν τοῖς
βαρβάροις ὄνομα καὶ κλέος ηὔξετο τῆς Ἀντωνίου
δυνάμεως.

XXXV. Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἔκ τινων διαβολῶν
παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς Καίσαρα ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις
ἔπλει πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν· οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν
Βρεντεσινῶν τὸν στόλον εἰς Τάραντα περιώρμισεν.
ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ὀκταουίαν (συνέπλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ) δεηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμπει πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφόν, ἔγκυον μὲν οὖσαν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον
2 ἐξ αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον ἔχουσαν. ἡ δὲ ἀπαντήσασα
καθ' ὁδὸν Καίσαρι, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν ἐκείνου
φίλων Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικήναν, ἐνετύγχανε
πολλὰ ποτνιωμένη καὶ πολλὰ δεομένη μὴ περιϊ-
δεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκ μακαριωτάτης γυναικὸς ἀθλιωτά-
την γενομένην. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους
εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέπειν αὐτοκρατόρων δυεῖν, τοῦ
3 μὲν γυναῖκα, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν· "εἰ δὲ τὰ

Antiochus on his payment of three hundred talents. After settling some trivial matters in Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius home, with becoming honours, to enjoy his triumph.

Ventidius is the only man up to the present time who ever celebrated a triumph over the Parthians. He was a man of lowly birth, but his friendship with Antony bore fruit for him in opportunities to perform great deeds. Of these opportunities he made the best use, and so confirmed what was generally said of Antony and Caesar, namely, that they were more successful in campaigns conducted by others than by themselves. For Sossius, Antony's general, effected much in Syria, and Canidius, who was left by Antony in Armenia, conquered that people, as well as the kings of the Iberians and Albanians, and advanced as far as the Caucasus. Consequently the name and fame of Antony's power waxed great among the Barbarians.

XXXV. But Antony himself, once more irritated against Caesar by certain calumnies, sailed with three hundred ships for Italy; and when the people of Brundisium would not receive his armament, he coasted along to Tarentum. Here he sent Octavia, who had sailed with him from Greece, at her own request, to her brother. She was with child, and had already borne Antony two daughters. Octavia met Caesar on the way, and after winning over his friends Agrippa and Maecenas, urged him with many prayers and many entreaties not to permit her, after being a most happy, to become a most wretched woman. For now, she said, the eyes of all men were drawn to her as the wife of one imperator and the sister of another: "But if," she said, "the worse

χείρω κρατήσειεν," ἔφη, "καὶ γένοιτο πόλεμος, ὑμῶν μὲν ἄδηλον ὅτῳ κρατεῖν ἢ κρατεῖσθαι πέπρωται, τὰ ἐμὰ δ' ἀμφοτέρως ἄθλια." τούτοις ἐπικλασθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἧκεν εἰρηνικῶς εἰς Τάραντα, καὶ θέαμα κάλλιστον οἱ παρόντες ἐθεῶντο, πολὺν μὲν ἐκ γῆς στρατὸν ἡσυχάζοντα, πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοὺς αἰγιαλοῖς ἐχούσας, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ φίλων ἀπαντήσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας.
4 εἱστία δὲ Ἀντώνιος πρότερος, καὶ τοῦτο τῇ ἀδελφῇ Καίσαρος δόντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡμολόγητο Καίσαρα μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ δοῦναι δύο τάγματα πρὸς τὸν 932
Παρθικὸν πόλεμον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ Καίσαρι χαλκεμβόλους ἑκατόν, Ὀκταουία τῶν ὡμολογημένων χωρὶς ᾐτήσατο τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴκοσι μυοπάρωνας, τῷ δ' ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελ-
5 φοῦ στρατιώτας χιλίους. οὕτω δὲ ἀλλήλων διακριθέντες ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς εἴχετο τοῦ πρὸς Πομπήϊον πολέμου, Σικελίας ἐφιέμενος, Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ὀκταουίαν μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φουλβίας παῖδας αὐτῷ παρακαταθέμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπεπέρασεν.

XXXVI. Εὕδουσα δ' ἡ δεινὴ συμφορὰ χρόνον πολύν, ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρως, δοκῶν κατευνάσθαι καὶ κατακεκηλῆσθαι τοῖς βελτίοσι λογισμοῖς, αὖθις ἀνέλαμπε καὶ ἀνεθάρρει Συρίᾳ πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τέλος, ὥσπερ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων τὸ δυσπειθὲς καὶ ἀκόλαστον τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποζύγιον, ἀπολακτίσας τὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια πάντα Καπίτωνα Φοντήϊον ἔπεμψεν ἄξοντα Κλεοπάτραν
2 εἰς Συρίαν. ἐλθούσῃ δὲ χαρίζεται καὶ προστίθησι μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ Φοινίκην,

should prevail and there should be war between you, one of you, it is uncertain which, is destined to conquer, and one to be conquered, but my lot in either case will be one of misery." Caesar was overcome by these words, and came in a peaceful manner to Tarentum. Then the inhabitants beheld a most noble spectacle—a large army on land inactive, and many ships lying quietly off shore, while the commanders and their friends met one another with friendly greetings. Antony entertained Caesar first, who consented to it for his sister's sake. And after it had been agreed that Caesar should give to Antony two legions for his Parthian war, and Antony to Caesar one hundred bronze-beaked galleys, Octavia, independently of this agreement, obtained twenty light sailing craft from her husband for her brother, and one thousand soldiers from her brother for her husband. Thus they separated, and Caesar at once engaged in the war against Pompey, being ambitious to get Sicily, while Antony, after putting Octavia in Caesar's charge, together with his children by her and Fulvia, crossed over into Asia.

XXXVI. But the dire evil which had been slumbering for a long time, namely, his passion for Cleopatra, which men thought had been charmed away and lulled to rest by better considerations, blazed up again with renewed power as he drew near to Syria. And finally, like the stubborn and unmanageable beast of the soul, of which Plato speaks,[1] he spurned away all saving and noble counsels and sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra to Syria. And when she was come, he made her a present of no slight or insignificant addition to her dominions, namely,

[1] Cf. *Phaedrus*, 254 A.

κοίλην Συρίαν, Κύπρον, Κιλικίας πολλήν· ἔτι δὲ τῆς τε Ἰουδαίων τὴν τὸ βάλσαμον φέρουσαν καὶ τῆς Ναβαταίων Ἀραβίας ὅση πρὸς τὴν ἐκτὸς ἀποκλίνει θάλασσαν. αὗται μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἠνίασαν αἱ δωρεαί. καίτοι πολλοῖς ἐχαρίζετο τετραρχίας καὶ βασιλείας ἐθνῶν μεγάλων, ἰδιώταις οὖσι, πολλοὺς δ' ἀφῃρεῖτο βασιλείας, ὡς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον, ὃν καὶ προαγαγὼν ἐπελέκισεν, οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἑτέρου βασίλεως
3 οὕτω κολασθέντος. ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἦν τῶν Κλεοπάτρας τιμῶν ἀνιαρότατον. ηὔξησε δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς διδύμους ἀνελόμενος, καὶ προσαγορεύσας τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν δὲ Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπίκλησιν δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἥλιον, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἔλεγε τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας οὐ δι' ὧν λαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς χαρίζονται φαίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος· διαδοχαῖς δὲ καὶ τεκνώσεσι πολλῶν βασιλέων πλατύνεσθαι
4 τὰς εὐγενείας. οὕτω γοῦν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους τεκνωθῆναι τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ γαστρὶ θεμένου τὴν διαδοχὴν οὐδὲ νόμους Σολωνείους καὶ κυήσεως εὐθύνας δεδοικότος, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει πολλὰς γενῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ καταβολὰς ἀπολιπεῖν ἐφιέντος.

XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φραάτου κτείναντος Ὑρώδην τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντος ἄλλοι τε Πάρθων ἀπεδίδρασκον οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ Μοναίσης, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ δυνατός, ἧκε φεύ-

Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Cyprus, and a large part of Cilicia; and still further, the balsam-producing part of Judaea, and all that part of Arabia Nabataea which slopes toward the outer sea. These gifts particularly annoyed the Romans. And yet he made presents to many private persons of tetrarchies and realms of great peoples, and he deprived many monarchs of their kingdoms, as, for instance, Antigonus the Jew, whom he brought forth and beheaded, though no other king before him had been so punished. But the shamefulness of the honours conferred upon Cleopatra gave most offence. And he heightened the scandal by acknowledging his two children by her, and calling one Alexander and the other Cleopatra, with the surname for the first of Sun, and for the other of Moon. However, since he was an adept at putting a good face upon shameful deeds, he used to say that the greatness of the Roman empire was made manifest, not by what the Romans received, but by what they bestowed; and that noble families were extended by the successive begettings of many kings. In this way, at any rate, he said, his own progenitor was begotten by Heracles, who did not confine his succession to a single womb, nor stand in awe of laws like Solon's for the regulation of conception, but gave free course to nature, and left behind him the beginnings and foundations of many families.

XXXVII. And now Phraates put Hyrodes his father to death and took possession of his kingdom,[1] other Parthians ran away in great numbers, and particularly Monaeses, a man of distinction and power,

[1] In 36 B.C. Cf. the *Crassus*, xxxiii. 5.

γων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, τὰς μὲν ἐκείνου τύχας ταῖς Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκάσας, περιουσίαν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι παραβαλών, ἐδωρήσατο τρεῖς πόλεις αὐτῷ, Λάρισσαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν, ἣν
2 Βαμβύκην πρότερον ἐκάλουν. τοῦ δὲ Πάρθων βασιλέως τῷ Μοναίσῃ δεξιὰν καταπέμψαντος, ἄσμενος αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐξαπατᾶν μὲν ἐγνωκὼς τὸν Φραάτην, ὡς εἰρήνης ἐσομένης, ἀξιῶν δὲ τὰς ἁλούσας ἐπὶ Κράσσου σημαίας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς περιόντας. αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποπέμψας ἐχώρει δι'
3 Ἀραβίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας, ὅπου συνελθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βασιλέων (πάμπολλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, μέγιστος δὲ πάντων ὁ τῆς Ἀρμενίας Ἀρταουάσδης, ἑξακισχιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους παρέχων) ἐξήτασε τὸν στρατόν. ἦσαν δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτῶν ἑξακισμύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις συντεταγμένον ἱππικόν, Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν μύριοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἐγένοντο τρεῖς μυριάδες σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ψιλοῖς.

4 Τοσαύτην μέντοι παρασκευὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ἣ καὶ τοὺς πέραν Βάκτρων Ἰνδοὺς ἐφόβησε καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκράδανε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀνόνητον αὐτῷ διὰ 933
Κλεοπάτραν γενέσθαι λέγουσι. σπεύδοντα γὰρ ἐκείνῃ συνδιαχειμάσαι, τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν πρὸ καιροῦ καὶ πᾶσι χρήσασθαι τεταραγμένως, οὐκ ὄντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ[1] φαρμάκων τινῶν ἢ γοητείας παπταίνοντα πρὸς

[1] ὡς ὑπὸ Naber: ὑπό.

who came in flight to Antony. Antony likened the fortunes of the fugitive to those of Themistocles,[1] compared his own abundant resources and magnanimity to those of the Persian kings, and gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which used to be called Bambycé. But when the Parthian king made an offer of friendship to Monaeses, Antony gladly sent Monaeses back to him, determined to deceive Phraates with a prospect of peace, and demanding back the standards captured in the campaign of Crassus, together with such of his men as still survived. Antony himself, however, after sending Cleopatra back to Egypt, proceeded through Arabia and Armenia to the place where his forces were assembled, together with those of the allied kings. These kings were very many in number, but the greatest of them all was Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who furnished six thousand horse and seven thousand foot. Here Antony reviewed his army. There were, of the Romans themselves, sixty thousand foot-soldiers, together with the cavalry classed as Roman, namely, ten thousand Iberians and Celts; of the other nations there were thirty thousand, counting alike horsemen and light-armed troops.

And yet we are told that all this preparation and power, which terrified even the Indians beyond Bactria and made all Asia quiver, was made of no avail to Antony by reason of Cleopatra. For so eager was he to spend the winter with her that he began the war before the proper time, and managed everything confusedly. He was not master of his own faculties, but, as if he were under the influence of certain drugs or of magic rites, was ever looking

[1] See the *Themistocles*, xxix. 7.

ἐκείνην ἀεί, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τάχιον ἐπανελθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενον.

XXXVIII. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ δέον ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διαχειμάσαι καὶ διαναπαῦσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὀκτακισχιλίων σταδίων ἀποτετρυμένον πορείᾳ, καὶ πρὶν ἢ κινεῖν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων Πάρθους ἔαρος ἀρχῇ Μηδίαν καταλαβεῖν, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ λαβὼν Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ τῆς Ἀτροπατηνῆς ἁψά-
2 μενος ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν. ἔπειτα μηχανημάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἀναγκαίων τριακοσίαις ἁμάξαις παραπεμπομένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ κριὸς ἦν ὀγδοήκοντα ποδῶν μῆκος, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐνεχώρει διαφθαρὲν ἐπὶ καιροῦ πάλιν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἄνω χώραν πᾶν ξύλον ἀγεννὲς εἰς μῆκος καὶ μαλθακὸν ἐκφέρειν, ἐπειγόμενος ὡς ἐμπόδια τοῦ ταχύνειν ἀπέλιπε, φυλακήν τινα καὶ Στατιανὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἁμαξῶν ἐπιστήσας, αὐτὸς δὲ Φραάτα μεγάλην πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν τοῦ τῆς Μηδίας βασιλέως, ἐπο-
3 λιόρκει. τῆς δὲ χρείας εὐθὺς ὅσον ἥμαρτε τὰς μηχανὰς ἀπολιπὼν ἐξελεγχούσης, ὁμόσε χωρῶν ἔχου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν χῶμα σχολῇ καὶ πολυπόνως ἀνιστάμενον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καταβαίνων στρατιᾷ μεγάλῃ Φραάτης, ὡς ἤκουσε τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν μηχανοφόρων ἁμαξῶν, ἔπεμψε τῶν ἱππέων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτάς, ὑφ' ὧν περιληφθεὶς ὁ Στατιανὸς ἀποθνήσκει μὲν αὐτός, ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ μύριοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ. τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἑλόντες οἱ

eagerly towards her, and thinking more of his speedy return than of conquering the enemy.

XXXVIII. In the first place, then, though he ought to have spent the winter in Armenia and to have given his army rest, worn out as it was by a march of eight thousand furlongs, and to have occupied Media at the opening of spring, before the Parthians had left their winter quarters, he could not hold out that length of time, but led his army on, taking Armenia on his left, and skirting Atropatené, which country he ravaged. Secondly, his engines necessary for siege operations were carried along on three hundred waggons, and among them was a battering ram eighty feet long. Not one of these, if destroyed, could be replaced in time to be of use, because the upper country produced only wood of insufficient length and hardness. Nevertheless, in his haste, he left these behind him, on the ground that they retarded his speed, setting a considerable guard under the command of Statianus over the waggons, while he himself laid siege to Phraata, a large city, in which were the wives and children of the king of Media. But the exigencies of the case at once proved what a mistake he had made in leaving behind him his engines, and coming to close quarters he began to build a mound against the city, which rose slowly and with much labour. In the meantime, however, Phraates came down with a great army, and when he heard that the waggons carrying the engines had been left behind, he sent a large number of his horsemen against them. By these Statianus was surrounded and slain himself, and ten thousand of his men were slain with him. Moreover, the Barbarians captured the engines and

βάρβαροι διέφθειραν. εἷλον δὲ παμπόλλους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Πολέμων ἦν ὁ βασιλεύς.

XXXIX. Τοῦτο πάντας μέν, ὡς εἰκός, ἠνίασε τοὺς περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἀνελπίστως ἐν ἀρχῇ πληγέντας· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος Ἀρταουάσδης ἀπογνοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ᾤχετο τὴν αὑτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀναλαβών, καίπερ αἰτιώτατος τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος.
2 ἐπιφανέντων δὲ λαμπρῶς τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χρωμένων ἀπειλαῖς πρὸς ὕβριν, οὐ βουλόμενος Ἀντώνιος ἡσυχάζοντι τῷ στρατῷ τὸ δυσθυμοῦν καὶ καταπεπληγμένον ἐμμένειν καὶ αὔξεσθαι, δέκα τάγματα λαβὼν καὶ τρεῖς στρατηγίδας σπείρας ὁπλιτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ἅπαντας, ἐξήγαγε πρὸς σιτολογίαν, οἰόμενος οὕτως ἂν ἐπισπασθέντων μάλιστα τῶν πολεμίων
3 ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχην γενέσθαι. προελθὼν δὲ μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς Πάρθους κύκλῳ περιχεομένους καὶ προσπεσεῖν καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῷ ζητοῦντας, ἐξέθηκε μὲν τὸ τῆς μάχης σύμβολον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καθελὼν δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς ὡς οὐ μαχησόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπάξων, παρημείβετο τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν τάξιν οὖσαν μηνοειδῆ, κελεύσας, ὅταν οἱ πρῶτοι τοῖς ὁπλίταις ἐν ἐφικτῷ δοκῶσιν
4 εἶναι, τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐναντίους εἰσελαύνειν. τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις παρακεκριμένοις λόγου κρείττων ἡ τάξις ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κατεθεῶντο παρεξιόντας ἐν διαστήμασιν ἴσοις ἀθορύβως καὶ σιωπῇ τοὺς ὑσσοὺς κραδαίνοντας. ὡς δὲ τὸ σημεῖον ἤρθη καὶ προσεφέροντο μετὰ κραυγῆς

destroyed them. They also took a great number of prisoners, among whom was Polemon the king.

XXXIX. This calamity naturally distressed all the followers of Antony, for they had received an unexpected blow at the outset; besides, Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, despairing of the Roman cause, took his own forces and went off, although he had been the chief cause of the war. And now the Parthians presented themselves to the besiegers in brilliant array, and threatened them insultingly. Antony, therefore, not wishing that the inactivity of his army should confirm and increase among them consternation and dejection, took ten legions and three praetorian cohorts of men-at-arms, together with all his cavalry, and led them out to forage, thinking that in this way the enemy would best be drawn into a pitched battle. After advancing a single day's march, he saw that the Parthians were enveloping him and seeking to attack him on the march. He therefore displayed the signal for battle in his camp, and after taking down his tents, as though his purpose was not to fight but to withdraw, he marched along past the line of the Barbarians, which was crescent-shaped. But he had given orders that when the first ranks of the enemy should appear to be within reach of his legionaries, the cavalry should charge upon them. To the Parthians in their parallel array, the discipline of the Romans seemed to beggar description, and they watched them marching past at equal distances from one another, without confusion, and in silence, brandishing their javelins. But when the signal was given, and the Roman horsemen wheeled about and rode down

ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ ἱππεῖς, τούτους μὲν ἠμύνοντο
δεξάμενοι, καίπερ εὐθὺς ἐντὸς τοξεύματος γενο-
μένους, τῶν δὲ ὁπλιτῶν συναπτόντων ἅμα βοῇ
καὶ πατάγῳ τῶν ὅπλων, οἵ τε ἵπποι τοῖς
Πάρθοις ἐξίσταντο ταρβοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὶν εἰς
χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφευγον.
5 Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐνέκειτο τῇ διώξει, καὶ
μεγάλας εἶχεν ἐλπίδας ὡς τοῦ πολέμου τὸ 934
σύμπαν ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ διαπεπραγ-
μένος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης τοῖς μὲν
πεζοῖς ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια, τοῖς δὲ ἱππεῦσιν
ἐπὶ τρὶς τοσαῦτα, τοὺς πεπτωκότας τῶν πολεμίων
καὶ τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπισκοποῦντες εὗρον αἰχ-
μαλώτους μὲν τριάκοντα, νεκροὺς δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα
μόνους, ἀπορία καὶ δυσθυμία πᾶσι παρέστη,
δεινὸν εἶναι λογιζομένοις εἰ νικῶντες μὲν οὕτως
ὀλίγους κτείνουσιν, ἡττώμενοι δὲ στερήσονται
τοσούτων ὅσους ἀπέβαλον περὶ ταῖς ἁμάξαις.
6 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συσκευασάμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ Φραάτων
καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προῆγον. ἐντυχόντες δὲ
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγοις τῶν πολεμίων,
ἔπειτα πλείοσι, τέλος δὲ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἀηττήτοις
καὶ νεαλέσι προκαλουμένοις καὶ προσβάλλουσι
πανταχόθεν, μοχθηρῶς καὶ πολυπόνως ἀπε-
7 σώθησαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῶν δὲ Μήδων
ἐκδρομήν τινα ποιησαμένων ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα καὶ
τοὺς προμαχομένους φοβησάντων, ὀργισθεὶς ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ἐχρήσατο τῇ λεγομένῃ δεκατείᾳ πρὸς
τοὺς ἀποδειλιάσαντας. διελὼν γὰρ εἰς δεκάδας
τὸ πλῆθος ἀφ' ἑκάστης ἕνα τὸν λαχόντα κλήρῳ
διέφθειρε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀντὶ πυρῶν ἐκέλευε
κριθὰς μετρεῖσθαι.

upon them with loud shouts, they did indeed receive their onset and repel them, although their foes were at once too close for them to use their arrows; when, however, the legionaries joined in the charge, with shouts and clashing of weapons, the horses of the Parthians took fright and gave way, and the Parthians fled without coming to close quarters.

Antony pressed hard upon them in pursuit, and had great hopes that he had finished the whole war, or the greater part of it, in that one battle. His infantry kept up the pursuit for fifty furlongs, and his cavalry for thrice that distance; and yet when he took count of those of the enemy who had fallen or had been captured, he found only thirty prisoners and eighty dead bodies. Despondency and despair therefore fell upon all; they thought it a terrible thing that when victorious they had killed so few, and when vanquished they were to be robbed of so many men as they had lost at the waggons. On the following day they packed up and started on the road to Phraata and their camp. As they marched they met, first a few of the enemy, then more of them, and finally the whole body, which, as though unconquered and fresh, challenged and attacked them from every side; but at last, with difficulty and much labour, they got safely to their camp. Then the Medes made a sally against their mound and put its defenders to flight. At this Antony was enraged, and visited those who had played the coward with what is called decimation. That is, he divided the whole number of them into tens, and put to death that one from each ten upon whom the lot fell.[1] For the rest he ordered rations of barley instead of wheat.

[1] See the *Crassus*, x. 2.

XL. Χαλεπὸς δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ τὸ μέλλον αὐτοῦ φοβερώτερον, Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν προσδοκῶντι λιμόν· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ τραυμάτων καὶ νεκρῶν πολλῶν ἐπισιτίσασθαι· Φραάτης δὲ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπιστάμενος πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ χειμῶνος ἔξω προσταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ θυραυλεῖν δυναμένους, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγκαρτερούντων καὶ παραμενόντων ἀπολίπωσιν αὐτόν, ἤδη τοῦ ἀέρος συνισταμένου μετὰ φθινοπωρινὴν
2 ἰσημερίαν. δόλον οὖν συντίθησι τοιόνδε. Πάρθων οἱ γνωριμώτατοι περὶ τὰς σιτολογίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπαντήσεις μαλακώτερον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεφέροντο, λαμβάνειν τε παριέντες αὐτοῖς ἔνια καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινοῦντες ὡς πολεμικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ θαυμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ
3 σφετέρου βασιλέως δικαίως. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσελαύνοντες ἐγγυτέρω καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀτρέμα παραβάλλοντες ἐλοιδόρουν τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὅτι βουλομένῳ Φραάτῃ διαλλαγῆναι καὶ φείσασθαι τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοσούτων ἀφορμὴν οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χαλεποὺς καὶ μεγάλους κάθηται πολεμίους ἀναμένων, λιμὸν καὶ χειμῶνα, δι' ὧν ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ προπεμπομένους ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἀποφεύγειν. πολλῶν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀναφερόντων, μαλασσόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὅμως οὐ πρότερον ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον ἢ πυθέσθαι τῶν φιλοφρονουμένων ἐκείνων βαρβάρων εἰ τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα φρο-
4 νοῦντος διαλέγοιντο. φασκόντων δὲ καὶ παρακαλούντων μὴ δεδιέναι μηδὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ἔπεμψέ τινας τῶν ἑταίρων πάλιν τὰς σημαίας ἀξιῶν

XL. The war was full of hardship for both sides, and its future course was still more to be dreaded. Antony expected a famine; for it was no longer possible to get provisions without having many men wounded and killed. Phraates, too, knew that his Parthians were able to do anything rather than to undergo hardships and encamp in the open during winter, and he was afraid that if the Romans persisted and remained, his men would desert him, since already the air was getting sharp after the summer equinox. He therefore contrived the following stratagem. Those of the Parthians who were most acquainted with the Romans attacked them less vigorously in their forays for provisions and other encounters, allowing them to take some things, praising their valour, and declaring that they were capital fighting men and justly admired by their own king. After this, they would ride up nearer, and quietly putting their horses alongside the Romans, would revile Antony because, when Phraates wished to come to terms and spare so many and such excellent men, Antony would not give him an opportunity, but sat there awaiting those grievous and powerful enemies, famine and winter, which would make it difficult for them to escape even though the Parthians should escort them on their way. Many persons reported this to Antony, but though his hope inclined him to yield, he did not send heralds to the Parthians until he had inquired of the Barbarians who were showing such kindness whether what they said represented the mind of their king. They assured him that it did, and urged him to have no fear or distrust, whereupon he sent some of his companions with a renewed demand for the return of the standards

ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ὡς δὴ μὴ
παντάπασιν ἀγαπᾶν τὸ σωθῆναι καὶ διαφυγεῖν
νομισθείη. τοῦ δὲ Πάρθου *ταῦτα μὲν ἐᾶν*
κελεύοντος, ἀπιόντι δὲ εὐθὺς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀσφά-
λειαν εἶναι φήσαντος, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις συσκευα-
5 *σάμενος ἀνεζεύγνυεν. ὢν δὲ καὶ δήμῳ πιθανὸς*
ἐντυχεῖν καὶ στρατὸν ἄγειν διὰ λόγου παρ'
ὁντινοῦν τῶν τότε πεφυκώς, ἐξέλιπεν αὐτὸς
αἰσχύνῃ καὶ κατηφείᾳ τὸ παραθαρρῦναι τὸ
πλῆθος, Δομίτιον δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον *ἐκέλευε τοῦτο*
ποιῆσαι. καί τινες μὲν ἠγανάκτησαν ὡς ὑπερορώ-
μενοι, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐπεκλάσθη καὶ συνεφρόνησε
τὴν αἰτίαν· διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀνταιδεῖ-
σθαι καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ στρατηγῷ.

XLI. Μέλλοντος *δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν*
ἄγειν ὀπίσω πεδινὴν καὶ ἄδενδρον οὖσαν, ἀνὴρ
τῷ γένει Μάρδος, *πολλὰ τοῖς* Πάρθων *ἤθεσιν*
ἐνωμιληκώς, ἤδη δὲ Ῥωμαίοις *πιστὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ* 935
τῇ περὶ τὰς μηχανὰς γεγονώς, Ἀντωνίῳ *προσ-*
ελθὼν ἐκέλευε φεύγειν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν ὀρῶν
ἐπιλαβόμενον, καὶ μὴ στρατὸν ὁπλίτην καὶ
βαρὺν ἐν δρόμοις γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις
2 *ὑποβαλεῖν ἵππῳ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τοξεύμασιν, ὃ δὴ*
τεχνώμενον τὸν Φραάτην *ἀναστῆσαι τῆς πολιορ-*
κίας αὐτὸν ὁμολογίαις φιλανθρώποις· ἔσεσθαι δὲ
αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ὁδοῦ βραχυτέρας καὶ μᾶλλον
εὐπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐχούσης.

and the captives,[1] that he might not be thought altogether satisfied with an escape in safety. But the Parthian told him not to urge this matter, and assured him of peace and safety as soon as he started to go away; whereupon, within a few days Antony packed up his baggage and broke camp. But though he was persuasive in addressing a popular audience and was better endowed by nature than any man of his time for leading an army by force of eloquence, he could not prevail upon himself, for shame and dejection of spirits, to make the usual speech of encouragement to the army, but ordered Domitius Ahenobarbus to do it. Some of the soldiers were incensed at this, and felt that he had held them in contempt; but the majority of them were moved to the heart as they comprehended the reason. Therefore they thought they ought to show all the more respect and obedience to their commander.

XLI. As he was about to lead his army back by the road over which it had come, which ran through a level country without trees, a man of the Mardian race, who had great familiarity with the Parthian habits, and had already shown himself faithful to the Romans in the battle over the engines of war,[2] came to Antony and urged him in his flight to keep close to the hills upon his right, and not to expose an encumbered army of legionaries to so large a force of mounted archers, in bare and extended tracts; this was the very thing, he said, which Phraates had designed when he induced him by friendly conferences to raise the siege; he himself, he said, would conduct the army by a way that was shorter and furnished a greater abundance of provisions.

[1] See chapter xxxvii. 2. [2] See chapter xxxviii. 3.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ Πάρθοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν μετὰ σπονδάς, τὴν δὲ συντομίαν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὸ παρὰ κώμας οἰκουμένας ἔσεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐπαινῶν
3 πίστιν ᾔτει τὸν Μάρδον. ὁ δὲ δῆσαι παρεῖχεν αὑτὸν ἄχρι οὗ καταστήσῃ τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ δεθεὶς ἡγεῖτο δύο ἡμέρας καθ' ἡσυχίαν. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ παντάπασι τοὺς Πάρθους ἀπεγνωκότος Ἀντωνίου καὶ βαδίζοντος ἀνειμένως διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἰδὼν ὁ Μάρδος ἀπόχωσιν ἐμβολῆς ποταμοῦ νεωστὶ διεσπασμένην καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα πολὺ
4 πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, ᾗ πορευτέον ἦν, ἐκχεόμενον, συνῆκεν ὅτι τῶν Πάρθων ἔργον εἴη τοῦτο δυσκολίας ἕνεκα καὶ διατριβῆς ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποταμὸν τιθεμένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε καὶ προσέχειν, ὡς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων. ἄρτι δὲ αὐτοῦ καθιστάντος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις ἐκδρομὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασκευάζοντος, ἐπεφάνησαν οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ περιήλαυνον ὡς κυκλωσόμενοι καὶ συνταράξοντες πανταχόθεν τὸν στρατόν.
5 ἐκδραμόντων δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, πολλὰς μὲν διδόντες ἀπὸ τόξων, οὐκ ἐλάττονας δὲ ταῖς μολυβδίσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις πληγὰς λαμβάνοντες ἀνεχώρουν· εἶτα ἐπῆγον αὖθις, ἄχρι οὗ συστρέψαντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐνέβαλον καὶ διεσκέδασαν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὑπόδειγμα γενομένους.

On hearing this, Antony took counsel with himself. He did not wish to have the appearance of distrusting the Parthians, now that a truce had been made, but since he approved of the shorter road and of having their march take them past inhabited villages, he asked the Mardian for a pledge of his good faith. The Mardian offered to let himself be put in fetters until he should bring the army safely into Armenia, and he was put in fetters, and led them for two days without their encountering trouble. But on the third day, when Antony had put the Parthians entirely out of his thoughts, and was marching along in loose order because of his confidence, the Mardian noticed that a dike of the river had been recently torn away, and that the stream was flowing out in great volume towards the road over which their march must be made. He comprehended that this was the work of the Parthians, throwing the river in their way to obstruct and delay the Roman march, and urged Antony to look out and be on his guard, as the enemy were near. And just as Antony was setting his legionaries in array and arranging to have his javelineers and slingers make a sally through them against the enemy, the Parthians came into view and began to ride around the army in order to envelope and throw it into confusion on all sides. Whenever the Roman light-armed troops sallied out against them, the Parthians would inflict many wounds with their arrows, but sustain yet more from the leaden bullets and javelins of the Romans, and therefore withdraw. Then they would come up again, until the Celts, massing their horses together, made a charge upon them and scattered them, so that they showed themselves no more that day.

XLII. Ἐκ τούτου μαθὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὃ ποιεῖν ἔδει, πολλοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις οὐ μόνον τὴν οὐραγίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς ἑκατέρας στομώσας ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἦγε, καὶ τοῖς ἱππόταις εἴρητο προσβάλλοντας τρέπεσθαι, τρεψαμένους δὲ μὴ πόρρω διώκειν, ὥστε τοὺς Πάρθους τὰς ἐφεξῆς τέσσαρας ἡμέρας οὐθὲν πλέον δράσαντας ἢ παθόντας ἀμβλυτέρους γεγονέναι καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ποιουμένους πρόφασιν ἀπιέναι διανοεῖσθαι.

2 Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ Φλαούϊος Γάλλος, ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ δραστήριος ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένος, ᾔτησεν Ἀντώνιον προσελθὼν πλείονας ψιλοὺς ἀπ' οὐρᾶς, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππέων τινὰς ὡς μέγα κατόρθωμα ποιήσων. δόντος δὲ προσβάλλοντας ἀνέκοπτε τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐχ, ὡς πρότερον, ὑπάγων ἅμα πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ ἀναχωρῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑφιστάμενος καὶ συμπλεκόμενος

3 παραβολώτερον. ὁρῶντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς οὐραγίας ἡγεμόνες ἀπορρηγνύμενον ἐκάλουν πέμποντες· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο. Τίτιον δέ φασι τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τῶν σημαιῶν ἐπιλαβόμενον στρέφειν ὀπίσω καὶ λοιδορεῖν τὸν Γάλλον ὡς ἀπολλύντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας. ἀντιλοιδοροῦντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ διακελευομένου τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν μένειν, ὁ μὲν Τίτιος ἀπεχώρει· τὸν δὲ Γάλλον ὠθούμενον εἰς τοὺς κατὰ στόμα λανθάνουσι πολλοὶ

4 περισχόντες ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν. βαλλόμενος δὲ πανταχόθεν ἐκάλει πέμπων ἀρωγήν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἄγοντες, ὧν καὶ Κανίδιος ἦν, ἀνὴρ παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ δυνάμενος μέγιστον, οὐ μικρὰ δοκοῦσι διαμαρτεῖν. δέον γὰρ ἀθρόαν ἐπιστρέψαι τὴν 936

XLII. Having thus learned what he ought to do, Antony covered not only his rear, but also both his flanks, with numerous javelineers and slingers, led his army in the form of a hollow square, and gave orders to his horsemen to rout the enemy when they attacked, but after routing them not to pursue them further. Consequently the Parthians, during four successive days, suffered greater loss than they inflicted, became less eager, and made the winter an excuse for thoughts of going away.

On the fifth day, however, Flavius Gallus, an efficient and able soldier in high command, came to Antony and asked him for more light-armed troops from the rear, and for some of the horsemen from the van, confident that he would achieve a great success. Antony gave him the troops, and when the enemy attacked, Gallus beat them back, not withdrawing and leading them on towards the legionaries, as before, but resisting and engaging them more hazardously. The leaders of the rear guard, seeing that he was being cut off from them, sent and called him back; but he would not listen to them. Then, they say, Titius the quaestor laid hold of his standards and tried to turn them back, abusing Gallus for throwing away the lives of so many brave men. But Gallus gave back the abuse and exhorted his men to stand firm, whereupon Titius withdrew. Then Gallus forced his way among the enemy in front of him, without noticing that great numbers of them were enveloping him in the rear. But when missiles began to fall upon him from all sides, he sent and asked for help. Then the leaders of the legionaries, among whom was Canidius, a man of the greatest influence with Antony, are thought to have made no slight mistake. For when

φάλαγγα, πέμποντες κατ' ὀλίγους ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, καὶ πάλιν ἡττωμένων τούτων ἑτέρους ἀποστέλλοντες, ἔλαθον ὀλίγου δεῖν ἥττης καὶ φυγῆς ὅλον ἀναπλήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ μὲν αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἧκεν ὑπαντιάζων, ταχὺ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τάγμα διὰ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὠσάμενον ἔσχε τοῦ πρόσω διώκειν.

XLIII. Ἀπέθανον δὲ τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ἐκομίσθησαν δὲ ἐπὶ σκηνὰς τραυματίαι πεντακισχίλιοι· καὶ Γάλλος ἦν ἐν τούτοις, τέτταρσιν ἐναντίοις διαπεπαρμένος τοξεύμασιν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων οὐκ ἀνήνεγκε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους περιϊὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεσκόπει καὶ παρεθάρρυνε δεδακρυμένος καὶ περιπαθῶν. οἱ δὲ φαιδροὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαμβανόμενοι παρεκάλουν ἀπιόντα θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κακοπαθεῖν, αὐτοκράτορα καλοῦντες, καὶ σώζεσθαι λέ-
2 γοντες ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὑγιαίνῃ. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλκαῖς οὔτε ὑπομοναῖς οὔτε ἡλικίᾳ λαμπρότερον ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ στρατὸν ἐκείνου δοκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις· ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰδὼς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πειθαρχία μετ' εὐνοίας, καὶ τὸ πάντας ὁμαλῶς, ἐνδόξους, ἀδόξους, ἄρχοντας, ἰδιώτας, τὴν παρὰ Ἀντωνίου τιμήν τε καὶ χάριν μᾶλλον αἱρεῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας, οὐδὲ τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέλιπεν ὑπερ-
3 βολήν. τούτου δὲ αἰτίαι πλείονες ἦσαν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν· εὐγένεια, λόγου δύναμις, ἁπλότης,

they ought to have wheeled their entire line against the enemy, they sent only a few men at a time to help Gallus, and again, when one detachment had been overcome, sent out others, and so, before they were aware of it, they came near plunging the whole army into defeat and flight. But Antony himself speedily came with his legionaries from the van to confront the fugitives, and the third legion speedily pushed its way through them against the enemy and checked his further pursuit.

XLIII. There fell no fewer than three thousand, and there were carried to their tents five thousand wounded men, among whom was Gallus, who was pierced in front by four arrows. Gallus, indeed, did not recover from his wounds, but Antony went to see all the others and tried to encourage them, with tears of sympathy in his eyes. The wounded men, however, with cheerful faces, seized his hand and exhorted him to go away and take care of himself, and not to be distressed. They called him Imperator, and said that they were safe if only he were unharmed. For, to put it briefly, no other imperator of that day appears to have assembled an army more conspicuous for prowess, endurance, or youthful vigour. Nay, the respect which his soldiers felt for him as their leader, their obedience and goodwill, and the degree to which all of them alike—men of good repute or men of no repute, commanders or private soldiers—preferred honour and favour from Antony to life and safety, left even the ancient Romans nothing to surpass. And the reasons for this were many, as I have said before: his high birth, his eloquence, his simplicity of manners, his love of

τὸ φιλόδωρον καὶ μεγαλόδωρον, ἡ περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας εὐτραπελία. τότε δὲ καὶ συμπονῶν καὶ συναλγῶν τοῖς κακοπαθοῦσι, καὶ μεταδιδοὺς οὗ τις δεηθείη, προθυμοτέρους τῶν ἐρρωμένων τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ τετρωμένους ἐποίησε.

XLIV. Τοὺς μέντοι πολεμίους ἀπαγορεύοντας ἤδη καὶ κάμνοντας οὕτως ἐπῆρεν ἡ νίκη καὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεφρόνησαν ὥστε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπαυλίσασθαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, προσδοκῶντας αὐτίκα μάλα σκηνὰς ἐρήμους καὶ χρή-
2 ματα διαρπάσειν ἀποδιδρασκόντων. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ πολὺ πλείονες ἐπηθροίζοντο, καὶ λέγονται τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττονες ἱππόται γενέσθαι, βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τεταγμένους ὡς ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ βεβαίῳ κατορθώματι πέμψαντος· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμιᾷ μάχῃ παρέτυχεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ βουλόμενος προσαγορεῦσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ᾔτησε φαιὸν ἱμάτιον, ὡς οἰκτρότερος ὀφθείη. τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐναντιωθέντων ἐν τῇ στρατηγικῇ φοινικίδι προελθὼν ἐδημηγόρησε, τοὺς μὲν νενικηκότας ἐπαινῶν, ὀνειδίζων δὲ τοὺς φυγ-
3 όντας. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν παρεκελεύοντο θαρρεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀπολογούμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρεῖχον, εἴτε βούλοιτο δεκατεύειν, εἴτε ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ κολάζειν· μόνον παύσασθαι δυσφοροῦντα καὶ λυπούμενον ἐδέοντο. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας ἐπεύξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἴ τις ἄρα νέμεσις τὰς πρόσθεν εὐτυχίας αὐτοῦ μέτεισιν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ στρατῷ σωτηρίαν διδόναι καὶ νίκην.

giving and the largeness of his giving, his complaisance in affairs of pleasure or social intercourse. And so at this time, by sharing in the toils and distresses of the unfortunate and bestowing upon them whatever they wanted, he made the sick and wounded more eager in his service than the well and strong.

XLIV. The enemy, however, who had been already worn out and inclined to abandon their task, were so elated by their victory, and so despised the Romans, that they even bivouacked for the night near their camp, expecting very soon to be plundering the empty tents and the baggage of runaways. At day-break, too, they gathered for attack in far greater numbers, and there are said to have been no fewer than forty thousand horsemen, since their king had sent even those who were always arrayed about his person, assured that it was to manifest and assured success; for the king himself was never present at a battle. Then Antony, wishing to harangue his soldiers, called for a dark robe, that he might be more pitiful in their eyes. But his friends opposed him in this, and he therefore came forward in the purple robe of a general and made his harangue, praising those who had been victorious, and reproaching those who had fled. The former exhorted him to be of good courage, and the latter, by way of apology for their conduct, offered themselves to him for decimation,[1] if he wished, or for any other kind of punishment; only they begged him to cease being distressed and vexed. In reply, Antony lifted up his hands and prayed the gods that if, then, any retribution were to follow his former successes, it might fall upon him alone, and that the rest of the army might be granted victory and safety.

[1] See chapter xxxix. 7.

XLV. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ φραξάμενοι βέλτιον
προῆγον· καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπιχειροῦσι πολὺς
ἀπήντα παράλογος. οἰόμενοι γὰρ ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν
καὶ λεηλασίαν, οὐ μάχην, ἐλαύνειν, εἶτα πολλοῖς
βέλεσιν ἐντυγχάνοντες, ἐρρωμένους δὲ καὶ νεαλεῖς
2 ταῖς προθυμίαις ὁρῶντες, αὖθις ἐξέκαμνον. ἐπεὶ
δὲ καταβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ λόφων τινῶν ἐπι-
κλινῶν ἐπέθεντο καὶ βραδέως ὑπεξάγοντας ἔβαλ-
λον, ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ θυρεοφόροι συνέκλεισαν
εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων τοὺς ψιλούς, αὐτοὶ δὲ καθέντες
εἰς γόνυ προὐβάλοντο τοὺς θυρεούς· οἱ δὲ ὄπισθεν
ὑπερέσχον αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα κἀκείνων ὁμοίως ἕτεροι.
τὸ δὲ σχῆμα παραπλήσιον ἐρέψει γινόμενον ὄψιν 937
τε θεατρικὴν παρέχει, καὶ τῶν προβλημάτων
στεγανώτατόν ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς ὀϊστοὺς ἀπολισθαί-
3 νοντας. οἱ μέντοι Πάρθοι τὴν εἰς γόνυ κλίσιν
τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπαγόρευσιν ἡγούμενοι καὶ κά-
ματον εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τόξα κατέθεντο, τοὺς δὲ κον-
τοὺς διαλαβόντες ἐγγὺς προσέμιξαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥω-
μαῖοι συναλαλάξαντες ἐξαίφνης ἀνέθορον, καὶ
τοῖς ὑσσοῖς παίοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἔκτεινάν τε τοὺς
πρώτους καὶ τροπὴν ἔθεντο τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων.
ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐπὶ
μικρὸν ἀνυόντων τῆς ὁδοῦ.

4 Καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο τοῦ στρατοῦ σῖτόν τε βραχὺν
καὶ διὰ μάχης ποριζομένου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἄλετον
σκευῶν οὐκ εὐποροῦντος. τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ κατε-
λείπετο, τῶν μὲν ἀποθνησκόντων ὑποζυγίων,
τῶν δὲ τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ τραυματίας φερόντων.

XLV. On the following day they went forward under better protection; and the Parthians met with a great surprise when they attacked them. For they thought they were riding up for plunder and booty, not battle, and when they encountered many missiles and saw that the Romans were fresh and vigorous and eager for the fray, they were once more tired of the struggle. However, as the Romans were descending some steep hills, the Parthians attacked them and shot at them as they slowly moved along. Then the shield-bearers wheeled about, enclosing the lighter armed troops within their ranks, while they themselves dropped on one knee and held their shields out before them. The second rank held their shields out over the heads of the first, and the next rank likewise. The resulting appearance is very like that of a roof,[1] affords a striking spectacle, and is the most effective of protections against arrows, which glide off from it. The Parthians, however, thinking that the Romans dropping on one knee was a sign of fatigue and exhaustion, laid aside their bows, grasped their spears by the middle and came to close quarters. But the Romans, with a full battle cry, suddenly sprang up, and thrusting with their javelins slew the foremost of the Parthians and put all the rest to rout. This happened also on the following days as the Romans, little by little, proceeded on their way.

Famine also attacked the army, which could provide itself with little grain even by fighting, and was not well furnished with implements for grinding. These had been abandoned, for the most part, since some of the beasts of burden died, and the others

[1] It was the *testudo*, described in Dio Cassius, xlix. 3.

λέγεται δὲ χοῖνιξ Ἀττικὴ πυρῶν πεντήκοντα
δραχμῶν ὤνιος γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ κριθίνους ἄρ-
5 τους πρὸς ἀργύριον ἱστάντες ἀπεδίδοντο. τραπό-
μενοι δὲ πρὸς λάχανα καὶ ῥίζας ὀλίγοις μὲν
ἐνετύγχανον τῶν συνήθων, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ πει-
ρᾶσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀγεύστων πρότερον ἥψαντό τινος
πόας ἐπὶ θάνατον διὰ μανίας ἀγούσης. ὁ γὰρ
φαγὼν οὐδὲν ἐμέμνητο τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲ ἐγίνωσκεν,
ἓν δ' ἔργον εἶχε, κινεῖν καὶ στρέφειν πάντα λίθον,
ὥς τι μεγάλης σπουδῆς ἄξιον διαπραττόμενος.
6 ἦν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον κεκυφότων χαμᾶζε καὶ
τοὺς λίθους περιορυττόντων καὶ μεθιστάντων·
τέλος δὲ χολὴν ἐμοῦντες ἔθνησκον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ
μόνον ἀντιπαθές, οἶνος, ἐξέλιπε. φθειρομένων δὲ
πολλῶν καὶ τῶν Πάρθων οὐκ ἀφισταμένων πολ-
λάκις ἀναφθέγξασθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἱστοροῦσιν,
"Ὦ μύριοι," θαυμάζοντα τοὺς μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος,
ὅτι καὶ πλείονα καταβαίνοντες ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυ-
λωνίας καὶ πολλαπλασίοις μαχόμενοι πολεμίοις
ἀπεσώθησαν.

XLVI. Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαπλέξαι μὲν οὐ δυνά-
μενοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐδὲ διασπάσαι τὴν τάξιν, ἤδη
δὲ πολλάκις ἡττημένοι καὶ πεφευγότες, αὖθις
εἰρηνικῶς ἀνεμίγνυντο τοῖς ἐπὶ χιλὸν ἢ σῖτον
προερχομένοις, καὶ τῶν τόξων τὰς νευρὰς ἐπιδει-
κνύντες ἀνειμένας, ἔλεγον ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπίασιν
ὀπίσω καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται πέρας ἀμύνης, ὀλίγοι
δὲ Μήδων ἀκολουθήσουσιν ἔτι μιᾶς ἢ δευτέρας
ὁδὸν ἡμέρας οὐδὲν παρενοχλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς
2 ἀπωτέρω κώμας φυλάττοντες. τούτοις τοῖς λό-
γοις ἀσπασμοί τε καὶ φιλοφροσύναι προσῆσαν,

had to carry the sick and wounded. It is said that one attic choenix[1] of wheat brought fifty drachmas; and loaves of barley bread were sold for their weight in silver. Resorting, therefore, to vegetables and roots, they could find few to which they were accustomed, and were compelled to make trial of some never tasted before. Thus it was that they partook of an herb which produced madness, and then death. He who ate of it had no memory, and no thought for anything else than the one task of moving or turning every stone, as if he were accomplishing something of great importance. The plain was full of men stooping to the ground and digging around the stones or removing them; and finally they would vomit bile and die, since the only remedy, wine, was not to be had. Many perished thus, and the Parthians would not desist, and Antony, as we are told, would often cry: "O the Ten Thousand!" thereby expressing his admiration of Xenophon's army, which made an even longer march to the sea from Babylon, and fought with many times as many enemies, and yet came off safe.

XLVI. And now the Parthians, unable to throw the army into confusion or break up its array, but many times already defeated and put to flight, began once more to mingle peaceably with the men who went out in search of fodder or grain, and pointing to their unstrung bows would say that they themselves were going back, and that this was the end of their retaliation, although a few Medes would still follow the Romans one or two days' march, not molesting them at all, but merely protecting the more outlying villages. To these words they added greetings and acts of friendliness, so that once more

[1] About a quart.

ὥστε πάλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐθαρσεῖς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀκούσαντα τῶν πεδίων ἐφίεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἀνύδρου λεγομένης εἶναι τῆς διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν. οὕτω δὲ ποιεῖν μέλλοντος ἧκεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ὄνομα Μιθριδάτης, ἀνεψιὸς Μοναίσου τοῦ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ γενομένου καὶ τὰς τρεῖς πόλεις δωρεὰν λαβόντος. ἠξίου δὲ αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν τινα τῶν Παρθιστὶ
3 διαλεχθῆναι δυναμένων ἢ Συριστί. καὶ προσελθόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀντιοχέως, ὃς ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ συνήθης, ὑπειπὼν ὃς εἴη, καὶ Μοναίσῃ τὴν χάριν ἀνάπτων, ἠρώτησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰ λόφους συνεχεῖς καὶ ὑψηλοὺς ὁρᾷ πρόσωθεν. φήσαντος δὲ ὁρᾶν, "Ὑπ' ἐκείνοις," ἔφη "πανστρα-
4 τιᾷ Πάρθοι λοχῶσιν ὑμᾶς. τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα πεδία τῶν λόφων τούτων ἐξήρτηται, καὶ προσδοκῶσιν ὑμᾶς ἐξηπατημένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα τρέψεσθαι, τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀπολιπόντας. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ἔχει δίψος καὶ πόνον ὑμῖν συνήθη, ταύτῃ δὲ χωρῶν Ἀντώνιος ἴστω τὰς Κράσσου τύχας αὐτὸν ἐκδεχομένας."

XLVII. Ὁ μὲν οὕτω φράσας ἀπῆλθεν· Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ διαταραχθεὶς συνεκάλει τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ Μάρδον οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ἄλλως φρονοῦντα. καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ πολεμίων 938
ἐγίνωσκε τὰς διὰ τῶν πεδίων ἀνοδίας καὶ πλάνας χαλεπὰς καὶ δυστεκμάρτους οὔσας, τὴν δὲ τραχεῖαν ἀπέφαινεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυσχ ερὲς ἢ μιᾶς

the Romans became full of courage, and Antony, when he heard about it, was more inclined to seek the plains, since the way through the mountains was said to be waterless. But as he was about to do this, there came a man to the camp from the enemy, Mithridates by name, a cousin of the Monaeses who had been with Antony and had received the three cities as a gift.[1] Mithridates asked that someone should come to him who could speak the Parthian or Syrian language. So Alexander of Antioch came to him, being a close friend of Antony, whereupon Mithridates, after explaining who he was, and attributing to Monaeses the favour now to be shown, asked Alexander if he saw a range of lofty hills on beyond. Alexander said he did see them. "Under those hills," said Mithridates, "the Parthians with all their forces are lying in ambush for you. For the great plains adjoin these hills, and they expect that you will be beguiled by them into turning in that direction and leaving the road through the mountains. That road, it is true, involves thirst and hard labour, to which you are now accustomed; but if Antony proceeds by way of the plains, let him know that the fate of Crassus awaits him."

XLVII. After giving this information the man went away, and Antony, who was much troubled by what he now heard, called together his friends and his Mardian guide, who was himself of the same opinion as their visitor. For he knew that even were there no enemy the lack of roads through the plains would involve them in blind and grievous wanderings, and he showed them that the rough road through the mountains had no other annoyance

[1] Cf. chapter xxxvii. 1.

2 ἡμέρας ἀνυδρίαν ἔχουσαν. οὕτω δὴ τραπόμενος
ταύτην ἦγε νυκτός, ὕδωρ ἐπιφέρεσθαι κελεύσας.
ἀγγείων δὲ ἦν ἀπορία τοῖς πολλοῖς· διὸ καὶ τὰ
κράνη πιμπλάντες ὕδατος ἐκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ διφθέ-
ραις ὑπολαμβάνοντες.

Ἤδη δὲ προχωρῶν ἀγγέλλεται τοῖς Πάρθοις
καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐδίωκον. ἡλίου δὲ
ἀνίσχοντος ἥπτοντο τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ
πόνῳ κακῶς διακειμένων· τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ καὶ
διακοσίους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ σταδίους κατηνύκεισαν·
καὶ τὸ μὴ προσδοκῶσιν οὕτω ταχέως ἐπελθεῖν
3 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθυμίαν παρεῖχε. καὶ τὸ δίψος
ἐπέτεινεν ὁ ἀγών· ἀμυνόμενοι γὰρ ἅμα προῆγον.
οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι βαδίζοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι ποταμῷ
ψυχρὸν μὲν ἔχοντι καὶ διαυγές, ἁλμυρὸν δὲ καὶ
φαρμακῶδες ὕδωρ, ὃ ποθὲν εὐθὺς ὀδύνας ἑλκο-
μένης τῆς κοιλίας καὶ τοῦ δίψους ἀναφλεγομένου
παρ χε. καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Μάρδου προλέγοντος
οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκβιαζόμενοι τοὺς ἀνείργοντας ἔπινον.
4 Ἀντώνιος δὲ περιϊὼν ἐδεῖτο βραχὺν ἐγκαρτερῆσαι
χρόνον· ἕτερον γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ποταμὸν εἶναι πό-
τιμον, εἶτα τὴν λοιπὴν ἄφιππον καὶ τραχεῖαν,
ὥστε παντάπασιν ἀποστρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμί-
ους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνεκαλεῖτο
καὶ κατάζευξιν ἐσήμαινεν, ὡς σκιᾶς γοῦν μεταλά-
βοιεν οἱ στρατιῶται.

than lack of water for a single day. Accordingly, Antony took this route and led his army along by night, after ordering his men to carry water with them. The greater part of them, however, had no vessels, and therefore some actually filled their helmets with water and carried them, while others took it in skins.

But word was at once brought to the Parthians that Antony was advancing, and contrary to their custom they set out in pursuit while it was yet night. Just as the sun was rising they came up with the rear-guard of the Romans, which was foredone with sleeplessness and toil; for they had accomplished two hundred and forty furlongs in the night. Moreover, they did not expect that the enemy would come upon them so quickly, and were therefore disheartened. Besides, their contest intensified their thirst; for they had to ward off the enemy and make their way forward at the same time. Those who marched in the van came to a river, the water of which was clear and cold, but had a salty taste and was poisonous. This water, as soon as one drank it, caused pains, accompanied by cramping of the bowels and an inflammation of one's thirst. Of this too the Mardian had warned them, but none the less the soldiers forced aside those who tried to turn them back, and drank. Antony went round and begged the men to hold out a little while; for not far ahead, he said, there was another river which was potable, and then the rest of the way was too rough for cavalry, so that the enemy must certainly turn back. At the same time, too, he called his men back from fighting and gave the signal for pitching the tents, that the soldiers might at least enjoy the shade a little.

XLVIII. Πηγνυμένων οὖν τῶν σκηνῶν, καὶ τῶν Πάρθων εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν, ἀπαλλαττομένων, ἧκεν αὖθις ὁ Μιθριδάτης, καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου προσελθόντος παρῄνει μικρὸν ἡσυχάσαντα τὸν στρατὸν ἀνιστάναι καὶ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὡς οὐ διαβησομένων Πάρθων, ἄχρι δὲ ἐκείνου διωξόντων. ταῦτα ἀπαγγείλας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκφέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ χρυσᾶ ποτήρια πάμπολλα καὶ φιάλας, ὧν ἐκεῖνος, ὅσα τῇ ἐσθῆτι κατακρύψαι δυνατὸς ἦν, λαβὼν ἀπή-
2 λαυνεν. ἔτι δὲ ἡμέρας οὔσης ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο, τῶν πολεμίων οὐ παρενοχλούντων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑαυτοῖς νύκτα χαλεπωτάτην πασῶν ἐκείνην καὶ φοβερωτάτην ἀπεργασάμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντας ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἀποκτιννύντες ἐσύλων καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀφήρπαζον· τέλος δὲ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου σκευοφόροις ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἐκπώματα καὶ τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς κατέκοπτον καὶ διενέμοντο.

3 Θορύβου δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ πλάνου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐπέχοντος (ᾤοντο γὰρ ἐπιπεπτωκότων τῶν πολεμίων τροπὴν γεγονέναι καὶ διασπασμόν) Ἀντώνιος ἕνα καλέσας τῶν δορυφορούντων αὐτὸν ἀπελευθέρων, ὄνομα Ῥάμνον, ὥρκωσεν, ὅταν κελεύσῃ, τὸ ξίφος αὐτοῦ διεῖναι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, ὡς μήτε ἁλῴη ζῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
4 μήτε γνωσθείη τεθνηκώς. ἐκδακρυσάντων δὲ τῶν φίλων ὁ Μάρδος ἐθάρρυνε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὔρα τις

XLVIII. Accordingly, the Romans went to pitching their tents, and the Parthians, as their custom was, at once began to withdraw. At this point Mithridates came again, and after Alexander had joined him he advised Antony to let the army rest only a little while, and then to get it under way and hasten to the river, assuring him that the Parthians would not cross it, but would continue the pursuit until they reached it. This message was carried to Antony by Alexander, who then brought out from Antony golden drinking-cups in great numbers, as well as bowls. Mithridates took as many of these as he could hide in his garments and rode off. Then, while it was still day, they broke camp and proceeded on their march. The enemy did not molest them, but they themselves made that night of all other nights the most grievous and fearful for themselves. For those who had gold or silver were slain and robbed of it, and the goods were plundered from the beasts of burden; and finally the baggage-carriers of Antony were attacked, and beakers and costly tables were cut to pieces or distributed about.

And now, since there was great confusion and straggling throughout the whole army (for they thought that the enemy had fallen upon them and routed and dispersed them), Antony called one of the freedmen in his body-guard, Rhamnus by name, and made him take oath that, at the word of command, he would thrust his sword through him and cut off his head, that he might neither be taken alive by the enemy nor recognized when he was dead. Antony's friends burst into tears, but the Mardian tried to encourage him, declaring that the river was near;

ἀπορρέουσα νοτερὰ καὶ ψυχρότερος ἀὴρ ἁπάντων
ἡδίω τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἔφη
τῆς πορείας οὕτω συμπεραίνειν τὸ μέτρον· οὐκέτι
5 γὰρ ἦν πολὺ τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς νυκτός. ἅμα δ'
ἀπήγγελλον ἕτεροι τὸν θόρυβον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐ-
τοὺς ἀδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας εἶναι. διὸ καὶ κατα-
στῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν ἐκ τῆς πλάνης καὶ
τοῦ διασπασμοῦ βουλόμενος ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν
κατάζευξιν.

XLIX. Ἤδη δ' ὑπέλαμπεν ἡμέρα, καὶ τοῦ
στρατοῦ κόσμον ἀρχομένου τινὰ λαμβάνειν καὶ
ἡσυχίαν προσέπιπτε τοῖς τελευταίοις τὰ τῶν
Πάρθων τοξεύματα, καὶ μάχης σημεῖον ἐδόθη
τοῖς ψιλοῖς. οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται πάλιν ὁμοίως κατε- 939
ρέψαντες ἀλλήλους τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑπέμενον τοὺς
βάλλοντας ἐγγὺς οὐ τολμῶντας συνελθεῖν.
2 ὑπαγόντων δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν πρώτων
ὁ ποταμὸς ἐφάνη· καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
παρατάξας Ἀντώνιος ἐναντίους τοῖς πολεμίοις
διεβίβαζε τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς πρώτους. ἤδη δὲ καὶ
τοῖς μαχομένοις ἄδεια καὶ ῥᾳστώνη τοῦ πιεῖν ἦν.
ὡς γὰρ εἶδον οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν ποταμόν, τάς τε
νευρὰς ἀνῆκαν καὶ θαρροῦντας ἐκέλευον διαπερᾶν
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πολλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐγκω-
3 μιάζοντες. διαβάντες οὖν καθ' ἡσυχίαν αὑτοὺς
ἀνελάμβανον, εἶτα ὥδευον, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς
Πάρθοις πιστεύοντες. ἕκτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν
τελευταίαν μάχην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ἧκον,
ὁρίζοντα Μηδίαν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ

for a breeze blowing from it was moist, and a cooler air in their faces made their breathing pleasanter. He said also that the time during which they had been marching made his estimate of the distance conclusive; for little of the night was now left. At the same time, too, others brought word that the tumult was a result of their own iniquitous and rapacious treatment of one another. Therefore, wishing to bring the throng into order after their wandering and distraction, Antony ordered the signal to be given for encampment.

XLIX. Day was already dawning, and the army was beginning to assume a certain order and tranquillity, when the arrows of the Parthians fell upon the rear ranks, and the light-armed troops were ordered by signal to engage. The men-at-arms, too, again covered each other over with their shields, as they had done before, and so withstood their assailants, who did not venture to come to close quarters. The front ranks advanced little by little in this manner, and the river came in sight. On its bank Antony drew up his horsemen to confront the enemy, and set his sick and disabled soldiers across first. And presently even those who were fighting had a chance to drink at their ease; for when the Parthians saw the river, they unstrung their bows and bade the Romans cross over with good courage, bestowing much praise also upon their valour. So they crossed without being disturbed and recruited themselves, and then resumed their march, putting no confidence at all in the Parthians. And on the sixth day after their last battle with them they came to the river Araxes, which forms the boundary between Media and Armenia. Its depth and violence

βάθει καὶ τραχύτητι χαλεπός· καὶ λόγος διῆλθεν ἐνεδρεύοντας αὐτόθι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιθήσεσθαι
4 διαβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς διαπεράσαντες ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὥσπερ ἄρτι γῆν ἐκείνην ἰδόντες ἐκ πελάγους, προσεκύνουν καὶ πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ περιβολὰς ἀλλήλων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐτρέποντο. προϊόντες δὲ διὰ χώρας εὐδαίμονος καὶ χρώμενοι πᾶσιν ἀνέδην ἐκ πολλῆς ἀπορίας, ὑδερικοῖς καὶ κοιλιακοῖς περιέπιπτον ἀρρωστήμασιν.

L. Ἐνταῦθα ποιησάμενος ἐξέτασιν αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος εὗρε δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἱππεῖς ἀπολωλότας, οὐ πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεις νοσήσαντας. ὥδευσαν μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Φραάτων ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, μάχαις δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα Πάρθους ἐνίκησαν, αἱ δὲ νῖκαι κράτος οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲ βεβαιότητα μικρὰς ποιουμένων καὶ ἀτελεῖς τὰς
2 διώξεις. ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα κατάδηλος ἦν Ἀρταουάσδης ὁ Ἀρμένιος Ἀντώνιον ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος ἀφελόμενος. εἰ γὰρ οὓς ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Μηδίας ἱππεῖς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους παρῆσαν, ἐσκευασμένοι παραπλησίως Πάρθοις καὶ συνήθεις μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, Ῥωμαίων μὲν τοὺς μαχομένους τρεπομένων, ἐκείνων δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας αἱρούντων, οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἡττωμένοις ἀναφέρειν καὶ ἀνατολμᾶν τοσαυτάκις.
3 ἅπαντες οὖν ὀργῇ παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος οὔτε ἐμέμψατο τὴν προδοσίαν οὔτε ἀφεῖλε τῆς συνήθους φιλοφροσύνης καὶ τιμῆς

made it seem difficult of passage; and a report was rife that the enemy were lying in ambush there and would attack them as they tried to cross. But after they were safely on the other side and had set foot in Armenia, as if they had just caught sight of that land from the sea, they saluted it and fell to weeping and embracing one another for joy. But as they advanced through the country, which was prosperous, and enjoyed all things in abundance after great scarcity, they fell sick with dropsies and dysenteries.

L. There Antony held a review of his troops and found that twenty thousand of the infantry and four thousand of the cavalry had perished, not all at the hands of the enemy, but more than half by disease. They had, indeed, marched twenty-seven days from Phraata, and had defeated the Parthians in eighteen battles, but their victories were not complete or lasting because the pursuits which they made were short and ineffectual. And this more than all else made it plain that it was Artavasdes the Armenian who had robbed Antony of the power to bring that war to an end. For if the sixteen thousand horsemen who were led back from Media by him had been on hand, equipped as they were like the Parthians and accustomed to fighting with them, and if they, when the Romans routed the fighting enemy, had taken off the fugitives, it would not have been in the enemy's power to recover themselves from defeat and to venture again so often. Accordingly, all the army, in their anger, tried to incite Antony to take vengeance on the Armenian. But Antony, as a measure of prudence, neither reproached him with his treachery nor abated the friendliness and respect usually shown to him,

πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀσθενὴς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἄπορος
4 γεγονώς. ὕστερον μέντοι πάλιν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς
Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ προ-
κλήσεσι πείσας αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς χεῖρας,
συνέλαβε, καὶ δέσμιον καταγαγὼν εἰς Ἀλεξάν-
δρειαν, ἐθριάμβευσεν. ᾧ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους
ἐλύπησεν, ὡς τὰ καλὰ καὶ σεμνὰ τῆς πατρίδος
Αἰγυπτίοις διὰ Κλεοπάτραν χαριζόμενος. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη.

LI. Τότε δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος ἤδη καὶ
νιφετῶν ἀπαύστων ἐπειγόμενος ὀκτακισχιλίους
ἀπέβαλε καθ' ὁδόν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταβὰς ὀλιγοστὸς
ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐν χωρίῳ τινὶ μεταξὺ Βηρυτοῦ
κειμένῳ καὶ Σιδῶνος, Λευκὴ κώμη καλεῖται,
Κλεοπάτραν περιέμενε· καὶ βραδυνούσης ἀδη-
μονῶν ἦλυε, ταχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ πίνειν καὶ μεθύ-
2 σκεσθαι διδοὺς ἑαυτόν, οὐ καρτερῶν δὲ κατα-
κείμενος, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ πινόντων ἀνιστάμενος
καὶ ἀναπηδῶν πολλάκις ἐπισκοπεῖν, ἕως ἐκείνη
κατέπλευσεν, ἐσθῆτα πολλὴν καὶ χρήματα κομί-
ζουσα τοῖς στρατιώταις. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι
τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα παρ' ἐκείνης λαβών, τὸ δὲ
ἀργύριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἑαυτοῦ, διένειμεν ὡς
ἐκείνης διδούσης.

LII. Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν Μήδων γίνεται
διαφορὰ πρὸς Φραόρτην τὸν Πάρθον, ἀρξαμένη 940
μέν, ὥς φασιν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν λαφύρων,
ὑπόνοιαν δὲ τῷ Μήδῳ καὶ φόβον ἀφαιρέσεως τῆς
ἀρχῆς παρασχοῦσα. διὸ καὶ πέμπων ἐκάλει τὸν
Ἀντώνιον, ἐπαγγελλόμενος συμπολεμήσειν μετὰ
2 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως. γενόμενος οὖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδος

being now weak in numbers and in want of supplies. But afterwards, when he once more invaded Armenia,[1] and by many invitations and promises induced Artavasdes to come to him, Antony seized him, and took him in chains down to Alexandria, where he celebrated a triumph. And herein particularly did he give offence to the Romans, since he bestowed the honourable and solemn rites of his native country upon the Egyptians for Cleopatra's sake. This, however, took place at a later time.

LI. But now, hastening on through much wintry weather, which was already at hand, and incessant snow-storms, he lost eight thousand men on the march. He himself, however, went down with a small company to the sea, and in a little place between Berytus and Sidon, called White Village, he waited for Cleopatra to come; and since she was slow in coming he was beside himself with distress, promptly resorting to drinking and intoxication, although he could not hold out long at table, but in the midst of the drinking would often rise or spring up to look out, until she put into port, bringing an abundance of clothing and money for the soldiers. There are some, however, who say that he received the clothing from Cleopatra, but took the money from his own private funds, and distributed it as a gift from her.

LII. And now the king of the Medes had a quarrel with Phraortes the Parthian; it arose, as they say, over the Roman spoils, but it made the Mede suspicious and fearful that his dominion would be taken away from him. For this reason he sent and invited Antony to come, promising to join him in the war with his own forces. Antony, accordingly,

[1] In 34 B.C. Cf. chapter liii. 6.

μεγάλης ὁ Ἀντώνιος (ᾧ γὰρ ἐδόκει μόνῳ τοῦ κατειργάσθαι Πάρθους ἀπολιπεῖν, ἱππέων πολλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐνδεὴς ἐλθών, τοῦτο ἑώρα προσγινόμενον αὐτῷ χαριζομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δεομένῳ) παρεσκευάζετο δι' Ἀρμενίας αὖθις ἀναβαίνειν καὶ συγγενόμενος τῷ Μήδῳ περὶ ποταμὸν Ἀράξην οὕτω κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον.

LIII. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ βουλομένης Ὀκταουίας πλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπέτρεψε Καῖσαρ, ὡς οἱ πλείους λέγουσιν, οὐκ ἐκείνῃ χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως περιυβρισθεῖσα καὶ καταμεληθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αἰτίαν εὐπρεπῆ παράσχοι. γενομένη δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐδέξατο γράμματα παρὰ Ἀντωνίου κελεύοντος αὐτόθι προσμένειν καὶ τὰ
2 περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν δηλοῦντος. ἡ δέ, καίπερ ἀχθομένη καὶ νοοῦσα τὴν πρόφασιν, ὅμως ἔγραψε πυνθανομένη ποῖ κελεύει πεμφθῆναι τὰ κομιζόμενα πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐκόμιζε δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα στρατιωτικήν, πολλὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ χρήματα καὶ δῶρα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις· ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων στρατιώτας ἐπιλέκτους δισχιλίους εἰς στρατηγικὰς σπείρας κεκοσμημένους ἐκπρεπέσι πανοπλίαις. ταῦτα Νίγρος τις Ἀντωνίου φίλος ἀποσταλεὶς παρ' αὐτῆς ἔφραζε, καὶ προσετίθει τοὺς ἀξίους καὶ πρέποντας ἐπαίνους.

3 Αἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὁμόσε χωροῦσαν αὐτῇ, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ τρόπου τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος δυνάμει προσκτησαμένη τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ

was in high hopes. For the one thing which he thought had prevented his subjugation of the Parthians, namely, his lack of a large number of horsemen and archers on his expedition, this he now saw supplied for him, and he would be granting and not asking a favour. He therefore made preparations to go up again through Armenia, effect a junction with the Mede at the river Araxes, and then prosecute the war.

LIII. But at Rome Octavia was desirous of sailing to Antony, and Caesar gave her permission to do so, as the majority say, not as a favour to her, but in order that, in case she were neglected and treated with scorn, he might have plausible ground for war. When Octavia arrived at Athens,[1] she received letters from Antony in which he bade her remain there and told her of his expedition. Octavia, although she saw through the pretext and was distressed, nevertheless wrote to Antony asking whither he would have the things sent which she was bringing to him. For she was bringing a great quantity of clothing for his soldiers, many beasts of burden, and money and gifts for the officers and friends about him; and besides this, two thousand picked soldiers equipped as praetorian cohorts with splendid armour. These things were announced to Antony by a certain Niger, a friend of his who had been sent from Octavia, and he added such praises of her as was fitting and deserved.

But Cleopatra perceived that Octavia was coming into a contest at close quarters with her, and feared lest, if she added to the dignity of her character and the power of Caesar her pleasurable society and

[1] In 35 B.C.

θεραπεύειν Ἀντώνιον *ἄμαχος γένηται καὶ κρατήσῃ παντάπασι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐρᾶν αὐτὴ προσεποιεῖτο τοῦ* Ἀντωνίου, *καὶ τὸ σῶμα λεπταῖς καθῄρει διαίταις· τὸ δὲ βλέμμα προσιόντος ἐκπεπληγμένον, ἀπερχομένου δὲ τηκόμενον καὶ*
4 *ταπεινούμενον ὑπεφαίνετο. πραγματευομένη δὲ πολλάκις ὀφθῆναι δακρύουσα ταχὺ τῶν δακρύων ἀφῄρει καὶ ἀπέκρυπτεν, ὡς δὴ βουλομένη λανθάνειν ἐκεῖνον. ἐπράττετο δὲ ταῦτα μέλλοντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκ* Συρίας *ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν* Μῆδον. *οἱ δὲ κόλακες σπουδάζοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐλοιδόρουν τὸν* Ἀντώνιον *ὡς σκληρὸν καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ παραπολλύντα γύναιον εἰς ἕνα καὶ μόνον ἐκεῖνον*
5 *ἀνηρτημένον.* Ὀκταουίαν *μὲν γὰρ πραγμάτων ἕνεκα διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνελθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς γαμετῆς ὄνομα καρποῦσθαι·* Κλεοπάτραν *δὲ τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύουσαν ἐρωμένην* Ἀντωνίου *καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτο μὴ φεύγειν μηδ' ἀπαξιοῦν, ἕως ὁρᾶν ἐκεῖνον ἔξεστι καὶ συζῆν· ἀπελαυνομένην δὲ τούτου μὴ περι-*
6 *βιώσεσθαι. τέλος δ' οὖν οὕτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξέτηξαν καὶ ἀπεθήλυναν, ὥστε δείσαντα μὴ* Κλεοπάτρα *πρόηται τὸν βίον, εἰς* Ἀλεξάνδρειαν *ἐπανελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ* Μῆδον *εἰς ὥραν ἔτους ἀναβαλέσθαι, καίπερ ἐν στάσει τῶν* Παρθικῶν *εἶναι λεγομένων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἀναβὰς αὖθις εἰς φιλίαν προσηγάγετο, καὶ λαβὼν ἑνὶ τῶν ἐκ* Κλεοπάτρας *υἱῶν γυναῖκα μίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν θυγατέρων ἔτι μικρὰν οὖσαν ἐγγυήσας ἐπανῆλθεν, ἤδη πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον τετραμμένος.*

her assiduous attentions to Antony, she would become invincible and get complete control over her husband. She therefore pretended to be passionately in love with Antony herself, and reduced her body by slender diet; she put on a look of rapture when Antony drew near, and one of faintness and melancholy when he went away. She would contrive to be often seen in tears, and then would quickly wipe the tears away and try to hide them, as if she would not have Antony notice them. And she practised these arts while Antony was intending to go up from Syria to join the Mede. Her flatterers, too, were industrious in her behalf, and used to revile Antony as hard-hearted and unfeeling, and as the destroyer of a mistress who was devoted to him and him alone. For Octavia, they said, had married him as a matter of public policy and for the sake of her brother, and enjoyed the name of wedded wife; but Cleopatra, who was queen of so many people, was called Antony's beloved, and she did not shun this name nor disdain it, as long as she could see him and live with him; but if she were driven away from him she would not survive it. At last, then, they so melted and enervated the man that he became fearful lest Cleopatra should throw away her life, and went back to Alexandria, putting off the Mede until the summer season, although Parthia was said to be suffering from internal dissensions. However, he went up and brought the king once more into friendly relations, and after betrothing to one of his sons by Cleopatra one of the king's daughters who was still small, he returned, his thoughts being now directed towards the civil war.

LIV. Ὀκταουίαν δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑβρίσθαι δοκοῦ-
σαν, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐκέλευσε καθ'
ἑαυτὴν οἰκεῖν. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τὸν οἶκον ἀπολείψειν
τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνον αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἑτέρας
αἰτίας ἔγνωκε πολεμεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ, παρεκάλει τὰ
καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐᾶν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι καλόν, εἰ τῶν
μεγίστων αὐτοκρατόρων ὁ μὲν δι' ἔρωτα γυναικός,
ὁ δὲ διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν εἰς ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον Ῥω-
2 μαίους κατέστησε. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα μᾶλλον 941
ἐβεβαίου δι' ἔργων. καὶ γὰρ ᾤκει τὴν οἰκίαν,
ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ παρόντος ἐκείνου, καὶ τῶν τέκνων
οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ Φουλ-
βίας γεγονότων, καλῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπε-
μελεῖτο· καὶ τοὺς πεμπομένους ἐπὶ ἀρχάς τινας
ἢ πράγματα τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων ὑποδεχομένη
συνέπραττεν ὧν παρὰ Καίσαρος δεηθεῖεν. ἄκουσα
δὲ ἔβλαπτε διὰ τούτων Ἀντώνιον· ἐμισεῖτο γὰρ
3 ἀδικῶν γυναῖκα τοιαύτην. ἐμισήθη δὲ καὶ διὰ
τὴν διανέμησιν ἣν ἐποιήσατο τοῖς τέκνοις ἐν
Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τραγικὴν καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ
μισορρώμαιον φανεῖσαν. ἐμπλήσας γὰρ ὄχλου
τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ βήματος ἀργυροῦ
δύο θρόνους χρυσοῦς, τὸν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὸν δὲ
Κλεοπάτρᾳ, καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἑτέρους ταπει-
4 νοτέρους, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν
βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λιβύης
καὶ κοίλης Συρίας, συμβασιλεύοντος αὐτῇ Και-
σαρίωνος, ὃς ἐκ Καίσαρος ἐδόκει τοῦ προτέρου
γεγονέναι Κλεοπάτραν ἔγκυον καταλιπόντος·

LIV. As for Octavia, she was thought to have been treated with scorn, and when she came back from Athens Caesar ordered her to dwell in her own house. But she refused to leave the house of her husband, nay, she even entreated Caesar himself, unless on other grounds he had determined to make war upon Antony, to ignore Antony's treatment of her, since it was an infamous thing even to have it said that the two greatest imperators in the world plunged the Romans into civil war, the one out of passion for, and the other out of resentment in behalf of, a woman. These were her words, and she confirmed them by her deeds. For she dwelt in her husband's house, just as if he were at home, and she cared for his children, not only those whom she herself, but also those whom Fulvia had borne him, in a noble and magnificent manner; she also received such friends of Antony as were sent to Rome in quest of office or on business, and helped them to obtain from Caesar what they wanted. Without meaning it, however, she was damaging Antony by this conduct of hers; for he was hated for wronging such a woman. He was hated, too, for the distribution which he made to his children in Alexandria; it was seen to be theatrical and arrogant, and to evince hatred of Rome. For after filling the gymnasium with a throng and placing on a tribunal of silver two thrones of gold, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra, and other lower thrones for his sons, in the first place he declared Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele Syria, and she was to share her throne with Caesarion. Caesarion was believed to be a son of the former Caesar, by whom Cleopatra was left

δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αὑτοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας υἱοὺς βασιλεῖς βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπένειμε καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τὰ Πάρθων, ὅταν ὑπαγάγηται, Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ Φοινίκην καὶ
5 Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ προήγαγε τῶν παίδων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ τιάραν καὶ κίταριν ὀρθὴν ἐχούσῃ, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ κρηπῖσι καὶ χλανίδι καὶ καυσίᾳ διαδηματοφόρῳ κεκοσμημένον. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν σκευὴ τῶν ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέων, ἐκείνη δὲ Μήδων καὶ Ἀρμενίων.
6 ἀσπασαμένων δὲ τῶν παίδων τοὺς γονεῖς, τὸν μὲν Ἀρμενίων φυλακὴ περιΐστατο, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνων. Κλεοπάτρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰς πλῆθος ἐξιοῦσα στολὴν ἱερὰν Ἴσιδος ἐλάμβανε καὶ νέα Ἶσις ἐχρημάτιζε.

LV. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰς σύγκλητον ἐκφέρων Καῖσαρ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορῶν παρώξυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἀντεγκαλῶν ἐκείνῳ. μέγιστα δ' ἦν ὧν ἐνεκάλει, πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι Πομπηΐου Σικελίαν ἀφελόμενος οὐκ ἔνειμε μέρος αὐτῷ τῆς νήσου· δεύτερον, ὅτι χρησάμενος ναῦς παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεστέρησε· τρίτον, ὅτι τὸν συνάρχοντα Λέπιδον ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ποιήσας ἄτιμον αὐτὸς ἔχει στρατὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ προσό-
2 δους τὰς ἐκείνῳ προσνεμηθείσας· ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὅτι τοῖς αὑτοῦ στρατιώταις ἅπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν Ἰταλίαν κατακεκληρούχηκε, μηδὲν λιπὼν τοῖς ἐκείνου. πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ἀπελογεῖτο Λέπιδον

pregnant. In the second place, he proclaimed his own sons by Cleopatra Kings of Kings, and to Alexander he allotted Armenia, Media and Parthia (when he should have subdued it), to Ptolemy Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time he also produced his sons, Alexander arrayed in Median garb, which included a tiara and upright head-dress, Ptolemy in boots, short cloak, and broad-brimmed hat surmounted by a diadem. For the latter was the dress of the kings who followed Alexander, the former that of Medes and Armenians. And when the boys had embraced their parents, one was given a bodyguard of Armenians, the other of Macedonians. Cleopatra, indeed, both then and at other times when she appeared in public, assumed a robe sacred to Isis, and was addressed as the New Isis.

LV. By reporting these things to the senate and by frequent denunciations before the people Caesar tried to inflame the multitude against Antony. Antony, too, kept sending counter-accusations against Caesar. The chief accusations which he made were, in the first place, that after taking Sicily away from Pompey, Caesar had not assigned a part of the island to him; in the second place, that after borrowing ships from him for the war he had kept them for himself; thirdly, that after ejecting his colleague Lepidus from office and degrading him, he was keeping for himself the army, the territory, and the revenues which had been assigned to Lepidus: finally that he had distributed almost all Italy in allotments, to his own soldiers, and had left nothing for the soldiers of Antony. To these charges Caesar replied by saying that he had deposed Lepidus from office

μὲν ὑβρίζοντα καταπαῦσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἃ δὲ ἔσχηκε πολεμήσας, νεμήσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὅταν κἀκεῖνος Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις Ἰταλίας μὴ μετεῖναι· Μηδίαν γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ Παρθίαν αὐτούς, ἃς προσεκτήσαντο Ῥωμαίοις καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

LVI. Ταῦτα ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διατρίβων Ἀντώνιος ἤκουσε· καὶ Κανίδιον εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἑκκαίδεκα τέλη λαβόντα καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν. αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἧκε. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκεῖ συνῄει πανταχόθεν, ὀκτακόσιαι σὺν ὁλκάσι νῆες, ὧν Κλεοπάτρα παρεῖχε διακοσίας καὶ τάλαντα δισμύρια καὶ τροφὴν τῷ
2 στρατῷ παντὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ Δομιτίου καί τινων ἄλλων ἐκέλευε Κλεοπάτραν πλεῖν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου κἀκεῖ διακαραδοκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ φοβουμένη τὰς δι' Ὀκταουίας πάλιν αὐτοῦ διαλύσεις ἔπεισε πολλοῖς Κανίδιον χρήμασιν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς, ὡς οὔτε δίκαιον ἀπελαύνεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου γυναῖκα συμβολὰς τηλικαύτας διδοῦσαν,
3 οὔτε συμφέρον ἀθυμοτέρους ποιεῖν τοὺς Αἰγυπ- 942
τίους μέγα μέρος τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ὄντας· ἄλλως δὲ μηδὲ ὁρᾶν οὗτινος τῶν συστρατευόντων βασιλέων ἀπολείποιτο τὸ φρονεῖν Κλεοπάτρα, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον δι' αὐτῆς κυβερνῶσα βασιλείαν τοσαύτην, πολὺν δὲ ἐκείνῳ συνοῦσα καὶ μανθάνουσα χρῆσθαι πράγμασι μεγάλοις. ταῦτα (ἔδει γὰρ εἰς Καίσαρα πάντα περιελθεῖν) ἐνίκα· καὶ συνιουσῶν τῶν δυνάμεων πλεύσαντες εἰς

because he was abusing it, and as for what he had acquired in war, he would share it with Antony whenever Antony, on his part, should share Armenia with him; and Antony's soldiers had no claim upon Italy, since they had Media and Parthia, which countries they had added to the Roman dominion by their noble struggles under their imperator.

LVI. Antony heard of this while he was tarrying in Armenia; and at once he ordered Canidius to take sixteen legions and go down to the sea. But he himself took Cleopatra with him and came to Ephesus. It was there that his naval force was coming together from all quarters, eight hundred ships of war with merchant vessels, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred, besides twenty thousand talents, and supplies for the whole army during the war. But Antony, listening to the advice of Domitius and sundry others, ordered Cleopatra to sail to Egypt and there await the result of the war. Cleopatra, however, fearing that Octavia would again succeed in putting a stop to the war, persuaded Canidius by large bribes to plead her cause with Antony, and to say that it was neither just to drive away from the war a woman whose contributions to it were so large, nor was it for the interest of Antony to dispirit the Egyptians, who formed a large part of his naval force; and besides, it was not easy to see how Cleopatra was inferior in intelligence to anyone of the princes who took part in the expedition, she who for a long time had governed so large a kingdom by herself, and by long association with Antony had learned to manage large affairs. These arguments (since it was destined that everything should come into Caesar's hands) prevailed; and with united forces

4 Σάμον ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἦσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τετράρχαις ἔθνεσί τε καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις ταῖς μεταξὺ Συρίας καὶ Μαιώτιδος καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν προείρητο πέμπειν καὶ κομίζειν τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάς, οὕτω πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις ἐπάναγκες ἦν εἰς Σάμον ἀπαντᾶν· καὶ τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ σχεδὸν ἁπάσης οἰκουμένης περιθρηνουμένης καὶ περιστεναζομένης, μία νῆσος ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς κατηυλεῖτο καὶ κατεψάλλετο πληρουμένων θεάτρων καὶ χορῶν ἀγωνιζομένων.
5 συνέθυε δὲ καὶ πόλις πᾶσα βοῦν πέμπουσα, καὶ βασιλεῖς διημιλλῶντο ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὥστε καὶ λόγος διῄει, τίνες ἔσονται κρατήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις οἱ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς παρασκευὰς οὕτω πολυτελῶς ἑορτάζοντες.

LVII. Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις Πριήνην ἔδωκεν οἰκητήριον, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἀθήνας πάλιν ἐν παιδιαῖς ἦν καὶ θεάτροις. ζηλοτυποῦσα δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς Ὀκταουίας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμάς (ἠγαπήθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ Ὀκταουία μάλιστα) πολλαῖς ἀνελάμβανε φιλοτιμίαις τὸν
2 δῆμον. οἱ δὲ τιμὰς αὐτῇ ψηφισάμενοι πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ ψήφισμα κομίζοντας, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἀντώνιος, ὡς δὴ πολίτης Ἀθηναίων· καὶ δὴ καταστὰς ἐπ' αὐτῆς λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως διεξῆλθεν. εἰς δὲ Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε τοὺς
3 Ὀκταουίαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβαλοῦντας. ἀπελθεῖν δέ φασιν αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν τέκνα πάντα Ἀντωνίου μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσαν ἄνευ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν

they sailed to Samos and there made merry. For just as all the kings, dynasts, tetrarchs, nations, and cities between Syria, the Maeotic Lake, Armenia, and Illyria had been ordered to send or bring their equipment for the war, so all the dramatic artists were compelled to put in an appearance at Samos; and while almost all the world around was filled with groans and lamentations, a single island for many days resounded with flutes and stringed instruments; theatres there were filled, and choral bands were competing with one another. Every city also sent an ox for the general sacrifice, and kings vied with one another in their mutual entertainments and gifts. And so men everywhere began to ask: "How will the conquerors celebrate their victories if their preparations for the war are marked by festivals so costly?"

LVII. When these festivities were over, Antony gave the dramatic artists Priene as a place for them to dwell, and sailed himself to Athens, where sports and theatres again engaged him. Cleopatra, too, jealous of Octavia's honours in the city (for Octavia was especially beloved by the Athenians), tried by many splendid gifts to win the favour of the people. So the people voted honours to her, and sent a deputation to her house carrying the vote, of whom Antony was one, for was he not a citizen of Athens? And standing in her presence he delivered a speech in behalf of the city. To Rome, however, he sent men who had orders to eject Octavia from his house. And we are told that she left it taking all his children with her except his eldest son by Fulvia, who

ἐκ Φουλβίας (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν παρὰ τῷ πατρί), κλαίουσαν δὲ καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν εἰ δόξει μία τῶν αἰτιῶν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ αὐτὴ γεγονέναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ᾤκτειρον οὐκ ἐκείνην, ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιον, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κλεοπάτραν ἑωρακότες οὔτε κάλλει τῆς Ὀκταουίας οὔτε ὥρᾳ διαφέρουσαν.

LVIII. Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀκούσας ἐθορυβήθη, μὴ τοῦ θέρους ἐκείνου διαπολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἐνέδει πολλά, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύπουν αἱ τῶν χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις· ἀναγκαζόμενοι γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ τέταρτα τῶν καρπῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθερικοὶ τῶν κτημάτων αὐτῶν τὰς ὀγδόας ἀποφέρειν κατεβόων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταραχαὶ κατεῖχον
2 ἐκ τούτων ἅπασαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἁμαρτήμασιν Ἀντωνίου τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου τίθενται. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευάσασθαι χρόνον ἔδωκε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰς ταραχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξέλυσε. πραττόμενοι γὰρ ἠγριαίνοντο, πραχθέντες δὲ καὶ δόντες ἡσύχαζον. Τίτιος δὲ καὶ Πλάγκος, Ἀντωνίου φίλοι τῶν ὑπατικῶν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προπηλακιζόμενοι (πλεῖστα γὰρ ἠναντιώθησαν αὐτῇ περὶ τοῦ συστρατεύειν) ἀποδράντες ᾤχοντο πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίου διαθηκῶν ἐγένοντο μηνυταί,
3 τὰ γεγραμμένα συνειδότες. ἀπέκειντο δ' αὗται παρὰ ταῖς Ἑστιάσι παρθένοις, καὶ Καίσαρος αἰτοῦντος οὐκ ἔδωκαν· εἰ δὲ βούλοιτο λαμβάνειν, ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον. ἔλαβεν οὖν ἐλθών· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὰ γεγραμμένα διῆλθε, καὶ παρεσημήνατο τόπους τινὰς εὐκατηγορήτους· 943

was with his father; she was in tears of distress that she herself also would be regarded as one of the causes of the war. But the Romans felt pity for Antony, not for her, and especially those who had seen Cleopatra and knew that neither in youthfulness nor beauty was she superior to Octavia.

LVIII. When Caesar heard of the rapidity and extent of Antony's preparations, he was much disturbed, fearing lest he should be forced to settle the issue of the war during that summer.[1] For he was lacking in many things, and people were vexed by the exactions of taxes. The citizens generally were compelled to pay one fourth of their income, and the freedmen one eighth of their property, and both classes cried out against Caesar, and disturbances arising from these causes prevailed throughout all Italy. Wherefore, among the greatest mistakes of Antony men reckon his postponement of the war. For it gave Caesar time to make preparations and put an end to the disturbances among the people. For while money was being exacted from them, they were angry, but when it had been exacted and they had paid it, they were calm. Moreover, Titius and Plancus, friends of Antony and men of consular rank, being abused by Cleopatra (for they had been most opposed to her accompanying the expedition) ran away to Caesar, and they gave him information about Antony's will, the contents of which they knew. This will was on deposit with the Vestal Virgins, and when Caesar asked for it, they would not give it to him; but if he wanted to take it, they told him to come and do so. So he went and took it; and to begin with, he read its contents through by himself, and marked certain reprehensible passages; then

[1] The summer of 32 B.C.

ἔπειτα τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίσας ἀνεγίνωσκε, τῶν
4 πλείστων ἀηδῶς ἐχόντων. ἀλλόκοτον γὰρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ δεινόν, εὐθύνας τινὰ διδόναι ζῶντα περὶ ὧν ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. ἐπεφύετο δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων μάλιστα τῷ περὶ τῆς ταφῆς. ἐκέλευε γὰρ αὑτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, κἂν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τελευτήσῃ, δι᾿ ἀγορᾶς πομπευθὲν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὡς Κλεοπάτραν ἀποσταλῆναι.
5 Καλουΐσιος δὲ Καίσαρος ἑταῖρος ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν εἰς Κλεοπάτραν ἐγκλημάτων Ἀντωνίῳ προὔφερε· χαρίσασθαι μὲν αὐτῇ τὰς ἐκ Περγάμου βιβλιοθήκας, ἐν αἷς εἴκοσι μυριάδες βιβλίων ἁπλῶν ἦσαν· ἐν δὲ συνδείπνῳ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀναστάντα τρίβειν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας ἔκ τινος ὁρισμοῦ καὶ συνθήκης γενομένης· Ἐφεσίους δὲ ἀνασχέσθαι παρόντος αὐτοῦ κυρίαν τὴν
6 Κλεοπάτραν ἀσπασαμένους· δικάζοντα δὲ πολλάκις τετράρχαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ βήματος δελτάρια τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ὀνύχινα καὶ κρυστάλλινα δέχεσθαι παρ᾿ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν· Φουρνίου δὲ λέγοντος, ὃς ἦν ἀξιώματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν μὲν Κλεοπάτραν ἐν φορείῳ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κομίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὡς εἶδεν, ἀναπηδήσαντα τὴν μὲν δίκην ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐκκρεμαννύμενον δὲ τοῦ φορείου παραπέμπειν ἐκείνην.

LIX. Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἐδόκει τὰ πλεῖστα καταψεύδεσθαι Καλουΐσιος· οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου περιϊόντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν δῆμον ἱκέτευον, ἕνα δὲ ἐξ αὑτῶν ἔπεμψαν Γεμίνιον δεόμενοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μὴ περιϊδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα

he assembled the senate and read it aloud to them, although most of them were displeased to hear him do so. For they thought it a strange and grievous matter that a man should be called to account while alive for what he wished to have done after his death. Caesar laid most stress on the clause in the will relating to Antony's burial. For it directed that Antony's body, even if he should die in Rome, should be borne in state through the forum and then sent away to Cleopatra in Egypt. Again, Calvisius, who was a companion of Caesar, brought forward against Antony the following charges also regarding his behaviour towards Cleopatra: he had bestowed upon her the libraries from Pergamum in which there were two hundred thousand volumes; at a banquet where there were many guests he had stood up and rubbed her feet, in compliance with some agreement and compact which they had made; he had consented to have the Ephesians in his presence salute Cleopatra as mistress; many times, while he was seated on his tribunal and dispensing justice to tetrarchs and kings, he would receive love-billets from her in tablets of onyx or crystal, and read them; and once when Furnius was speaking, a man of great worth and the ablest orator in Rome, Cleopatra was carried through the forum on a litter, and Antony, when he saw her, sprang up from his tribunal and forsook the trial, and hanging on to Cleopatra's litter escorted her on her way.

LIX. However, most of the charges thus brought by Calvisius were thought to be falsehoods; but the friends of Antony went about in Rome beseeching the people in his behalf, and they sent one of their number, Geminius, with entreaties that Antony

τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πολέμιον Ῥωμαίων ἀναγορευθέντα.
2 Γεμίνιος δὲ πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Κλεοπάτρᾳ μὲν ἦν ὕποπτος, ὡς ὑπὲρ Ὀκταουίας πράττων, σκωπτόμενος δὲ παρὰ δεῖπνον ἀεὶ καὶ κλισίαις ἀτίμοις προπηλακιζόμενος ἠνείχετο καιρὸν ἐντεύξεως ἀναμένων· κελευσθεὶς δὲ λέγειν ἐφ' οἷς ἥκει παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἔφη νήφοντος εἶναι διάλεξιν, ἓν δὲ καὶ νήφων ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μεθύων, ὅτι καλῶς ἕξει πάντα Κλεοπάτρας εἰς
3 Αἴγυπτον ἀπαλλαγείσης. πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου χαλεπήναντος ἡ Κλεοπάτρα "Καλῶς," ἔφη, "πεποίηκας, ὦ Γεμίνιε, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἄνευ βασάνων ἐξομολογησάμενος." Γεμίνιος μὲν οὖν μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀποδρὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ᾤχετο. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων οἱ Κλεοπάτρας κόλακες ἐξέβαλον τὰς παροινίας καὶ βωμολοχίας
4 οὐχ ὑπομένοντας, ὧν καὶ Μάρκος ἦν Σιλανὸς καὶ Δέλλιος ὁ ἱστορικός. οὗτος δὲ καὶ δεῖσαί φησιν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας, Γλαύκου τοῦ ἰατροῦ φράσαντος αὐτῷ. προσέκρουσε δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ παρὰ δεῖπνον εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς μὲν ὀξίνην ἐγχεῖσθαι, Σάρμεντον δὲ πίνειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Φαλερῖνον. ὁ δὲ Σάρμεντος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος παιγνίων παιδάριον, ἃ δηλίκια Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.

LX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο Καῖσαρ ἱκανῶς, ψηφίζεται Κλεοπάτρᾳ πολεμεῖν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντώνιον ἧς ἐξέστη γυναικί. καὶ προσεπεῖπε Καῖσαρ ὡς Ἀντώνιος μὲν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ κρατοίη, πολεμοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς

would not suffer himself to be voted out of his office and proclaimed an enemy of Rome. But Geminius, after his voyage to Greece, was an object of suspicion to Cleopatra, who thought that he was acting in the interests of Octavia; he was always put upon with jokes at supper and insulted with places of no honour at table, but he endured all this and waited for an opportunity to confer with Antony. Once, however, at a supper, being bidden to tell the reasons for his coming, he replied that the rest of his communication required a sober head, but one thing he knew, whether he was drunk or sober, and that was that all would be well if Cleopatra was sent off to Egypt. At this, Antony was wroth, and Cleopatra said: "Thou hast done well, Geminius, to confess the truth without being put to the torture." Geminius, accordingly, after a few days, ran away to Rome. And Cleopatra's flatterers drove away many of the other friends of Antony also who could not endure their drunken tricks and scurrilities. Among these were Marcus Silanus and Dellius the historian. And Dellius says that he was also afraid of a plot against him by Cleopatra, of which Glaucus the physician had told him. For he had offended Cleopatra at supper by saying that while sour wine was served to them, Sarmentus, at Rome, was drinking Falernian. Now, Sarmentus was one of the youthful favourites of Caesar, such as the Romans call "deliciae."

LX. When Caesar had made sufficient preparations, a vote was passed to wage war against Cleopatra, and to take away from Antony the authority which he had surrendered to a woman. And Caesar said in addition that Antony had been drugged and was not even master of himself, and that the Romans

Μαρδίων ὁ εὐνοῦχος καὶ Ποθεινὸς καὶ Εἰρὰς
ἡ Κλεοπάτρας κουρεύτρια καὶ Χάρμιον, ὑφ' ὧν
τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖται τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

2 Σημεῖα δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τάδε γενέσθαι
λέγεται. Πείσαυρα μέν, Ἀντωνίου πόλις κλη-
ρουχία, ᾠκισμένη παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, χασμάτων
ὑπορραγέντων κατεπόθη. τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἄλβαν
Ἀντωνίου λιθίνων ἀνδριάντων ἑνὸς ἱδρὼς ἀνεπί-
δυεν ἡμέρας πολλάς, ἀποματτόντων τινῶν οὐ
παυόμενος. ἐν δὲ Πάτραις διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ
κεραυνοῖς ἐνεπρήσθη τὸ Ἡράκλειον· καὶ τῆς 944
Ἀθήνησι γιγαντομαχίας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ὁ Διό-
νυσος ἐκσεισθεὶς εἰς τὸ θέατρον κατηνέχθη·
3 προσῳκείου δὲ ἑαυτὸν Ἀντώνιος Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ
γένος καὶ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ βίου ζῆλον,
ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Διόνυσος νέος προσαγορευόμενος.
ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ θύελλα καὶ τοὺς Εὐμενοῦς καὶ
Ἀττάλου κολοσσοὺς ἐπιγεγραμμένους Ἀντω-
νείους Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπεσοῦσα μόνους ἐκ πολλῶν
ἀνέτρεψε. ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας ναυαρχὶς ἐκαλεῖτο
μὲν Ἀντωνιάς, σημεῖον δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν δεινὸν
ἐφάνη· χελιδόνες γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν πρύμναν ἐνεότ-
τευσαν· ἕτεραι δὲ ἐπελθοῦσαι καὶ ταύτας ἐξή-
λασαν καὶ τὰ νεόττια διέφθειραν.

LXI. Συνιόντων δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἦσαν αἱ μάχιμοι νῆες οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων, ἐν αἷς ὀκτήρεις πολλαὶ καὶ δεκήρεις κεκοσμημέναι σοβαρῶς καὶ πανηγυρικῶς, στρατοῦ

were carrying on war with Mardion the eunuch, and Potheinus, and Iras, and the tire-woman of Cleopatra, and Charmion, by whom the principal affairs of the government were managed.

The following signs are said to have been given before the war. Pisaurum, a city colonized by Antony situated near the Adriatic, was swallowed up by chasms in the earth. From one of the marble statues of Antony near Alba sweat oozed for many days, and though it was wiped away it did not cease. In Patrae, while Antony was staying there, the Heracleium was destroyed by lightning; and at Athens the Dionysus in the Battle of the Giants[1] was dislodged by the winds and carried down into the theatre. Now, Antony associated himself with Heracles in lineage, and with Dionysus in the mode of life which he adopted, as I have said,[2] and he was called the New Dionysus.[3] The same tempest fell upon the colossal figures of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens, on which the name of Antony had been inscribed, and prostrated them, and them alone out of many. Moreover the admiral's ship of Cleopatra was called Antonius, and a dire sign was given with regard to it. Some swallows, namely, made their nest under its stern; but other swallows attacked these, drove them out and destroyed their nestlings.

LXI. When the forces came together for the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred fighting ships, among which were many vessels of eight and ten banks of oars, arrayed in pompous and

[1] One of the groups of figures at the south wall of the Acropolis dedicated by Attalus I. of Pergamum. See Pausanias, i. 25, 2, with Frazer's notes.

[2] Chapters iv. 1 f. and xxiv. 3.

[3] As Cleopatra was called the New Isis (liv. 6).

δὲ μυριάδες δέκα, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ μυρίοις. βασιλεῖς δὲ ὑπήκοοι συνεμάχουν Βόκχος ὁ Λιβύων καὶ Ταρκόνδημος ὁ τῆς ἄνω Κιλικίας, καὶ Καππαδοκίας μὲν Ἀρχέλαος, Παφλαγονίας δὲ Φιλάδελφος, Κομμαγηνῆς δὲ Μιθριδάτης,
2 Σαδάλας δὲ Θρᾴκης. οὗτοι μὲν αὐτοὶ παρῆσαν, ἐκ δὲ Πόντου Πολέμων στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, καὶ Μάλχος ἐξ Ἀραβίας καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀμύντας ὁ Λυκαόνων καὶ Γαλατῶν βασιλεύς· ἦν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένη βοήθεια. Καίσαρι δὲ νῆες ἦσαν πρὸς ἀλκὴν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι, στρατοῦ δὲ ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ παραπλήσιοι τὸ
3 πλῆθος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἦρχον δὲ Ἀντώνιος μὲν τῆς ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καὶ Ἀρμενίας μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ Ἰλλυριούς, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀπ' Ἰλλυριῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἑσπέριον ὠκεανὸν καθηκούσης καὶ τῆς ἀπ' ὠκεανοῦ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος. Λιβύης δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ μέχρι στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἀντιπαρήκουσαν εἶχε Καῖσαρ· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ Κυρήνης μέχρις Αἰθιοπίας Ἀντώνιος.

LXII. Οὕτω δὲ ἄρα προσθήκη τῆς γυναικὸς ἦν ὥστε τῷ πεζῷ πολὺ διαφέρων ἐβούλετο τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ κράτος εἶναι διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, καὶ ταῦτα πληρωμάτων ἀπορίᾳ συναρπαζομένους ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τριηράρχων ἐκ τῆς πολλὰ δὴ τλάσης Ἑλλάδος ὁδοιπόρους, ὀνηλάτας, θεριστάς, ἐφήβους, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτω πληρουμένας τὰς ναῦς, ἀλλὰ τὰς πλείστας ἀποδεεῖς καὶ μοχθηρῶς πλεούσας.
2 Καῖσαρ δὲ οὐ πρὸς ὕψος οὐδὲ ὄγκον ἐπιδεικτικῶς

festal fashion; he also had one hundred thousand infantry soldiers and twelve thousand horsemen. Of subject kings who fought with him, there were Bocchus the king of Libya, Tarcondemus the king of Upper Cilicia, Archelaüs of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Sadalas of Thrace. These were with him, while from Pontus Polemon sent an army, and Malchus from Arabia, and Herod the Jew, besides Amyntas the king of Lycaonia and Galatia; the king of the Medes also sent an auxiliary force. Caesar had two hundred and fifty ships of war, eighty thousand infantry, and about as many horsemen as his enemies. Antony's authority extended over the country from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian sea and Illyria; Caesar's over the country reaching from Illyria to the Western Ocean and from the ocean back to the Tuscan and Sicilian seas. Of Libya, the part extending opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Iberia as far as the pillars of Hercules, belonged to Caesar; the part extending from Cyrene as far as Armenia, to Antony.

LXII. But to such an extent, now, was Antony an appendage of the woman that although he was far superior on land, he wished the decision to rest with his navy, to please Cleopatra, and that too when he saw that for lack of crews his trierarchs were haling together out of long-suffering Greece wayfarers, mule-drivers, harvesters, and ephebi,[1] and that even then their ships were not fully manned, but most of them were deficient and sailed wretchedly. Caesar's fleet, on the other hand, was perfectly equipped, and

[1] Young men approaching full military age, enrolled for preliminary training and service.

πεπηγυίαις ναυσίν, εὐστρόφοις δὲ καὶ ταχείαις καὶ πεπληρωμέναις ἀκριβῶς ἐξηρτυμένον ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βρεντεσίῳ συνέχων τὸ ναυτικόν, ἔπεμπε πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶν μὴ διατρίβειν τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἔρχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων· αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ μὲν στόλῳ παρέξειν ὅρμους ἀκωλύτους καὶ λιμένας, ὑποχωρήσειν δὲ τῷ πεζῷ τῆς παραλίας[1] ἵππου δρόμον ἀπὸ θαλάττης, μέχρι
3 ἂν ἀσφαλῶς ἀποβῇ καὶ στρατοπεδεύσηται. τούτοις ἀντικομπάζων Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς μονομαχίαν προὐκαλεῖτο, καίπερ ὢν πρεσβύτερος· εἰ δὲ φεύγοι τοῦτο, περὶ Φάρσαλον ἠξίου τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ὡς πάλαι Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήϊος, διαγωνίσασθαι. φθάνει δὲ Καῖσαρ, Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ὁρμοῦντος, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ νῦν ἡ Νικόπολις ἵδρυται, διαβαλὼν τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου χωρίον ὃ Τορύνη καλεῖται κατασχών· θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον (ὑστέρει γὰρ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτοῖς) ἡ μὲν Κλεοπάτρα σκώπτουσα, "Τί δεινόν," ἔλεγεν, "εἰ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τορύνῃ κάθηται;"

LXIII. Ἀντώνιος δέ, ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπλεόντων, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ἐρήμους ἕλωσι τὰς ναῦς, τοὺς μὲν ἐρέτας ὁπλίσας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρέταξεν ὄψεως ἕνεκα, τοὺς δὲ 945
ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ἐγείρας καὶ πτερώσας ἑκατέρωθεν ἐν τῷ στόματι περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ἀντιπρῴρους συνεῖχεν, ὡς ἐνήρεις καὶ παρεσκευασμένας ἀμύ-
2 νεσθαι. καὶ Καῖσαρ μὲν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεὶς ἀπεχώρησεν. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εὐμηχάνως

[1] παραλίας Xylander's correction of the MSS. Ἰταλίας, adopted by both Sintenis and Bekker.

consisted of ships which had not been built for a display of height or mass, but were easily steered, swift, and fully manned. This fleet Caesar kept assembled at Tarentum and Brundisium, and he sent to Antony a demand to waste no time, but to come with his forces; Caesar himself would furnish his armament with unobstructed roadsteads and harbours, and would withdraw with his land forces a day's journey for a horseman from the sea-shore, until Antony should have safely landed and fixed his camp. This boastful language Antony matched by challenging Caesar to single combat, although he was an older man than Caesar; and if Caesar declined this, Antony demanded that they should fight out the issue at Pharsalus, as Caesar and Pompey had once done. But while Antony was lying at anchor off Actium, where now Nicopolis stands, Caesar got the start of him by crossing the Ionian sea and occupying a place in Epeirus called Toruné (that is, ladle); and when Antony and his friends were disturbed by this, since their infantry forces were belated, Cleopatra, jesting, said: "What is there dreadful in Caesar's sitting at a ladle?"

LXIII. But Antony, when the enemy sailed against him at daybreak, was afraid lest they should capture his ships while they had no fighting crews, and therefore armed the rowers and drew them up on the decks so as to make a show; then he grouped his ships at the mouth of the gulf near Actium, their ranks of oars on either side lifted and poised for the stroke, and their prows towards the enemy, as if they were fully manned and prepared to fight. Caesar, thus outwitted and deceived, withdrew. Antony was also thought to have shown great skill in enclosing

ἐρύμασί τισιν ἐμπεριλαβὼν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ χωρίων ὀλίγον καὶ πονηρὸν ἐχόντων. εὐγνωμόνως δὲ καὶ Δομιτίῳ προσηνέχθη παρὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας γνώμην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἤδη πυρέττων εἰς μικρὸν ἐμβὰς ἀκάτιον πρὸς Καίσαρα μετέστη, βαρέως ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅμως πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπέπεμψε.
3 καὶ Δομίτιος μέν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λαθεῖν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προδοσίαν μεταβαλλόμενος, εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν.

Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βασιλεων ἀποστασεις, Ἀμύντου καὶ Δηϊοτάρου, πρὸς Καίσαρα. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἐν παντὶ δυσπραγοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ὑστερίζον βοήθειαν αὖθις ἠνάγκαζε τῷ πεζῷ προσέχειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ Κανίδιον τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ πεζοῦ μεταβολὴ γνώμης παρὰ τὰ δεινά· καὶ συνεβούλευε Κλεοπάτραν μὲν ἀποπέμπειν, ἀναχωρήσαντα δὲ εἰς Θρᾴκην ἢ
4 Μακεδονίαν πεζομαχίᾳ κρῖναι. καὶ γὰρ Δικόμης ὁ Γετῶν βασιλεὺς ὑπισχνεῖτο πολλῇ στρατιᾷ βοηθήσειν· οὐκ εἶναι δὲ αἰσχρὸν εἰ Καίσαρι γεγυμνασμένῳ περὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον ἐκστήσονται τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν εἰ τῶν πεζῶν ἀγώνων ἐμπειρότατος ὢν Ἀντώνιος οὐ χρήσεται ῥώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ τοσούτων ὁπλιτῶν, εἰς ναῦς διανέμων καὶ καταναλίσκων τὴν δύναμιν.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἐξενίκησε Κλεοπάτρα διὰ τῶν νεῶν κριθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον, ἤδη πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρῶσα, καὶ τιθεμένη τὰ καθ' ἑαυτήν, οὐχ ὅπου πρὸς

the potable water within certain barriers and thus depriving the enemy of it, since the places round about afforded little, and that of bad quality. He also behaved with magnanimity towards Domitius, contrary to the judgment of Cleopatra. For when Domitius, who was already in a fever, got into a small boat and went over to Caesar, Antony, though deeply chagrined, nevertheless, sent off to him all his baggage, together with his friends and servants. And Domitius, as if repenting when his faithlessness and treachery became known, straightway died.

There were also defections among the kings, and Amyntas and Deiotarus went over to Caesar. Besides, since his navy was unlucky in everything and always too late to be of any assistance, Antony was again compelled to turn his attention to his land forces. Canidius also, the commander of the land forces, changed his mind in presence of the danger, and advised Antony to send Cleopatra away, to withdraw into Thrace or Macedonia, and there to decide the issue by a land battle. For Dicomes the king of the Getae promised to come to their aid with a large force; and it would be no disgrace, Canidius urged, for them to give up the sea to Caesar, who had practised himself there in the Sicilian war; but it would be a strange thing for Antony, who was most experienced in land conflicts, not to avail himself of the strength and equipment of his numerous legionary soldiers, but to distribute his forces among ships and so fritter them away.

However, Cleopatra prevailed with her opinion that the war should be decided by the ships, although she was already contemplating flight, and was disposing her own forces, not where they would be

τὸ νικᾶν ἔσται χρήσιμος, ἀλλ' ὅθεν ἄπεισι ῥᾷστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολλυμένων. ἦν δὲ μακρὰ σκέλη κατατείνοντα πρὸς τὸν ναύσταθμον τῆς στρατοπεδείας, δι' ὧν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰώθει παριέναι
6 *μηδὲν ὑφορώμενος. οἰκέτου δὲ Καίσαρι φράσαντος ὡς δυνατὸν εἴη κατιόντα διὰ τῶν σκελῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἐνεδρεύσοντας. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον ὥστε συναρπάσαι τὸν προηγούμενον αὐτοῦ προεξαναστάντες· αὐτὸς δὲ δρόμῳ μόλις ὑπεξέφυγεν.*

LXIV. *Ὡς δὲ ναυμαχεῖν ἐδέδοκτο, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐνέπρησε ναῦς πλὴν ἑξήκοντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὰς δὲ ἀρίστας καὶ μεγίστας ἀπὸ τριήρους μέχρι δεκήρους ἐπλήρου, δισμυρίους ἐμβιβάζων ὁπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας. ἔνθα πεζομάχον ἄνδρα τῶν ταξιαρχῶν λέγουσι, παμπόλλους ἠγωνισμένον ἀγῶνας Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ κατατετριμμένον τὸ σῶμα, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρι-*
2 *όντος ἀνακλαύσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· "Ὦ αὐτόκρατορ, τί τῶν τραυμάτων τούτων ἢ τοῦ ξίφους καταγνοὺς ἐν ξύλοις πονηροῖς ἔχεις τὰς ἐλπίδας; Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἐν θαλάσσῃ μαχέσθωσαν, ἡμῖν δὲ γῆν δός, ἐφ' ἧς εἰώθαμεν ἑστῶτες ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους." πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος, ἀλλὰ τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ μόνον οἷον ἐγκελευσάμενος τὸν ἄνδρα θαρρεῖν, παρῆλθεν, οὐ χρηστὰς ἔχων ἐλπίδας, ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς κυβερνήτας τὰ ἱστία βουλομένους ἀπολιπεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ἐμβαλέσθαι καὶ κομίζειν, λέγων ὅτι δεῖ μηδένα φεύγοντα τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν.*

helpful in winning the victory, but where they could most easily get away if the cause was lost. Moreover, there were two long walls extending down to the naval station from the camp, and between these Antony was wont to pass without suspecting any danger. But a slave told Caesar that it was possible to seize Antony as he went down between the walls, and Caesar sent men to lie in ambush for him. These men came near accomplishing their purpose, but seized only the man who was advancing in front of Antony, since they sprang up too soon; Antony himself escaped with difficulty by running.

LXIV. When it had been decided to deliver a sea battle, Antony burned all the Egyptian ships except sixty; but the largest and best, from those having three to those having ten banks of oars, he manned, putting on board twenty thousand heavy-armed soldiers and two thousand archers. It was on this occasion, we are told, that an infantry centurion, a man who had fought many a battle for Antony and was covered with scars, burst into laments as Antony was passing by, and said: "Imperator, why dost thou distrust these wounds and this sword and put thy hopes in miserable logs of wood? Let Egyptians and Phoenicians do their fighting at sea, but give us land, on which we are accustomed to stand and either conquer our enemies or die." To this Antony made no reply, but merely encouraged the man by a gesture and a look to be of good heart, and passed on. And he had no good hopes himself, since, when the masters of his ships wished to leave their sails behind, he compelled them to put them on board and carry them, saying that not one fugitive of the enemy should be allowed to make his escape.

LXV. Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τρεῖς
τὰς ἐφεξῆς μεγάλῳ πνεύματι κυμανθὲν τὸ πέ-
λαγος τὴν μάχην ἐπέσχε, πέμπτῃ δὲ νηνεμίας
καὶ γαλήνης ἀκλύστου γενομένης συνῄεσαν, Ἀν-
τώνιος μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων καὶ Ποπλικόλας,
Κοίλιος δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ Μάρκος
2 Ὀκτάβιος καὶ Μάρκος Ἰνστήϊος. Καῖσαρ δ' 946
ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τάξας Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ τὸ
δεξιὸν κατέλιπε. τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τὸν μὲν Ἀν-
τωνίου Κανίδιος, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρος Ταῦρος ἐπὶ
τῆς θαλάττης παρατάξαντες ἡσύχαζον. αὐτῶν
δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐπεφοίτα πανταχό-
χόσε κωπήρει, τοὺς στρατιώτας παρακαλῶν ὑπὸ
βρίθους τῶν νεῶν ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἑδραίους μάχε-
3 σθαι, τοῖς δὲ κυβερνήταις διακελευόμενος ὥσπερ
ὁρμούσαις ἀτρέμα ταῖς ναυσὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς
ἐμβολὰς τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν περὶ τὸ στόμα δυσ-
χωρίαν φυλάττοντας. Καίσαρι δὲ λέγεται μὲν
ἔτι σκότους ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κύκλῳ περιϊόντι
πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἄνθρωπος ἐλαύνων ὄνον ἀπαντῆσαι,
πυθομένῳ δὲ τοὔνομα γνωρίσας αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν.
"Ἐμοὶ μὲν Εὔτυχος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ ὄνῳ Νίκων."
διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν ὕστερον
4 ἔστησε χαλκοῦν ὄνον καὶ ἄνθρωπον. ἐπιδὼν δὲ
τὴν ἄλλην παράταξιν, ἐν πλοίῳ πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν
κομισθεὶς ἐθαύμασεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς
τοὺς πολεμίους· ἡ γὰρ ὄψις ἦν τῶν νεῶν ἐπ'
ἀγκύραις ὁρμουσῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι πολλοῦ
πεπεισμένος ἀνεῖχε τὰς ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὀκτὼ στάδια

LXV. During that day, then, and the three following days the sea was tossed up by a strong wind and prevented the battle; but on the fifth,[1] the weather becoming fine and the sea calm, they came to an engagement. Antony had the right wing, with Publicola, Coelius the left, and in the centre were Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteius. Caesar posted Agrippa on the left, and reserved the right wing for himself. Of the land forces, that of Antony was commanded by Canidius, that of Caesar by Taurus, who drew them up along the sea and remained quiet. As for the leaders themselves, Antony visited all his ships in a row-boat, exhorting the soldiers, owing to the weight of their ships, to fight without changing their position, as if they were on land; he also ordered the masters of the ships to receive the attacks of the enemy as if their ships were lying quietly at anchor, and to maintain their position at the mouth of the gulf, which was narrow and difficult. Caesar, we are told, who had left his tent while it was yet dark and was going round to visit his ships, was met by a man driving an ass. Caesar asked the man his name, and he, recognizing Caesar, replied: "My name is Prosper, and my ass's name is Victor." Therefore, when Caesar afterwards decorated the place with the beaks of ships, he set up bronze figures of an ass and a man. After surveying the rest of his line of battle, he was carried in a small boat to his right wing, and there was astonished to see the enemy lying motionless in the narrows; indeed, their ships had the appearance of riding at anchor. For a long time he was convinced that this was really the case, and kept his own ships at a distance of about eight furlongs from the

[1] Sept. 2, 31 B.C.

τῶν ἐναντίων ἀφεστώσας. ἕκτη δὲ ἦν ὥρα, καὶ πνεύματος αἰρομένου πελαγίου δυσανασχετοῦντες οἱ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς τὴν διατριβήν, καὶ τοῖς ὕψεσι καὶ μεγέθεσι τῶν οἰκείων νεῶν πεποιθότες ὡς
5 ἀπροσμάχοις, τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐκίνησαν· ἰδὼν δὲ Καῖσαρ ἥσθη καὶ πρύμναν ἐκρούσατο τῷ δεξιῷ, βουλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἔξω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπισπάσασθαι, καὶ περιπλέων εὐήρεσι σκάφεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς ναῦς ὑπ' ὄγκου καὶ πληρωμάτων ὀλιγότητος ἀργὰς καὶ βραδείας.

LXVI. Ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι, ἐμβολαὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἀναρρήξεις νεῶν, τῶν μὲν Ἀντωνίου διὰ βάρος ῥύμην οὐκ ἐχουσῶν, ἣ μάλιστα ποιεῖ τὰς τῶν ἐμβόλων πληγὰς ἐνεργούς, τῶν δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ μόνον ἀντιπρῴρων συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκώματα στερεὰ καὶ τραχέα φυλασσομένων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατὰ
2 πλευρὰν ἐμβολὰς διδόναι θαρρουσῶν. ἀπεθραύοντο γὰρ τὰ ἔμβολα ῥᾳδίως ᾗ προσπέσοιε σκάφεσι τετραγώνων ξύλων μεγάλων σιδήρῳ συνηρμοσμένων πρὸς ἄλληλα δεδεμένοις. ἦν οὖν πεζομαχίᾳ προσφερὴς ὁ ἀγών· τὸ δὲ ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, τειχομαχίᾳ. τρεῖς γὰρ ἅμα καὶ τέσσαρες περὶ μίαν τῶν Ἀντωνίου συνείχοντο, γέρροις καὶ δόρασι καὶ κοντοῖς χρωμένων καὶ πυροβόλοις· οἱ δὲ Ἀντωνίου καὶ καταπέλταις ἀπὸ ξυλίνων πύργων ἔβαλλον.

3 Ἀγρίππου δὲ θάτερον κέρας εἰς κύκλωσιν ἐκτείνοντος, ἀντανάγειν Ποπλικόλας ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀπερρήγνυτο τῶν μέσων. θορυβουμένων δὲ

enemy. But it was now the sixth hour, and since a wind was rising from the sea, the soldiers of Antony became impatient at the delay, and, relying on the height and size of their own ships as making them unassailable, they put their left wing in motion. When Caesar saw this he was delighted, and ordered his right wing to row backwards, wishing to draw the enemy still farther out from the gulf and the narrows, and then to surround them with his own agile vessels and come to close quarters with ships which, owing to their great size and the smallness of their crews, were slow and ineffective.

LXVI. Though the struggle was beginning to be at close range, the ships did not ram or crush one another at all, since Antony's, owing to their weight, had no impetus, which chiefly gives effect to the blows of the beaks, while Caesar's not only avoided dashing front to front against rough and hard bronze armour, but did not even venture to ram the enemy's ships in the side. For their beaks would easily have been broken off by impact against vessels constructed of huge square timbers fastened together with iron. The struggle was therefore like a land battle; or, to speak more truly, like the storming of a walled town. For three or four of Caesar's vessels were engaged at the same time about one of Antony's, and the crews fought with wicker shields and spears and punting-poles and fiery missiles; the soldiers of Antony also shot with catapults from wooden towers.

And now, as Agrippa was extending the left wing with a view to encircling the enemy, Publicola was forced to advance against him, and so was separated from the centre. The centre falling into confusion

τούτων καὶ συμπλεκομένων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρρούν-
τιον, ἀκρίτου δὲ καὶ κοινῆς ἔτι τῆς ναυμαχίας συνε-
στώσης, αἰφνίδιον αἱ Κλεοπάτρας ἑξήκοντα νῆες
ὤφθησαν αἰρόμεναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν τὰ ἱστία καὶ
διὰ μέσου φεύγουσαι τῶν μαχομένων· ἦσαν γὰρ
ὀπίσω τεταγμέναι τῶν μεγάλων, καὶ διεκπίπ-
4 τουσαι ταραχὴν ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι θαυμά-
ζοντες ἐθεῶντο, τῷ πνεύματι χρωμένας ὁρῶντες
καὶ ἐπεχούσας πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἔνθα δὴ
φανερὸν αὑτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐποίησεν οὔτε ἄρχοντος
οὔτε ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ὅλως ἰδίοις λογισμοῖς διοικού-
μενον, ἀλλ' ὅπερ τις παίζων εἶπε, τὴν ψυχὴν
τοῦ ἐρῶντος ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ σώματι ζῆν, ἑλκόμενος
ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὥσπερ συμπεφυκὼς καὶ συμ-
5 μεταφερόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη τὴν ἐκείνης ἰδὼν
ναῦν ἀποπλέουσαν, καὶ πάντων ἐκλαθόμενος καὶ
προδοὺς καὶ ἀποδρὰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους
καὶ θνήσκοντας, εἰς πεντήρη μετεμβάς, Ἀλεξᾶ 947
τοῦ Σύρου καὶ Σκελλίου μόνων αὐτῷ συνεμ-
βάντων, ἐδίωκε τὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν ἤδη καὶ
προσαπολοῦσαν αὐτόν.

LXVII. Ἐκείνη δὲ γνωρίσασα σημεῖον ἀπὸ
τῆς νεὼς ἀνέσχε· καὶ προσενεχθεὶς οὕτω καὶ
ἀναληφθεὶς ἐκείνην μὲν οὔτε εἶδεν οὔτε ὤφθη,
παρελθὼν δὲ μόνος εἰς πρῴραν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καθῆστο
σιωπῇ, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἐχόμενος τῆς
2 κεφαλῆς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ λιβυρνίδες ὤφθησαν
διώκουσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος· ὁ δὲ ἀντίπρῳρον
ἐπιστρέφειν τὴν ναῦν κελεύσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας
ἀνέστειλεν, Εὐρυκλῆς δ' ὁ Λάκων ἐνέκειτο σο-
βαρῶς, λόγχην τινὰ κραδαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ κατα-

and engaging with Arruntius,[1] although the sea-fight was still undecided and equally favourable to both sides, suddenly the sixty ships of Cleopatra were seen hoisting their sails for flight and making off through the midst of the combatants; for they had been posted in the rear of the large vessels, and threw them into confusion as they plunged through. The enemy looked on with amazement, seeing that they took advantage of the wind and made for Peloponnesus. Here, indeed, Antony made it clear to all the world that he was swayed by the sentiments neither of a commander nor of a brave man, nor even by his own, but, as someone in pleasantry said that the soul of the lover dwells in another's body, he was dragged along by the woman as if he had become incorporate with her and must go where she did. For no sooner did he see her ship sailing off than he forgot everything else, betrayed and ran away from those who were fighting and dying in his cause, got into a five-oared galley, where Alexas the Syrian and Scellius were his only companions, and hastened after the woman who had already ruined him and would make his ruin still more complete.

LXVII. Cleopatra recognized him and raised a signal on her ship; so Antony came up and was taken on board, but he neither saw her nor was seen by her. Instead, he went forward alone to the prow and sat down by himself in silence, holding his head in both hands. At this point, Liburnian ships were seen pursuing them from Caesar's fleet; but Antony ordered the ship's prow turned to face them, and so kept them all off, except the ship of Eurycles the Laconian, who attacked vigorously, and brandished a

[1] The commander of Caesar's centre, as Plutarch should have stated at lxv. 1.

στρώματος ὡς ἀφήσων ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἐπιστάντος δὲ τῇ πρῴρᾳ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καί "Τίς οὗτος," εἰπόντος, "ὁ διώκων Ἀντώνιον;" "Ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ Λαχάρους, τῇ Καίσαρος
3 τύχῃ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκδικῶν θάνατον." ὁ δὲ Λαχάρης ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου λῃστείας αἰτίᾳ περιπεσὼν ἐπελεκίσθη. πλὴν οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν ὁ Εὐρυκλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου ναῦν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ναυαρχίδων (δύο γὰρ ἦσαν) τῷ χαλκώματι πατάξας περιερρόμβησε, καὶ ταύτην τε πλαγίαν περιπεσοῦσαν εἷλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν, ἐν ᾗ
4 πολυτελεῖς σκευαὶ τῶν περὶ δίαιταν ἦσαν. ἀπαλλαγέντος δὲ τούτου πάλιν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα καθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε· καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν πρῴρᾳ διαιτηθείς, εἴθ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς, εἴτ' αἰδούμενος ἐκείνην, Ταινάρῳ προσέσχεν. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοὺς αἱ συνήθεις γυναῖκες πρῶτον μὲν εἰς λόγους ἀλλήλοις συνήγαγον, εἶτα συνδειπνεῖν καὶ συγκαθεύδειν ἔπεισαν.
5 Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν στρογγύλων πλοίων οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν φίλων τινὲς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἠθροίζοντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀγγέλλοντες ἀπολωλέναι τὸ ναυτικόν, οἴεσθαι δὲ τὸ πεζὸν συνεστάναι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρὸς μὲν Κανίδιον ἀγγέλους ἔπεμπεν, ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ Μακεδονίας εἰς Ἀσίαν τῷ στρατῷ
6 κατὰ τάχος κελεύων, αὐτὸς δὲ μέλλων ἀπὸ Ταινάρου πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην διαίρειν, ὁλκάδα μίαν, πολὺ μὲν νόμισμα, πολλοῦ δὲ ἀξίας ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κατασκευὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν κομίζουσαν, ἐξελόμενος τοῖς φίλοις ἐπέδωκε κοινῇ, νείμασθαι καὶ σῴζειν ἑαυτοὺς κελεύσας. ἀρνουμένους δὲ καὶ κλαίοντας εὐμενῶς πάνυ

spear on the deck as though he would cast it at Antony. And when Antony, standing at the prow, asked, "Who is this that pursues Antony?" the answer was, "I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, whom the fortune of Caesar enables to avenge the death of his father." Now, Lachares had been beheaded by Antony because he was involved in a charge of robbery. However, Eurycles did not hit Antony's ship, but smote the other admiral's ship (for there were two of them) with his bronze beak and whirled her round, and as she swung round sideways he captured her, and one of the other ships also, which contained costly equipment for household use. When Eurycles was gone, Antony threw himself down again in the same posture and did not stir. He spent three days by himself at the prow, either because he was angry with Cleopatra, or ashamed to see her, and then put in at Taenarum. Here the women in Cleopatra's company at first brought them into a parley, and then persuaded them to eat and sleep together.

Presently not a few of their heavy transport ships and some of their friends began to gather about them after the defeat, bringing word that the fleet was destroyed, but that, in their opinion, the land forces still held together. So Antony sent messengers to Canidius, ordering him to retire with his army as fast as he could through Macedonia into Asia; he himself, however, since he purposed to cross from Taenarum to Libya, selected one of the transport ships which carried much coined money and very valuable royal utensils in silver and gold, and made a present of it to his friends, bidding them divide up the treasure and look out for their own safety. They refused his gift

καὶ φιλοφρόνως παραμυθησάμενος καὶ δεη-
7 *θεὶς ἀπέστειλε, γράψας πρὸς* Θεόφιλον *τὸν ἐν*
Κορίνθῳ *διοικητὴν ὅπως ἀσφάλειαν ἐκπορίσῃ*
καὶ ἀποκρύψῃ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἄχρι ἂν ἱλάσασθαι
Καίσαρα *δυνηθῶσιν. οὗτος ἦν* Θεόφιλος Ἱπ-
πάρχου πατὴρ τοῦ πλεῖστον παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ
δυνηθέντος, πρώτου δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα *τῶν ἀπε-*
λευθέρων μεταβαλομένου καὶ κατοικήσαντος
ὕστερον ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

LXVIII. Ταῦτα *μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν* Ἀντώ-
νιον. ἐν Ἀκτίῳ *δὲ πολὺν ὁ στόλος ἀντισχὼν*
Καίσαρι *χρόνον, καὶ μέγιστον βλαβεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ*
κλύδωνος ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ πρῷραν ἱσταμένου, μόλις
ὥρας δεκάτης ἀπεῖπε. καὶ νεκροὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους
ἐγένοντο πεντακισχιλίων, ἑάλωσαν δὲ τριακόσιαι
2 *νῆες, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀνέγραψε* Καῖσαρ. *ᾔσθοντο δὲ*
οὐ πολλοὶ πεφευγότος Ἀντωνίου, *καὶ τοῖς πυθο-*
μένοις τὸ πρῶτον ἄπιστος ἦν ὁ λόγος, εἰ δέκα καὶ
ἐννέα τάγματα πεζῶν ἀηττήτων καὶ δισχιλίους
ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἱππεῖς ἀπολιπὼν οἴχεται, καθάπερ
οὐ πολλάκις ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῇ τύχῃ κεχρημένος
οὐδὲ μυρίων ἀγώνων καὶ πολέμων μεταβολαῖς
3 *ἐγγεγυμνασμένος. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καὶ πόθον*
τινὰ καὶ προσδοκίαν εἶχον ὡς αὐτίκα ποθὲν
ἐπιφανησομένου· καὶ τοσαύτην ἐπεδείξαντο
πίστιν καὶ ἀρετὴν ὥστε καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτοῦ
φανερᾶς γενομένης ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ συμμεῖναι, περιο-
ρῶντες ἐπιπρεσβευόμενον αὐτοῖς Καίσαρα. *τέλος* 948
δέ, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κανιδίου *νύκτωρ ἀποδράντος*
καὶ καταλιπόντος τὸ στρατόπεδον, γενόμενοι πάν-
των ἔρημοι καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων,
τῷ κρατοῦντι προσεχώρησαν.

and were in tears, but he comforted them and besought them with great kindness and affection, and finally sent them away, after writing to Theophilus, his steward in Corinth, that he should keep the men in safe hiding until they could make their peace with Caesar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who had the greatest influence with Antony, was the first of Antony's freedmen to go over to Caesar, and afterwards lived in Corinth.

LXVIII. This, then, was the situation of Antony. But at Actium his fleet held out for a long time against Caesar, and only after it had been most severely damaged by the high sea which rose against it did it reluctantly, and at the tenth hour, give up the struggle. There were not more than five thousand dead, but three hundred ships were captured, as Caesar himself has written. Only a few were aware that Antony had fled, and to those who heard of it the story was at first an incredible one, that he had gone off and left nineteen legions of undefeated men-at-arms and twelve thousand horsemen, as if he had not many times experienced both kinds of fortune and were not exercised by the reverses of countless wars and fightings. His soldiers, too, had a great longing for him, and expected that he would presently make his appearance from some quarter or other; and they displayed so much fidelity and bravery that even after his flight had become evident they held together for seven days, paying no heed to the messages which Caesar sent them. But at last, after Canidius their general had run away by night and forsaken the camp, being now destitute of all things and betrayed by their commanders, they went over to the conqueror.

4 Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε, καὶ διαλλαγεὶς τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν περιόντα σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διένειμε ταῖς πόλεσι πραττούσαις ἀθλίως καὶ περικεκομμέναις χρημάτων, ἀνδραπόδων, ὑποζυγίων. ὁ γοῦν πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Νίκαρχος διηγεῖτο τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοῖς ὤμοις καταφέρειν μέτρημα πυρῶν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίκυραν θάλασσαν,
5 ὑπὸ μαστίγων ἐπιταχυνομένους· καὶ μίαν μὲν οὕτω φορὰν ἐνεγκεῖν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἤδη μεμετρημένοις καὶ μέλλουσιν αἴρεσθαι νενικημένον Ἀντώνιον ἀγγελῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο διασῶσαι τὴν πόλιν· εὐθὺς γὰρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου διοικητῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν φυγόντων διανείμασθαι τὸν σῖτον αὐτούς.

LXIX. Ἀντώνιος δὲ Λιβύης ἁψάμενος καὶ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Παραιτονίου προπέμψας αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυεν ἐρημίας ἀφθόνου, σὺν δυσὶ φίλοις ἀλύων καὶ πλανώμενος, Ἕλληνι μὲν Ἀριστοκράτει ῥητορικῷ, Ῥωμαίῳ δὲ Λουκιλλίῳ, περὶ οὗ δι' ἑτέρων γεγράφαμεν ὡς ἐν Φιλίπποις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν Βροῦτον, αὐτὸς αὑτόν, ὡς δὴ Βροῦτος ὤν, ἐνεχείρισε τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ διασωθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου διὰ τοῦτο, πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ βέβαιος ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων καιρῶν παρέμεινεν.
2 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ δύναμιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος ἀπέστησεν, ὁρμήσας ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν καὶ διακωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εὗρε Κλεοπάτραν ἐπιτολμῶσαν

In consequence of this, Caesar sailed to Athens, and after making a settlement with the Greeks, he distributed the grain which remained over after the war among their cities; these were in a wretched plight, and had been stripped of money, slaves, and beasts of burden. At any rate, my great-grandfather Nicarchus used to tell how all his fellow-citizens were compelled to carry on their shoulders a stipulated measure of wheat down to the sea at Anticyra, and how their pace was quickened by the whip; they had carried one load in this way, he said, the second was already measured out, and they were just about to set forth, when word was brought that Antony had been defeated, and this was the salvation of the city; for immediately the stewards and soldiers of Antony took to flight, and the citizens divided the grain among themselves.

LXIX. After Antony had reached the coast of Libya and sent Cleopatra forward into Egypt from Paraetonium, he had the benefit of solitude without end, roaming and wandering about with two friends, one a Greek, Aristocrates a rhetorician, and the other a Roman, Lucilius, about whom I have told a story elsewhere.[1] He was at Philippi, and in order that Brutus might make his escape, pretended to be Brutus and surrendered himself to his pursuers. His life was spared by Antony on this account, and he remained faithful to him and steadfast up to the last crucial times. When the general to whom his forces in Libya had been entrusted brought about their defection, Antony tried to kill himself, but was prevented by his friends and brought to Alexandria. Here he found Cleopatra venturing upon a hazardous

[1] See the *Brutus*, chapter l.

ἔργῳ παραβόλῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ. τοῦ γὰρ εἴργοντος ἰσθμοῦ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον θαλάσσης καὶ δοκοῦντος Ἀσίαν καὶ Λιβύην ὁρίζειν, ᾗ σφίγγεται μάλιστα τοῖς πελάγεσι καὶ βραχύτατος εὖρός ἐστι, τριακοσίων σταδίων ὄντων,
3 ἐνεχείρησεν ἄρασα τὸν στόλον ὑπερνεωλκῆσαι, καὶ καθεῖσα τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν κόλπον μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἔξω κατοικεῖν, ἀποφυγοῦσα δουλείαν καὶ πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς πρώτας ἀνελκομένας τῶν νεῶν οἱ περὶ τὴν Πέτραν Ἄραβες κατέκαυσαν, ἔτι δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὸν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ στρατὸν ᾤετο συμμένειν, ἐπαύσατο,
4 καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἐφύλαττεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπὼν καὶ τὰς μετὰ τῶν φίλων διατριβάς, οἴκησιν ἔναλον κατεσκεύαζεν αὑτῷ περὶ τὴν Φάρον, εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν χῶμα προβαλών· καὶ διῆγεν αὐτόθι φυγὰς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸν Τίμωνος ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ζηλοῦν βίον ἔφασκεν, ὡς δὴ πεπονθὼς ὅμοια· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ φίλων καὶ ἀχαριστηθείς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν καὶ δυσχεραίνειν.

LXX. Ὁ δὲ Τίμων ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ γέγονεν ἡλικίᾳ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Πλάτωνος δραμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι. κωμῳδεῖται γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις ὡς δυσμενὴς καὶ μισάνθρωπος· ἐκκλίνων δὲ καὶ διωθούμενος ἅπασαν ἔντευξιν, Ἀλκιβιάδην, νέον ὄντα καὶ θρασύν, ἠσπάζετο καὶ κατεφίλει προθύμως. Ἀπημάντου δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ πυ-

and great undertaking. The isthmus, namely, which separates the Red Sea[1] from the Mediterranean Sea off Egypt and is considered to be the boundary between Asia and Libya, in the part where it is most constricted by the two seas and has the least width, measures three hundred furlongs. Here Cleopatra undertook to raise her fleet out of water and drag the ships across, and after launching them in the Arabian Gulf[1] with much money and a large force, to settle in parts outside of Egypt, thus escaping war and servitude. But since the Arabians about Petra burned the first ships that were drawn up, and Antony still thought that his land forces at Actium were holding together, she desisted, and guarded the approaches to the country. And now Antony forsook the city and the society of his friends, and built for himself a dwelling in the sea at Pharos, by throwing a mole out into the water. Here he lived an exile from men, and declared that he was contentedly imitating the life of Timon, since, indeed, his experiences had been like Timon's; for he himself also had been wronged and treated with ingratitude by his friends, and therefore hated and distrusted all mankind.

LXX. Now, Timon was an Athenian, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian War, as may be gathered from the plays of Aristophanes and Plato. For he is represented in their comedies as peevish and misanthropical; but though he avoided and repelled all intercourse with men, he was glad to see Alcibiades, who was then young and headstrong, and showered kisses upon him. And when Apemantus

[1] By Red Sea Plutarch here means the upper part of the Arabian Gulf.

θομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, φιλεῖν ἔφη τὸν νεανίσκον
εἰδὼς ὅτι πολλῶν Ἀθηναίοις κακῶν αἴτιος ἔσοιτο.
2 τὸν δὲ Ἀπήμαντον μόνον ὡς ὅμοιον αὐτῷ καὶ
ζηλοῦντα τὴν δίαιταν ἔστιν ὅτε προσίετο· καί
ποτε τῆς τῶν Χοῶν οὔσης ἑορτῆς εἱστιῶντο καθ'
αὑτοὺς οἱ δύο, τοῦ δ' Ἀπημάντου φήσαντος, "Ὡς
καλόν, ὦ Τίμων, τὸ συμπόσιον ἡμῶν," "Εἴγε
σύ," ἔφη, "μὴ παρῇς." λέγεται δὲ Ἀθηναίων
ἐκκλησιαζόντων ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ποιῆσαι
σιωπὴν καὶ προσδοκίαν μεγάλην διὰ τὸ παρά-
3 δοξον· εἶτα εἰπεῖν· "Ἔστι μοι μικρὸν οἰκόπεδον, 949
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ συκῆ τις ἐν αὐτῷ πέ-
φυκεν, ἐξ ἧς ἤδη συχνοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγξαντο.
μέλλων οὖν οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐβουλήθην
δημοσίᾳ προειπεῖν, ἵνα, ἂν ἄρα τινὲς ἐθέλωσιν
ὑμῶν, πρὶν ἐκκοπῆναι τὴν συκῆν, ἀπάγξωνται."
τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφέντος Ἁλῆσι
παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὤλισθε τὰ προὔχοντα τοῦ
αἰγιαλοῦ, καὶ τὸ κῦμα περιελθὸν ἄβατον καὶ
ἀπροσπέλαστον ἀνθρώπῳ πεποίηκε τὸν τάφον.
4 ἦν δ' ἐπιγεγραμμένον·

ἐνθάδ' ἀπορρήξας ψυχὴν βαρυδαίμονα κεῖμαι.
τοὔνομα δ' οὐ πεύσεσθε, κακοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἀπό-
λοισθε.

καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῶντα πεποιηκέναι

was amazed at this and asked the reason for it, Timon said he loved the youth because he knew that he would be a cause of many ills to Athens. This Apemantus alone of all men Timon would sometimes admit into his company, since Apemantus was like him and tried sometimes to imitate his mode of life; and once, at the festival of The Pitchers,[1] the two were feasting by themselves, and Apemantus said: "Timon, what a fine symposium ours is!" "It would be," said Timon, "if thou wert not here." We are told also that once when the Athenians were holding an assembly, he ascended the bema, and the strangeness of the thing caused deep silence and great expectancy; then he said: "I have a small building lot, men of Athens, and a fig-tree is growing in it, from which many of my fellow citizens have already hanged themselves. Accordingly, as I intend to build a house there, I wanted to give public notice to that effect, in order that all of you who desire to do so may hang yourselves before the fig-tree is cut down." After he had died and been buried at Halae near the sea, the shore in front of the tomb slipped away, and the water surrounded it and made it completely inaccessible to man. The inscription on the tomb was:

"Here, after snapping the thread of a wretched life,
I lie.
Ye shall not learn my name, but my curses shall
follow you."

This inscription he is said to have composed

[1] *Choes*-day, the second day of the great festival in honour of Dionysus called Anthesteria. It was a day of libations to the dead.

λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ περιφερόμενον Καλλιμάχειόν ἐστι·

Τίμων μισάνθρωπος ἐνοικέω. ἀλλὰ πάρελθε,
οἰμώζειν εἴπας πολλὰ πάρελθε μόνον.

LXXI. Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Τίμωνος ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγα. τῷ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ Κανίδιός τε τῆς ἀποβολῆς τῶν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ δυνάμεων αὐτάγγελος ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον Ἡρώδην ἔχοντά τινα τάγματα καὶ σπείρας ἤκουσε Καίσαρι προσκεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμοίως δυνάστας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ
2 μηδὲν ἔτι συμμένειν τῶν ἐκτός. οὐ μὴν διετάραξέ τι τούτων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἄσμενος τὸ ἐλπίζειν ἀποτεθειμένος, ἵνα καὶ τὸ φροντίζειν, τὴν μὲν ἔναλον ἐκείνην δίαιταν, ἣν Τιμώνειον ὠνόμαζεν, ἐξέλιπεν, ἀναληφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πρὸς δεῖπνα καὶ πότους καὶ διανομὰς ἔτρεψε τὴν πόλιν, ἐγγράφων μὲν εἰς ἐφήβους τὸν Κλεοπάτρας παῖδα καὶ Καίσαρος,
3 τὸ δὲ ἀπόρφυρον καὶ τέλειον ἱμάτιον Ἀντύλλῳ τῷ ἐκ Φουλβίας περιτιθείς, ἐφ' οἷς ἡμέρας πολλὰς συμπόσια καὶ κῶμοι καὶ θαλίαι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατεῖχον. αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀμιμητοβίων ἐκείνην σύνοδον κατέλυσαν, ἑτέραν δὲ συνέταξαν οὐδέν τι λειπομένην ἐκείνης ἁβρότητι καὶ τρυφαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις, ἣν συναποθανουμένων ἐκάλουν. ἀπεγράφοντο γὰρ οἱ φίλοι συναποθανουμένους ἑαυτούς, καὶ διῆγον εὐπαθοῦντες
4 ἐν δείπνων περιόδοις. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ φαρ-

himself, but that in general circulation is by Callimachus:

"Timon, hater of men, dwells here; so pass along;
Heap many curses on me, if thou wilt, only pass along."

LXXI. These are a few things out of many concerning Timon. As for Antony, Canidius in person brought him word of the loss of his forces at Actium, and he heard that Herod the Jew, with sundry legions and cohorts, had gone over to Caesar, and that the other dynasts in like manner were deserting him and nothing longer remained of his power outside of Egypt. However, none of these things greatly disturbed him, but, as if he gladly laid aside his hopes, that so he might lay aside his anxieties also, he forsook that dwelling of his in the sea, which he called Timoneum, and after he had been received into the palace by Cleopatra, turned the city to the enjoyment of suppers and drinking-bouts and distributions of gifts, inscribing in the list of ephebi [1] the son of Cleopatra and Caesar, and bestowing upon Antyllus the son of Fulvia the toga virilis without purple hem, in celebration of which, for many days, banquets and revels and feastings occupied Alexandria. Cleopatra and Antony now dissolved their famous society of Inimitable Livers,[2] and founded another, not at all inferior to that in daintiness and luxury and extravagant outlay, which they called the society of Partners in Death. For their friends enrolled themselves as those who would die together, and passed the time delightfully in a round of suppers. Moreover, Cleopatra was getting together collections

[1] See the note on lxii. 1. Caesarion was to be educated as a Greek, Antyllus as a Roman. [2] Cf. chapter xxviii. 2.

μάκων θανασίμων συνῆγε παντοδαπὰς δυνάμεις,
ὧν ἑκάστης τὸ ἀνώδυνον ἐλέγχουσα προὔβαλλε
τοῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ φρουρουμένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα
τὰς μὲν ὠκυμόρους τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ θανάτου δι'
ὀδύνης ἐπιφερούσας, τὰς δὲ πρᾳοτέρας τάχος οὐκ
ἐχούσας, τῶν θηρίων ἀπεπειρᾶτο, θεωμένης αὐτῆς
5 ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ προσφερόντων. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο
καθ' ἡμέραν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσι μόνον εὕρισκε
τὸ δῆγμα τῆς ἀσπίδος ἄνευ σπασμοῦ καὶ στεναγμοῦ
κάρον ὑπνώδη καὶ καταφορὰν ἐφελκόμενον,
ἱδρῶτι μαλακῷ τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων
ἀμαυρώσει παραλυομένων ῥᾳδίως καὶ
δυσχεραινόντων πρὸς τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις καὶ ἀνακλίσεις,
ὥσπερ οἱ βαθέως καθεύδοντες.

LXXII. Ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πρέσβεις
ἔπεμπον εἰς Ἀσίαν, ἡ μὲν αἰτουμένη τὴν ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ τοῖς παισὶν ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ ἀξιῶν Ἀθήνησιν,
εἰ μὴ δοκοίη περὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἰδιώτης καταβιῶναι.
φίλων δὲ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀπιστίᾳ διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας
ὁ τῶν παίδων διδάσκαλος ἐπέμφθη πρεσβεύων
2 Εὐφρόνιος. καὶ γὰρ Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ Λαοδικεύς, γνωρισθεὶς
μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ Τιμαγένους καὶ πλεῖστον
Ἑλλήνων δυνηθείς, γενόμενος δὲ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας
ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον ὀργάνων τὸ βιαιότατον καὶ τῶν
ὑπὲρ Ὀκταουίας ἱσταμένων ἐν αὐτῷ λογισμῶν
ἀνατροπεύς, ἐπέμφθη μὲν Ἡρώδην τὸν βασιλέα 950
3 τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐφέξων, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταμείνας καὶ
προδοὺς Ἀντώνιον ἐτόλμησεν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν
Καίσαρος, Ἡρώδῃ πεποιθώς. ὤνησε δὲ αὐτὸν
οὐδὲν Ἡρώδης, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς εἱρχθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς

of all sorts of deadly poisons, and she tested the painless working of each of them by giving them to prisoners under sentence of death. But when she saw that the speedy poisons enhanced the sharpness of death by the pain they caused, while the milder poisons were not quick, she made trial of venomous animals, watching with her own eyes as they were set one upon another. She did this daily, and tried them almost all; and she found that the bite of the asp alone induced a sleepy torpor and sinking, where there was no spasm or groan, but a gentle perspiration on the face, while the perceptive faculties were easily relaxed and dimmed, and resisted all attempts to rouse and restore them, as is the case with those who are soundly asleep.

LXXII. At the same time they also sent an embassy to Caesar in Asia, Cleopatra asking the realm of Egypt for her children, and Antony requesting that he might live as a private person at Athens, if he could not do so in Egypt. But owing to their lack of friends and the distrust which they felt on account of desertions, Euphronius, the teacher of the children, was sent on the embassy. For Alexas the Laodicean, who had been made known to Antony in Rome through Timagenes and had more influence with him than any other Greek, who had also been Cleopatra's most effective instrument against Antony and had overthrown the considerations arising in his mind in favour of Octavia, had been sent to keep Herod the king from apostasy; but after remaining there and betraying Antony he had the audacity to come into Caesar's presence, relying on Herod. Herod, however, could not help him, but the traitor was at once confined and carried in fetters to his own

εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα δέσμιος ἐκεῖ Καίσαρος κελεύσαντος ἀνῃρέθη. τοιαύτην μὲν Ἀλεξᾶς ἔτι ζῶντι δίκην Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς ἀπιστίας ἐξέτισε.

LXXIII. Καῖσαρ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, Κλεοπάτραν δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μηδενὸς ἁμαρτήσεσθαι τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνελοῦσαν Ἀντώνιον ἢ ἐκβαλοῦσαν. συνέπεμψε δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Θύρσον, οὐκ ἀνόητον ἄνθρωπον οὐδὲ ἀπιθάνως ἂν ἀφ' ἡγεμόνος νέου διαλεχθέντα πρὸς γυναῖκα σοβαρὰν καὶ θαυμαστὸν ὅσον ἐπὶ κάλλει φρονοῦσαν.

2 οὗτος ἐντυγχάνων αὐτῇ μακρότερα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τιμώμενος διαφερόντως ὑπόνοιαν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ παρέσχε, καὶ συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐμαστίγωσεν, εἶτα ἀφῆκε πρὸς Καίσαρα γράψας ὡς ἐντρυφῶν καὶ περιφρονῶν παροξύνειεν αὐτόν, εὐπαρόξυντον ὑπὸ κακῶν ὄντα. "Σὺ δὲ εἰ μὴ φέρεις τὸ πρᾶγμα," ἔφη, "μετρίως, ἔχεις ἐμὸν ἀπελεύθερον Ἵππαρχον. τοῦτον κρεμάσας μαστίγωσον, ἵνα ἴσον ἔχωμεν."

3 ἐκ τούτου Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἀπολυομένη τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ὑπονοίας ἐθεράπευεν αὐτὸν περιττῶς· καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς γενέθλιον ταπεινῶς διαγαγοῦσα καὶ ταῖς τύχαις πρεπόντως, τὴν ἐκείνου πᾶσαν ὑπερβαλλομένη λαμπρότητα καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἑώρτασεν, ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν κεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον πένητας ἐλθόντας ἀπελθεῖν πλουσίους. Καίσαρα δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἀνεκαλεῖτο πολλάκις ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γράφων ὡς τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ποθούντων.

country, where he was put to death by Caesar's orders. Such was the penalty for his treachery which Alexas paid to Antony while Antony was yet alive.

LXXIII. Caesar would not listen to the proposals for Antony, but he sent back word to Cleopatra that she would receive all reasonable treatment if she either put Antony to death or cast him out. He also sent with the messengers one of his own freedmen, Thyrsus, a man of no mean parts, and one who would persuasively convey messages from a young general to a woman who was haughty and astonishingly proud in the matter of beauty. This man had longer interviews with Cleopatra than the rest, and was conspicuously honoured by her, so that he roused suspicion in Antony, who seized him and gave him a flogging, and then sent him back to Caesar with a written message stating that Thyrsus, by his insolent and haughty airs, had irritated him, at a time when misfortunes made him easily irritated. "But if thou dost not like the thing," he said, "thou hast my freedman Hipparchus[1]; hang him up and give him a flogging, and we shall be quits." After this, Cleopatra tried to dissipate his causes of complaint and his suspicions by paying extravagant court to him; her own birthday she kept modestly and in a manner becoming to her circumstances, but she celebrated his with an excess of all kinds of splendour and costliness, so that many of those who were bidden to the supper came poor and went away rich. Meanwhile Caesar was being called home by Agrippa, who frequently wrote him from Rome that matters there greatly needed his presence.

[1] See chapter lxvii. 7.

LXXIV. Ἔσχεν οὖν ἀναβολὴν ὁ πόλεμος τότε· τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παρελθόντος αὖθις ἐπῄει διὰ Συρίας, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ διὰ Λιβύης. ἁλόντος δὲ Πηλουσίου λόγος ἦν ἐνδοῦναι Σέλευκον οὐκ ἀκούσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας. ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μὲν γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας Ἀντωνίῳ κτεῖναι παρεῖχεν, αὐτὴ δὲ θήκας ἔχουσα καὶ μνήματα κατεσκευασμένα περιττῶς εἴς τε κάλλος καὶ ὕψος, ἃ
2 προσῳκοδόμησε τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἴσιδος, ἐνταῦθα τῶν βασιλικῶν συνεφόρει τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς, χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, σμάραγδον, μαργαρίτην, ἔβενον, ἐλέφαντα, κινάμωμον· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ δᾳδα πολλὴν καὶ στυππεῖον, ὥστε δείσαντα περὶ τῶν χρημάτων Καίσαρα, μὴ τραπομένη πρὸς ἀπόγνωσιν ἡ γυνὴ διαφθείρῃ καὶ καταφλέξῃ τὸν πλοῦτον, ἀεί τινας ἐλπίδας αὐτῇ φιλανθρώπους προσπέμπειν ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν
3 πόλιν. ἱδρυθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον, Ἀντώνιος ἐπεξελθὼν ἠγωνίσατο λαμπρῶς καὶ τροπὴν τῶν Καίσαρος ἱππέων ἐποίησε, καὶ κατεδίωξεν ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου. μεγαλυνόμενος δὲ τῇ νίκῃ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν κατεφίλησεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν ἠγωνισμένον προθυμότατα τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνέστησεν. ἡ δὲ ἀριστεῖον αὐτῷ θώρακα χρυσοῦν καὶ κράνος ἔδωκεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος λαβὼν ταῦτα διὰ νυκτὸς ηὐτομόλησε πρὸς Καίσαρα.

LXXV. Πάλιν δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε Καίσαρα μονομαχῆσαι προκαλούμενος. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου πολλὰς ὁδοὺς Ἀντωνίῳ παρεῖναι θανάτων,

LXXIV. Accordingly, the war was suspended for the time being; but when the winter was over, Caesar again marched against his enemy through Syria, and his generals through Libya. When Pelusium was taken there was a rumour that Seleucus had given it up, and not without the consent of Cleopatra; but Cleopatra allowed Antony to put to death the wife and children of Seleucus, and she herself, now that she had a tomb and monument built surpassingly lofty and beautiful, which she had erected near the temple of Isis, collected there the most valuable of the royal treasures, gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon; and besides all this she put there great quantities of torch-wood and tow, so that Caesar was anxious about the treasure, and fearing lest the woman might become desperate and burn up and destroy this wealth, kept sending on to her vague hopes of kindly treatment from him, at the same time that he advanced with his army against the city. But when Caesar had taken up position near the hippodrome, Antony sallied forth against him and fought brilliantly and routed his cavalry, and pursued them as far as their camp. Then, exalted by his victory, he went into the palace, kissed Cleopatra, all armed as he was, and presented to her the one of his soldiers who had fought most spiritedly. Cleopatra gave the man as a reward of valour a golden breastplate and a helmet. The man took them, of course,—and in the night deserted to Caesar.

LXXV. And now Antony once more sent Caesar a challenge to single combat.[1] But Caesar answered that Antony had many ways of dying. Then Antony,

[1] Cf. chapter lxii. 3.

συμφρονήσας ὅτι τοῦ διὰ μάχης οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ βελτίων θάνατος, ἔγνω καὶ κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ θάλατταν ἐπιχειρεῖν. καὶ παρὰ δεῖπνον, ὡς λέγεται, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευσεν ὑποχεῖν καὶ
2 προθυμότερον εὐωχεῖν αὐτόν· ἄδηλον γάρ, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν αὔριον ἢ δεσπόταις ἑτέροις ὑπηρετήσουσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ κείσεται σκελετὸς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν γενόμενος. τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐπὶ τούτοις δακρύοντας ὁρῶν ἔφη μὴ προάξειν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐξ ἧς αὑτῷ θάνατον εὐκλεᾶ μᾶλλον ἢ σωτηρίαν ζητεῖν καὶ νίκην.

3 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ λέγεται, μεσούσης σχεδόν, 951
ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ κατηφείᾳ τῆς πόλεως διὰ φόβον καὶ προσδοκίαν τοῦ μέλλοντος οὔσης, αἰφνίδιον ὀργάνων τε παντοδαπῶν ἐμμελεῖς τινας φωνὰς ἀκουσθῆναι καὶ βοὴν ὄχλου μετὰ εὐασμῶν καὶ πηδήσεων σατυρικῶν, ὥσπερ θιάσου τινὸς οὐκ
4 ἀθορύβως ἐξελαύνοντος· εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁμοῦ τι διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἔξω τὴν τετραμμένην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν θόρυβον ἐκπεσεῖν πλεῖστον γενόμενον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς ἀναλογιζομένοις τὸ σημεῖον ἀπολείπειν ὁ θεὸς Ἀντώνιον, ᾧ μάλιστα συνεξομοιῶν καὶ συνοικειῶν ἑαυτὸν διετέλεσεν.

LXXVI. Ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως λόφων ἱδρύσας ἐθεᾶτο τὰς ναῦς ἀνηγμένας καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων προσφερομένας· καὶ περιμένων ἔργον τι παρ' ἐκείνων ἰδεῖν ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ταῖς κώπαις

conscious that there was no better death for him than that by battle, determined to attack by land and sea at once. And at supper, we are told, he bade the slaves pour out for him and feast him more generously; for it was uncertain, he said, whether they would be doing this on the morrow, or whether they would be serving other masters, while he himself would be lying dead, a mummy and a nothing. Then, seeing that his friends were weeping at these words, he declared that he would not lead them out to battle, since from it he sought an honourable death for himself rather than safety and victory.

During this night, it is said, about the middle of it, while the city was quiet and depressed through fear and expectation of what was coming, suddenly certain harmonious sounds from all sorts of instruments were heard, and the shouting of a throng, accompanied by cries of Bacchic revelry and satyric leapings, as if a troop of revellers, making a great tumult, were going forth from the city; and their course seemed to lie about through the middle of the city toward the outer gate which faced the enemy, at which point the tumult became loudest and then dashed out. Those who sought the meaning of the sign were of the opinion that the god to whom Antony always most likened and attached himself was now deserting him.

LXXVI. At daybreak,[1] Antony in person posted his infantry on the hills in front of the city, and watched his ships as they put out and attacked those of the enemy; and as he expected to see something great accomplished by them, he remained quiet. But the crews of his ships, as soon as they were near,

[1] Aug. 1, 30 B.C.

ἠσπάσαντο τοὺς Καίσαρος, ἐκείνων τε ἀντασπασαμένων μετεβάλοντο, καὶ πάσαις ἅμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁ στόλος εἷς γενόμενος ἐπέπλει πρὸς τὴν
2 πόλιν ἀντίπρῳρος. τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν ἀπελείφθη μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων μεταβαλομένων, ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προδεδόσθαι βοῶν οἷς δι' ἐκείνην ἐπολέμησεν. ἡ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν εἰς τὸν τάφον κατέφυγε καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἀφῆκε κλείθροις καὶ μοχλοῖς καρτεροὺς ὄντας· πρὸς δὲ Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμψε τοὺς
3 ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὅτι τέθνηκε. πιστεύσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, "Τί ἔτι μέλλεις, Ἀντώνιε; τὴν μόνην ἡ τύχη καὶ λοιπὴν ἀφῄρηκε τοῦ φιλοψυχεῖν πρόφασιν," εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, καὶ τὸν θώρακα παραλύων καὶ διαστέλλων, "Ὦ Κλεοπάτρα," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἄχθομαί σου στερούμενος· αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀφίξομαι· ἀλλ' ὅτι γυναικὸς ὁ τηλικοῦτος αὐτοκράτωρ εὐψυχίᾳ πεφώραμαι λειπόμενος."
4 Ἦν δέ τις οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ πιστὸς Ἔρως ὄνομα. τοῦτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρακεκληκώς, εἰ δεήσειεν, ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, ἀπῄτει τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ὁ δὲ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀνέσχε μὲν ὡς παίσων ἐκεῖνον, ἀποστρέψας δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ὁ Ἀντώνιος "Εὖγε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἔρως, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν ὃ δεῖ διδάσκεις·" καὶ παίσας διὰ τῆς
5 κοιλίας ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ κλινίδιον. ἦν δὲ οὐκ εὐθυθάνατος ἡ πληγή. διὸ καὶ τῆς φορᾶς τοῦ αἵματος, ἐπεὶ κατεκλίθη, παυσαμένης,

saluted Caesar's crews with their oars, and on their returning the salute changed sides, and so all the ships, now united into one fleet, sailed up towards the city prows on. No sooner had Antony seen this than he was deserted by his cavalry, which went over to the enemy, and after being defeated with his infantry he retired into the city, crying out that he had been betrayed by Cleopatra to those with whom he waged war for her sake. But she, fearing his anger and his madness, fled for refuge into her tomb and let fall the drop-doors, which were made strong with bolts and bars; then she sent messengers to tell Antony that she was dead. Antony believed the message, and saying to himself, "Why dost thou longer delay, Antony? Fortune has taken away thy sole remaining excuse for clinging to life," he went into his chamber. Here, as he unfastened his breastplate and laid it aside, he said; "O Cleopatra, I am not grieved to be bereft of thee, for I shall straightway join thee; but I am grieved that such an imperator as I am has been found to be inferior to a woman in courage."

Now, Antony had a trusty slave named Eros. Him Antony had long before engaged, in case of need, to kill him, and now demanded the fulfilment of his promise. So Eros drew his sword and held it up as though he would smite his master, but then turned his face away and slew himself. And as he fell at his master's feet Antony said: "Well done, Eros! though thou wast not able to do it thyself, thou teachest me what I must do"; and running himself through the belly he dropped upon the couch. But the wound did not bring a speedy death. Therefore, as the blood ceased flowing after he had lain down, he

ἀναλαβὼν ἐδεῖτο τῶν παρόντων ἐπισφάττειν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἔφευγον ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου βοῶντος καὶ σφαδάζοντος, ἄχρι οὗ παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας ἧκε Διομήδης ὁ γραμματεύς, κομίζειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκείνην εἰς τὸν τάφον κελευσθείς.

LXXVII. Γνοὺς οὖν ὅτι ζῇ, προθύμως ἐκέλευσεν ἄρασθαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν προσεκομίσθη ταῖς θύραις τοῦ οἰκήματος. ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς μὲν θύρας οὐκ ἀνέῳξεν, ἐκ δὲ θυρίδων τινῶν φανεῖσα σειρὰς καὶ καλῴδια καθίει. καὶ τούτοις ἐναψάντων τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεῖλκεν αὐτὴ καὶ δύο γυναῖκες, ἃς μόνας ἐδέξατο
2 μεθ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν τάφον. οὐδὲν ἐκείνου λέγουσιν οἰκτρότερον γενέσθαι οἱ παραγενόμενοι θέαμα. πεφυρμένος γὰρ αἵματι καὶ δυσθανατῶν εἵλκετο, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων εἰς ἐκείνην καὶ παραιωρούμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν γυναιξὶ ῥᾴδιον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μόλις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ταῖν χεροῖν ἐμπεφυκυῖα καὶ κατατεινομένη τῷ προσώπῳ τὸν δεσμὸν ἀνελάμβανεν, ἐπικελευομένων τῶν κάτωθεν αὐτῇ καὶ
3 συναγωνιώντων. δεξαμένη δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτως καὶ κατακλίνασα περιερρήξατό τε τοὺς πέπλους ἐπ' 952
αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένη καὶ σπαράττουσα ταῖς χερσί, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ αἵματος ἀναματτομένη, δεσπότην ἐκάλει καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα· καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐπιλέληστο τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν οἴκτῳ τῶν ἐκείνου. καταπαύσας δὲ τὸν θρῆνον αὐτῆς Ἀντώνιος ᾔτησε πιεῖν οἶνον, εἴτε διψῶν,
4 εἴτε συντομώτερον ἐλπίζων ἀπολυθήσεσθαι. πιὼν δὲ παρῄνεσεν αὐτῇ τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῆς, ἂν ᾖ μὴ μετ' αἰσχύνης, σωτήρια τίθεσθαι, μάλιστα τῶν Καίσαρος ἑταίρων Προκληΐῳ πιστεύουσαν, αὐτὸν

came to himself and besought the bystanders to give him the finishing stroke. But they fled from the chamber, and he lay writhing and crying out, until Diomedes the secretary came from Cleopatra with orders to bring him to her in the tomb.

LXXVII. Having learned, then, that Cleopatra was alive, Antony eagerly ordered his servants to raise him up, and he was carried in their arms to the doors of her tomb. Cleopatra, however, would not open the doors, but showed herself at a window, from which she let down ropes and cords. To these Antony was fastened, and she drew him up herself, with the aid of the two women whom alone she had admitted with her into the tomb. Never, as those who were present tell us, was there a more piteous sight. Smeared with blood and struggling with death he was drawn up, stretching out his hands to her even as he dangled in the air. For the task was not an easy one for women, and scarcely could Cleopatra, with clinging hands and strained face, pull up the rope, while those below called out encouragement to her and shared her agony. And when she had thus got him in and laid him down, she rent her garments over him, beat and tore her breasts with her hands, wiped off some of his blood upon her face, and called him master, husband, and imperator; indeed, she almost forgot her own ills in her pity for his. But Antony stopped her lamentations and asked for a drink of wine, either because he was thirsty, or in the hope of a speedier release. When he had drunk, he advised her to consult her own safety, if she could do it without disgrace, and among all the companions of Caesar to put most confidence in

δὲ μὴ θρηνεῖν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑστάταις μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μακαρίζειν ὧν ἔτυχε καλῶν, ἐπιφανέστατος ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσχύσας καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς Ῥωμαῖος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίου κρατηθείς.

LXXVIII. *Ὅσον δὲ ἀπολιπόντος αὐτοῦ Προκλήϊος ἧκε παρὰ Καίσαρος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν πατάξας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ᾤχετο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν κομιζόμενος, Δερκεταῖός τις τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκρύψας ὑπεξῆλθε, καὶ δραμὼν πρὸς Καίσαρα πρῶτος ἤγγειλε τὴν Ἀντωνίου τελευτήν, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἔδειξεν ᾑμαγ-*
2 *μένον. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἐνδοτέρω τῆς σκηνῆς ἀποστὰς ἀπεδάκρυσεν ἄνδρα κηδεστὴν γενόμενον καὶ συνάρχοντα καὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων κοινωνόν. εἶτα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας ἀνεγίνωσκεν ὡς εὐγνώμονα γράφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δίκαια φορτικὸς ἦν καὶ*
3 *ὑπερήφανος ἀεὶ περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐκεῖνος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν Προκλήϊον ἔπεμψε κελεύσας, ἢν δύνηται, μάλιστα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ζώσης κρατῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ μέγα πρὸς δόξαν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ θριάμβου καταγαγεῖν ἐκείνην. εἰς μὲν οὖν χεῖρας τῷ Προκληΐῳ*
4 *συνελθεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν· ἐγίνοντο δὲ λόγοι τῷ οἰκήματι προσελθόντος ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ κατὰ θύρας ἐπιπέδους, ἀποκεκλειμένας μὲν ὀχυρῶς, φωνῇ δὲ διέξοδον ἐχούσας. καὶ διελέχθησαν ἡ μὲν αἰτου-*

Proculeius, and not to lament him for his last reverses, but to count him happy for the good things that had been his, since he had become most illustrious of men, had won greatest power, and now had been not ignobly conquered, a Roman by a Roman.

LXXVIII. Scarcely was he dead, when Proculeius came from Caesar. For after Antony had smitten himself and while he was being carried to Cleopatra, Dercetaeus, one of his body-guard, seized Antony's sword, concealed it, and stole away with it; and running to Caesar, he was the first to tell him of Antony's death, and showed him the sword all smeared with blood. When Caesar heard these tidings, he retired within his tent and wept for a man who had been his relation by marriage, his colleague in office and command, and his partner in many undertakings and struggles. Then he took the letters which had passed between them, called in his friends, and read the letters aloud, showing how reasonably and justly he had written, and how rude and overbearing Antony had always been in his replies. After this, he sent Proculeius, bidding him, if possible, above all things to get Cleopatra into his power alive; for he was fearful about the treasures in her funeral pyre, and he thought it would add greatly to the glory of his triumph if she were led in the procession. Into the hands of Proculeius, however, Cleopatra would not put herself; but she conferred with him after he had come close to the tomb and stationed himself outside at a door which was on a level with the ground. The door was strongly fastened with bolts and bars, but allowed a passage for the voice. So they conversed, Cleopatra

μένη τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν καὶ πάντα πιστεύειν Καίσαρι κελεύων.

LXXIX. Ὡς δὲ κατιδὼν τὸν τόπον ἀπήγγειλε Καίσαρι, Γάλλος μὲν ἐπέμφθη πάλιν ἐντευξόμενος αὐτῇ· καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἐλθὼν ἐπίτηδες ἐμήκυνε τὸν λόγον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Προκλήϊος κλίμακος προστεθείσης διὰ τῆς θυρίδος εἰσῆλθεν ᾗ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αἱ γυναῖκες ἐδέξαντο. καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς[1] εὐθύς, αἷς ἡ Κλεοπάτρα παρειστήκει προσέχουσα τῷ Γάλλῳ, κατέβαινεν ὑπηρέ-
2 τας ἔχων δύο μεθ' αὑτοῦ. τῶν δὲ συγκαθειργμένων τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ γυναικῶν τῆς ἑτέρας ἀνακραγούσης, "Τάλαινα Κλεοπάτρα, ζωγρεῖ," μεταστραφεῖσα καὶ θεασαμένη τὸν Προκλήϊον ὥρμησε μὲν αὑτὴν πατάξαι· παρεζωσμένη γὰρ ἐτύγχανέ τι τῶν λῃστρικῶν ξιφιδίων· προσδραμὼν δὲ ταχὺ καὶ περισχὼν αὐτὴν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ὁ Προκλήϊος, "Ἀδικεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὦ Κλεοπάτρα, καὶ σεαυτὴν καὶ Καίσαρα, μεγάλην ἀφαιρουμένη χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διαβάλλουσα τὸν πρᾳότατον ἡγεμόνων ὡς ἄπιστον καὶ ἀδιάλ-
3 λακτον." ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ξίφος αὐτῆς παρείλετο, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, μὴ κρύπτοι τι φάρμακον, ἐξέσεισεν. ἐπέμφθη δὲ καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ᾧ προσετέτακτο ζῶσαν αὐτὴν φυλάττειν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελόμενον, τἆλλα δὲ[2] πρὸς τὸ ῥᾷστον ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ἥδιστον.

LXXX. Αὐτὸς δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰσήλαυνεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Ἀρείῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ προσδιαλεγόμενος καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνδεδωκώς, ἵνα εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς πολί-

[1] αὐτὰς bracketed by Bekker.
[2] τἆλλα δὲ Bekker, after Solanus: τἆλλα.

asking that her children might have her kingdom, and Proculeius bidding her be of good cheer and trust Caesar in everything.

LXXIX. After Proculeius had surveyed the place, he brought back word to Caesar, and Gallus was sent to have another interview with the queen; and coming up to the door he purposely prolonged the conversation. Meanwhile Proculeius applied a ladder and went in through the window by which the women had taken Antony inside. Then he went down at once to the very door at which Cleopatra was standing and listening to Gallus, and he had two servants with him. One of the women imprisoned with Cleopatra cried out, "Wretched Cleopatra, thou art taken alive," whereupon the queen turned about, saw Proculeius, and tried to stab herself; for she had at her girdle a dagger such as robbers wear. But Proculeius ran swiftly to her, threw both his arms about her, and said: "O Cleopatra, thou art wronging both thyself and Caesar, by trying to rob him of an opportunity to show great kindness, and by fixing upon the gentlest of commanders the stigma of faithlessness and implacability." At the same time he took away her weapon, and shook out her clothing, to see whether she was concealing any poison. And there was also sent from Caesar one of his freedmen, Epaphroditus, with injunctions to keep the queen alive by the strictest vigilance, but otherwise to make any concession that would promote her ease and pleasure.

LXXX. And now Caesar himself drove into the city, and he was conversing with Areius the philosopher, to whom he had given his right hand, in order that Areius might at once be conspicuous among the citizens, and

ταις περίβλεπτος εἴη καὶ θαυμάζοιτο τιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπρεπῶς. εἰς δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον εἰσελθὼν καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ βῆμά τι πεποιημένον, ἐκπεπληγμένων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ προσπιπτόντων, ἀναστῆναι κελεύσας ἔφη πάσης αἰτίας τὸν δῆμον ἀφιέναι, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸν 953
κτίστην Ἀλέξανδρον· δεύτερον δὲ τῆς πόλεως θαυμάζων τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· τρίτον δὲ
2 Ἀρείῳ τῷ ἑταίρῳ χαριζόμενος. ταύτης δὴ τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἄρειος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξῃτήσατο συχνούς· ὧν ἦν καὶ Φιλόστρατος, ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν μὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν πώποτε σοφιστῶν ἱκανώτατος, εἰσποιῶν δὲ μὴ προσηκόντως ἑαυτὸν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ. διὸ καὶ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῦ βδελυττόμενος τὸν τρόπον οὐ προσίετο τὰς
3 δεήσεις. ὁ δὲ πώγωνα πολιὸν καθεὶς καὶ φαιὸν ἱμάτιον περιβαλόμενος ἐξόπισθεν Ἀρείῳ παρηκολούθει, τοῦτον ἀεὶ τὸν στίχον ἀναφθεγγόμενος·

σοφοὶ σοφοὺς σώζουσιν, ἂν ὦσιν σοφοί.

πυθόμενος δὲ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοῦ φθόνου μᾶλλον Ἄρειον ἢ τοῦ δέους Φιλόστρατον ἀπαλλάξαι βουλόμενος, διῆκε.

LXXXI. Τῶν δὲ Ἀντωνίου παίδων ὁ μὲν ἐκ Φουλβίας Ἄντυλλος ὑπὸ Θεοδώρου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ παραδοθεὶς ἀπέθανε· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποτεμόντων, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἀφελὼν ὃν ἐφόρει περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ πολυτιμότατον λίθον εἰς τὴν ζώνην κατέρραψεν· ἀρνησά-
2 μενος δὲ καὶ φωραθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη. τὰ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας παιδία φρουρούμενα μετὰ τῶν τρεφόντων ἐλευθέριον εἶχε δίαιταν. Καισαρίωνα δὲ

be admired because of the marked honour shown him by Caesar. After he had entered the gymnasium and ascended a tribunal there made for him, the people were beside themselves with fear and prostrated themselves before him, but he bade them rise up, and said that he acquitted the people of all blame, first, because of Alexander, their founder; second, because he admired the great size and beauty of the city; and third, to gratify his companion, Areius. This honour Caesar bestowed upon Areius, and pardoned many other persons also at his request. Among these was Philostratus, a man more competent to speak extempore than any sophist that ever lived, but he improperly represented himself as belonging to the school of the Academy. Therefore Caesar, abominating his ways, would not listen to his entreaties. So Philostratus, having a long white beard and wearing a dark robe, would follow behind Areius, ever declaiming this verse:—

"A wise man will a wise man save, if wise he be."[1]

When Caesar learned of this, he pardoned him, wishing rather to free Areius from odium than Philostratus from fear.

LXXXI. As for the children of Antony, Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, was betrayed by Theodorus his tutor and put to death; and after the soldiers had cut off his head, his tutor took away the exceeding precious stone which the boy wore about his neck and sewed it into his own girdle; and though he denied the deed, he was convicted of it and crucified. Cleopatra's children, together with their attendants, were kept under guard and had generous treatment.

[1] An iambic trimeter from an unknown poet (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2] p. 921).

τὸν ἐκ Καίσαρος γεγονέναι λεγόμενον ἡ μὲν μήτηρ ἐξέπεμψε μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δι' Αἰθιοπίας, ἕτερος δὲ παιδαγωγὸς ὅμοιος Θεοδώρῳ Ῥόδων ἀνέπεισεν ἐπανελθεῖν, ὡς Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καλοῦντος. βουλευομένου δὲ Καίσαρος Ἄρειον εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν·

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη.[1]

LXXXII. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας τελευτήν. Ἀντώνιον δὲ πολλῶν αἰτουμένων θάψαι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἀφείλετο Κλεοπάτρας τὸ σῶμα Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ ἐθάπτετο ταῖς ἐκείνης χερσὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς, πᾶσιν ὡς ἐβούλετο χρῆσθαι λαβούσης. ἐκ δὲ λύπης ἅμα τοσαύτης καὶ ὀδύνης (ἀνεφλέγμηνε γὰρ αὐτῆς τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένης καὶ ἥλκωτο) πυρετῶν ἐπιλαβόντων ἠγάπησε τὴν πρόφασιν, ὡς ἀφεξομένη τροφῆς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παραλύσουσα
2 τοῦ ζῆν ἀκωλύτως ἑαυτήν. ἦν δὲ ἰατρὸς αὐτῇ συνήθης Ὄλυμπος, ᾧ φράσασα τἀληθὲς ἐχρῆτο συμβούλῳ καὶ συνεργῷ τῆς καθαιρέσεως, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ὄλυμπος εἴρηκεν ἱστορίαν τινὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἐκδεδωκώς. ὑπονοήσας δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀπειλάς μέν τινας αὐτῇ καὶ φόβους περὶ τῶν τέκνων προσέβαλλεν, οἷς ἐκείνη καθάπερ μηχανήμασιν ὑπηρείπετο καὶ παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν καὶ τρέφειν τοῖς χρῄζουσιν.

LXXXIII. Ἧκε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διαλιπὼν ἐντευξόμενος αὐτῇ καὶ παρηγορήσων. ἡ δὲ ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν στιβάδι κατακειμένη ταπεινῶς,

[1] An adaptation of οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη (*the rule of many*), *Iliad*, ii. 204.

But Caesarion, who was said to be Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar, was sent by his mother, with much treasure, into India, by way of Ethiopia. There Rhodon, another tutor like Theodorus, persuaded him to go back, on the ground that Caesar invited him to take the kingdom. But while Caesar was deliberating on the matter, we are told that Areius said:—

"Not a good thing were a Caesar too many."

LXXXII. As for Caesarion, then, he was afterwards put to death by Caesar,—after the death of Cleopatra; but as for Antony, though many generals and kings asked for his body that they might give it burial, Caesar would not take it away from Cleopatra, and it was buried by her hands in sumptuous and royal fashion, such things being granted her for the purpose as she desired. But in consequence of so much grief as well as pain (for her breasts were wounded and inflamed by the blows she gave them) a fever assailed her, and she welcomed it as an excuse for abstaining from food and so releasing herself from life without hindrance. Moreover, there was a physician in her company of intimates, Olympus, to whom she told the truth, and she had his counsel and assistance in compassing her death, as Olympus himself testifies in a history of these events which he published. But Caesar was suspicious, and plied her with threats and fears regarding her children, by which she was laid low, as by engines of war, and surrendered her body for such care and nourishment as was desired.

LXXXIII. After a few days Caesar himself came to talk with her and give her comfort. She was lying on a mean pallet-bed, clad only in her tunic,

εἰσιόντι δ' αὐτῷ μονοχίτων ἀναπηδήσασα προσ-
πίπτει, δεινῶς μὲν ἐξηγριωμένη κεφαλὴν καὶ
πρόσωπον, ὑπότρομος δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συντε-
τηκυῖα ταῖς ὄψεσιν. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ
τὸ στέρνον αἰκίας καταφανῆ· καὶ ὅλως οὐθὲν
2 ἐδόκει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχειν βέλτιον. ἡ
μέντοι χάρις ἐκείνη καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἰταμὸν οὐ
κατέσβεστο παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως
διακειμένης ἔνδοθέν ποθεν ἐξέλαμπε καὶ συνεπ-
εφαίνετο τοῖς κινήμασι τοῦ προσώπου. κελεύ-
σαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὴν κατακλιθῆναι καὶ
πλησίον αὐτοῦ καθίσαντος, ἥψατο μέν τινος
δικαιολογίας εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον Ἀντωνίου
τὰ πεπραγμένα τρεπούσης, ἐνισταμένου δὲ πρὸς
ἕκαστον αὐτῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξελεγχομένη ταχὺ
πρὸς οἶκτον μεθηρμόσατο καὶ δέησιν, ὡς δή τις ἂν
3 μάλιστα τοῦ ζῆν περιεχομένη. τέλος δὲ τοῦ
πλήθους τῶν χρημάτων ἀναγραφὴν ἔχουσα προσέ-
δωκεν αὐτῷ· Σελεύκου δέ τινος τῶν ἐπιτρόπων
ἐλέγχοντος ὡς ἔνια κρύπτουσαν καὶ διακλέπτου-
σαν, ἀναπηδήσασα καὶ τῶν τριχῶν αὐτοῦ λαβο-
4 μένη πολλὰς ἐνεφόρει τῷ προσώπῳ πληγάς. τοῦ 95[illegible]
δὲ Καίσαρος μειδιῶντος καὶ καταπαύοντος αὐτήν,
"Ἀλλ' οὐ δεινόν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Καῖσαρ, εἰ σὺ μὲν
ἠξίωσας ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ προσειπεῖν οὕτω
πράττουσαν, οἱ δὲ δοῦλοί μου κατηγοροῦσιν εἴ τι
τῶν γυναικείων ἀπεθέμην, οὐκ ἐμαυτῇ δήπουθεν,
ἡ τάλαινα, κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὅπως Ὀκταουίᾳ καὶ
Λιβίᾳ τῇ σῇ μικρὰ δοῦσα δι' ἐκείνων ἵλεῴ σου
5 τύχοιμι καὶ πρᾳοτέρου;" τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἥδετο,
παντάπασιν αὐτὴν φιλοψυχεῖν οἰόμενος. εἰπὼν
οὖν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπει καὶ τἆλλα πάσης

but sprang up as he entered and threw herself at his feet; her hair and face were in terrible disarray, her voice trembled, and her eyes were sunken. There were also visible many marks of the cruel blows upon her bosom; in a word, her body seemed to be no better off than her spirit. Nevertheless, the charm for which she was famous and the boldness of her beauty were not altogether extinguished, but, although she was in such a sorry plight, they shone forth from within and made themselves manifest in the play of her features. After Caesar had bidden her to lie down and had seated himself near her, she began a sort of justification of her course, ascribing it to necessity and fear of Antony; but as Caesar opposed and refuted her on every point, she quickly changed her tone and sought to move his pity by prayers, as one who above all things clung to life. And finally she gave him a list which she had of all her treasures; and when Seleucus, one of her stewards, showed conclusively that she was stealing away and hiding some of them, she sprang up, seized him by the hair, and showered blows upon his face. And when Caesar, with a smile, stopped her, she said: "But is it not a monstrous thing, O Caesar, that when thou hast deigned to come to me and speak to me though I am in this wretched plight, my slaves denounce me for reserving some women's adornments, —not for myself, indeed, unhappy woman that I am, —but that I may make trifling gifts to Octavia and thy Livia, and through their intercession find thee merciful and more gentle?" Caesar was pleased with this speech, being altogether of the opinion that she desired to live. He told her, therefore, that he left these matters for her to manage, and that in all

ἐλπίδος αὐτῇ χρήσεται λαμπρότερον, ᾤχετο ἀπιών, ἐξηπατηκέναι μὲν οἰόμενος, ἐξηπατημένος δὲ μᾶλλον.

LXXXIV. Ἦν δὲ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας ἐπιφανὴς νεανίσκος ἐν τοῖς Καίσαρος ἑταίροις. οὗτος εἶχε πρὸς τὴν Κλεοπάτραν οὐκ ἀηδῶς· καὶ τότε χαριζόμενος αὐτῇ δεηθείσῃ κρύφα πέμψας ἐξήγγειλεν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναζεύγνυσι πεζῇ διὰ Συρίας, ἐκείνην δὲ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων
2 ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔγνωκεν. ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος ὅπως αὐτὴν ἐάσῃ χοὰς ἐπενεγκεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ· καὶ συγχωρήσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον κομισθεῖσα καὶ περιπεσοῦσα τῇ σορῷ μετὰ τῶν συνήθων γυναικῶν, "Ὦ φίλε Ἀντώνιε," εἶπεν, "ἔθαπτον μέν σε πρώην ἔτι χερσὶν ἐλευθέραις, σπένδω δὲ νῦν αἰχμάλωτος οὖσα, καὶ φρουρουμένη μήτε κοπετοῖς μήτε θρήνοις αἰκίσασθαι τὸ δοῦλον τοῦτο σῶμα καὶ τηρούμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ σοῦ θριάμβους.
3 ἄλλας δὲ μὴ προσδέχου τιμὰς ἢ χοάς· ἀλλ' αὗταί σοι τελευταῖαι Κλεοπάτρας ἀγομένης. ζῶντας μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐθὲν ἀλλήλων διέστησε, κινδυνεύομεν δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ διαμείψασθαι τοὺς τόπους· σὺ μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐνταῦθα κείμενος, ἐγὼ δ' ἡ δύστηνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοσοῦτο τῆς σῆς
4 μεταλαβοῦσα χώρας μόνον. ἀλλ' εἰ δή τις τῶν ἐκεῖ θεῶν ἀλκὴ καὶ δύναμις (οἱ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα προὔδωκαν ἡμᾶς), μὴ πρόῃ ζῶσαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, μηδ' ἐν ἐμοὶ περιΐδῃς θριαμβευόμενον

other ways he would give her more splendid treatment than she could possibly expect. Then he went off, supposing that he had deceived her, but the rather deceived by her.

LXXXIV. Now, there was a young man of rank among Caesar's companions, named Cornelius Dolabella. This man was not without a certain tenderness for Cleopatra; and so now, in response to her request, he secretly sent word to her that Caesar himself was preparing to march with his land forces through Syria, and had resolved to send off her and her children within three days. After Cleopatra had heard this, in the first place, she begged Caesar that she might be permitted to pour libations for Antony; and when the request was granted, she had herself carried to the tomb, and embracing the urn which held his ashes, in company with the women usually about her, she said: "Dear Antony, I buried thee but lately with hands still free; now, however, I pour libations for thee as a captive, and so carefully guarded that I cannot either with blows or tears disfigure this body of mine, which is a slave's body, and closely watched that it may grace the triumph over thee. Do not expect other honours or libations; these are the last that Cleopatra can bring thee. For though in life nothing could part us from each other, in death we are likely to change places; thou, the Roman, lying buried here, while I, the hapless woman, lie in Italy, and get only so much of thy country as my portion. But if indeed there is any might or power in the gods of that country (for the gods of this country have betrayed us), do not abandon thine own wife while she lives, nor permit a

σεαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθά με κρύψον μετὰ σεαυτοῦ καὶ σύνθαψον, ὡς ἐμοὶ μυρίων κακῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν οὕτω μέγα καὶ δεινόν ἐστιν ὡς ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος χρόνος ὃν σοῦ χωρὶς ἔζηκα."

LXXXV. Τοιαῦτα ὀλοφυραμένη καὶ στέψασα καὶ κατασπασαμένη τὴν σορὸν ἐκέλευσεν αὑτῇ λουτρὸν γενέσθαι. λουσαμένη δὲ καὶ κατακλιθεῖσα λαμπρὸν ἄριστον ἠρίστα. καί τις ἧκεν ἀπ' ἀγροῦ κίστην τινὰ κομίζων· τῶν δὲ φυλάκων ὅ τι φέροι πυνθανομένων ἀνοίξας καὶ ἀφελὼν τὰ
2 θρῖα σύκων ἐπίπλεων τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἔδειξε. θαυμασάντων δὲ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος μειδιάσας παρεκάλει λαβεῖν· οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἐκέλευον εἰσενεγκεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἄριστον ἡ Κλεοπάτρα δέλτον ἔχουσα γεγραμμένην καὶ κατασεσημασμένην ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκποδὼν ποιησαμένη πλὴν τῶν δυεῖν ἐκείνων γυναικῶν τὰς θύρας ἔκλεισε.

3 Καῖσαρ δὲ λύσας τὴν δέλτον, ὡς ἐνέτυχε λιταῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρμοῖς δεομένης αὐτὴν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ θάψαι, ταχὺ συνῆκε τὸ πεπραγμένον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ὥρμησε βοηθεῖν, ἔπειτα τοὺς σκεψομένους κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψεν. ἐγεγόνει δ' ὀξὺ τὸ πάθος. δρόμῳ γὰρ ἐλθόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν φυλάττοντας οὐδὲν ᾐσθημένους καταλαβόντες, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἀνοίξαντες, εὗρον αὐτὴν τεθνηκυῖαν ἐν χρυσῇ κατακειμένην κλίνῃ, κεκοσμημένην βασιλικῶς.
4 τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἡ μὲν Εἰρὰς λεγομένη πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀπέθνησκεν, ἡ δὲ Χάρμιον ἤδη σφαλλομένη

triumph to be celebrated over thyself in my person, but hide and bury me here with thyself, since out of all my innumerable ills not one is so great and dreadful as this short time that I have lived apart from thee."

LXXXV. After such lamentations, she wreathed and kissed the urn, and then ordered a bath to be prepared for herself. After her bath, she reclined at table and was making a sumptuous meal. And there came a man from the country carrying a basket; and when the guards asked him what he was bringing there, he opened the basket, took away the leaves, and showed them that the dish inside was full of figs. The guards were amazed at the great size and beauty of the figs, whereupon the man smiled and asked them to take some; so they felt no mistrust and bade him take them in. After her meal, however, Cleopatra took a tablet which was already written upon and sealed, and sent it to Caesar, and then, sending away all the rest of the company except her two faithful women, she closed the doors.

But Caesar opened the tablet, and when he found there lamentations and supplications of one who begged that he would bury her with Antony, he quickly knew what had happened. At first he was minded to go himself and give aid; then he ordered messengers to go with all speed and investigate. But the mischief had been swift. For though his messengers came on the run and found the guards as yet aware of nothing, when they opened the doors they found Cleopatra lying dead upon a golden couch, arrayed in royal state. And of her two women, the one called Iras was dying at her feet, while Charmion, already tottering and heavy-headed, was

καὶ καρηβαροῦσα κατεκόσμει τὸ διάδημα τὸ
περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς. εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὀργῇ·
"Καλὰ ταῦτα, Χάρμιον·" "Κάλλιστα μὲν οὖν,"
ἔφη, "καὶ πρέποντα τῇ τοσούτων ἀπογόνῳ
βασιλέων." πλέον δὲ οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ
παρὰ τὴν κλίνην ἔπεσε.

LXXXVI. Λέγεται δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα κομισθῆναι
σὺν τοῖς σύκοις ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς θρίοις ἄνωθεν
ἐπικαλυφθεῖσαν, οὕτω γὰρ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν 955
κελεῦσαι, μηδὲ αὐτῆς ἐπισταμένης τῷ σώματι
προσπεσεῖν τὸ θηρίον· ὡς δὲ ἀφαιροῦσα τῶν
σύκων εἶδεν, εἰπεῖν· "Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἄρα τοῦτο·"
καὶ τὸν βραχίονα παρασχεῖν τῷ δήγματι
2 γυμνώσασαν. οἱ δὲ τηρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐν ὑδρίᾳ τὴν
ἀσπίδα καθειργμένην φάσκουσιν, ἠλακάτῃ δέ
τινι χρυσῇ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐκκαλουμένης αὐτὴν
καὶ διαγριαινούσης ὁρμήσασαν ἐμφῦναι τῷ
βραχίονι. τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ
φάρμακον αὐτὴν ἐλέχθη φορεῖν ἐν κνηστίδι κοίλῃ,
τὴν δὲ κνηστίδα κρύπτειν τῇ κόμῃ· πλὴν οὔτε
κηλὶς ἐξήνθησε τοῦ σώματος οὔτε ἄλλο φαρμάκου
3 σημεῖον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ θηρίον ἐντὸς ὤφθη,
συρμοὺς δέ τινας αὐτοῦ παρὰ θάλασσαν, ᾗ τὸ
δωμάτιον ἀφεώρα καὶ θυρίδες ἦσαν, ἰδεῖν ἔφασκον.
ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας
ὀφθῆναι δύο νυγμὰς ἔχοντα λεπτὰς καὶ ἀμυδράς·
οἷς ἔοικε πιστεῦσαι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ. ἐν γὰρ τῷ
θριάμβῳ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτῆς εἴδωλον ἐκο-
μίζετο καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐμπεφυκυίας. ταῦτα μὲν
οὖν οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

4 Καῖσαρ δέ, καίπερ ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ
τῆς γυναικός, ἐθαύμασε τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτῆς·

trying to arrange the diadem which encircled the queen's brow. Then somebody said in anger: "A fine deed, this, Charmion!" "It is indeed most fine," she said, "and befitting the descendant of so many kings." Not a word more did she speak, but fell there by the side of the couch.

LXXXVI. It is said that the asp was brought with those figs and leaves and lay hidden beneath them, for thus Cleopatra had given orders, that the reptile might fasten itself upon her body without her being aware of it. But when she took away some of the figs and saw it, she said: "There it is, you see," and baring her arm she held it out for the bite. But others say that the asp was kept carefully shut up in a water jar, and that while Cleopatra was stirring it up and irritating it with a golden distaff it sprang and fastened itself upon her arm. But the truth of the matter no one knows; for it was also said that she carried about poison in a hollow comb and kept the comb hidden in her hair; and yet neither spot nor other sign of poison broke out upon her body. Moreover, not even was the reptile seen within the chamber, though people said they saw some traces of it near the sea, where the chamber looked out upon it with its windows. And some also say that Cleopatra's arm was seen to have two slight and indistinct punctures; and this Caesar also seems to have believed. For in his triumph an image of Cleopatra herself with the asp clinging to her was carried in the procession. These, then, are the various accounts of what happened.

But Caesar, although vexed at the death of the woman, admired her lofty spirit; and he gave orders

καὶ ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ *λαμπρῶς*
καὶ βασιλικῶς ἐκέλευσεν. ἐντίμου δὲ καὶ τὰ
γύναια κηδείας ἔτυχεν αὐτοῦ προστάξαντος.
ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κλεοπάτρα *μὲν ἑνὸς δέοντα*
τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βιώσασα, καὶ τούτων δύο καὶ
εἴκοσι βασιλεύσασα, συνάρξασα δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ
5 *πλείω τῶν δεκατεσσάρων.* Ἀντώνιον *δὲ οἱ μὲν*
ἕξ, οἱ δὲ τρισὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ὑπερβαλεῖν φασιν.
αἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου *καθῃρέθησαν εἰκόνες, αἱ δὲ*
Κλεοπάτρας *κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν,* Ἀρχιβίου
τινὸς τῶν φίλων αὐτῆς δισχίλια τάλαντα Καίσαρι
δόντος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου *πάθωσιν.*

LXXXVII. Ἀντωνίου *δὲ γενεὰν ἀπολιπόντος*
ἐκ τριῶν γυναικῶν ἑπτὰ παῖδας, ὁ πρεσβύτατος
Ἄντυλλος *ὑπὸ* Καίσαρος *ἀνῃρέθη μόνος· τοὺς*
λοιποὺς δὲ Ὀκταουία *παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ τῶν ἐξ*
ἑαυτῆς ἔθρεψε. καὶ Κλεοπάτραν *μὲν τὴν ἐκ*
Κλεοπάτρας Ἰόβᾳ *τῷ χαριεστάτῳ βασιλέων*
συνῴκισεν, Ἀντώνιον *δὲ τὸν ἐκ* Φουλβίας *οὕτω*
μέγαν ἐποίησεν ὥστε τὴν πρώτην παρὰ Καίσαρι
τιμὴν Ἀγρίππου, *τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῶν* Λιβίας
παίδων ἐχόντων, τρίτον εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν
2 Ἀντώνιον. *ἐκ δὲ* Μαρκέλλου *δυεῖν αὐτῇ θυγα-*
τέρων οὐσῶν, ἑνὸς δὲ υἱοῦ Μαρκέλλου, *τοῦτον*
μὲν ἅμα παῖδα καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο Καῖσαρ,
τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων Ἀγρίππᾳ *τὴν ἑτέραν ἔδωκεν.*
ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκελλος *ἐτελεύτησε κομιδῇ νεόγαμος*
καὶ Καίσαρι *γαμβρὸν ἔχοντα πίστιν οὐκ εὔπορον*
ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἑλέσθαι, λόγον ἡ
Ὀκταουία *προσήνεγκεν ὡς χρὴ τὴν* Καίσαρος
θυγατέρα λαβεῖν Ἀγρίππαν, *ἀφέντα τὴν ἑαυτῆς.*
3 *πεισθέντος δὲ* Καίσαρος *πρῶτον, εἶτα* Ἀγρίππου,

that her body should be buried with that of Antony in splendid and regal fashion. Her women also received honourable interment by his orders. When Cleopatra died she was forty years of age save one, had been queen for two and twenty of these, and had shared her power with Antony more than fourteen. Antony was fifty-six years of age, according to some, according to others, fifty-three. Now, the statues of Antony were torn down, but those of Cleopatra were left standing, because Archibius, one of her friends, gave Caesar two thousand talents, in order that they might not suffer the same fate as Antony's.

LXXXVII. Antony left seven children by his three wives, of whom Antyllus, the eldest, was the only one who was put to death by Caesar; the rest were taken up by Octavia and reared with her own children. Cleopatra, the daughter of Cleopatra, Octavia gave in marriage to Juba, the most accomplished of kings, and Antony, the son of Fulvia, she raised so high that, while Agrippa held the first place in Caesar's estimation, and the sons of Livia the second, Antony was thought to be and really was third. By Marcellus Octavia had two daughters, and one son, Marcellus, whom Caesar made both his son and his son-in-law, and he gave one of the daughters to Agrippa. But since Marcellus died very soon after his marriage and it was not easy for Caesar to select from among his other friends a son-in-law whom he could trust, Octavia proposed that Agrippa should take Caesar's daughter to wife, and put away her own. First Caesar was persuaded by her, then Agrippa, where-

τὴν μὲν αὑτῆς ἀπολαβοῦσα συνῴκισεν Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἔγημεν. ἀπολειπομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ὀκταουίας δυεῖν θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ἔλαβε, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ κάλλει περιβόητον Ἀντωνίαν Δροῦσος, ὁ Λιβίας υἱός, πρόγονος δὲ Καίσαρος. ἐκ τούτων ἐγένετο Γερμανικὸς καὶ
4 Κλαύδιος· ὧν Κλαύδιος μὲν ὕστερον ἦρξε, τῶν δὲ Γερμανικοῦ παίδων Γάϊος μὲν ἄρξας ἐπιφανῶς οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀνῃρέθη μετὰ τέκνου καὶ γυναικός, Ἀγριππίνα δὲ υἱὸν ἐξ Ἀηνοβάρβου Λεύκιον Δομίτιον ἔχουσα Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι συνῴκησε. καὶ θέμενος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς Κλαύδιος Νέρωνα Γερμανικὸν προσωνόμασεν. οὗτος ἄρξας ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀπέκτεινε τὴν μητέρα καὶ μικρὸν ἐδέησεν ὑπὸ ἐμπληξίας καὶ παραφροσύνης ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, πέμπτος ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου κατ' ἀριθμὸν διαδοχῆς γενόμενος.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν μεγάλαι περὶ ἀμφοτέρους γεγόνασι μεταβολαί, πρῶτον τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας σκοπῶμεν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἦν πατρῷα καὶ προκατειργασμένα, μέγιστον ἰσχύσαντος Ἀντιγόνου τῶν διαδόχων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Δημήτριον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενέσθαι τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπελ- 956
2 θόντος καὶ κρατήσαντος· Ἀντώνιος δὲ χαρίεντος μὲν ἄλλως, ἀπολέμου δὲ καὶ μέγα μηδὲν εἰς δόξαν αὐτῷ καταλιπόντος γενόμενος πατρός, ἐπὶ τὴν

upon she took back her own daughter and married her to young Antony, while Agrippa married Caesar's daughter. Antony left two daughters by Octavia, of whom one was taken to wife by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the other, Antonia, famous for her beauty and discretion, was married to Drusus, who was the son of Livia and the step-son of Caesar. From this marriage sprang Germanicus and Claudius; of these, Claudius afterwards came to the throne, and of the children of Germanicus, Caius reigned with distinction, but for a short time only, and was then put to death with his wife and child, and Agrippina, who had a son by Ahenobarbus, Lucius Domitius, became the wife of Claudius Caesar. And Claudius, having adopted Agrippina's son, gave him the name of Nero Germanicus. This Nero came to the throne in my time. He killed his mother, and by his folly and madness came near subverting the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY

I. Since, then, both these men experienced great reversals of fortune, let us first observe, with regard to their power and fame, that in the one case these were acquired for him by his father and inherited, since Antigonus became the strongest of Alexander's successors, and before Demetrius came of age had attacked and mastered the greater part of Asia; Antony, on the contrary, was the son of a man who, though otherwise gifted, was yet no warrior, and could leave him no great legacy of reputation; and

Καίσαρος ἐτόλμησεν ἀρχήν, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν, ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῳ προπεπονημένοις αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποίησε διάδοχον. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν, ἐκ μόνων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπαρχόντων ὁρμώμενος, ὥστε δύο μοίρας τὰ σύμπαντα ποιησάμενος τὴν ἑτέραν ἑλέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιφανεστέραν, ἀπὼν δὲ αὐτὸς ὑπηρέταις τε καὶ ὑποστρατήγοις Πάρθους τε νικῆσαι πολλάκις καὶ τὰ περὶ Καύκασον ἔθνη βάρβαρα
3 μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας ὤσασθαι θαλάσσης. μαρτύρια δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῷ καὶ δι' ἃ κακῶς ἀκούει. Δημητρίῳ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἠγάπησε τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου Φίλαν ὡς κρείττονα συνοικῆσαι παρ' ἡλικίαν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Κλεοπάτρας γάμος ὄνειδος ἦν, γυναικὸς ὑπερβαλομένης δυνάμει καὶ λαμπρότητι πάντας πλὴν Ἀρσάκου τοὺς καθ' αὑτὴν βασιλεῖς. ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐποίησε μέγαν ἑαυτὸν ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοις μειζόνων ἢ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἄξιος.

II. Ἡ μέντοι προαίρεσις, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκτήσαντο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄμεμπτος ἐπὶ[1] τοῦ Δημητρίου, κρατεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν ἀνθρώπων εἰθισμένων κρατεῖσθαι καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι ζητοῦντος, ἡ δ' Ἀντωνίου χαλεπὴ καὶ τυραννική, καταδουλουμένου τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἄρτι διαφυγόντα τὴν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι μοναρ-
2 χίαν. ὃ δ' οὖν μέγιστον αὐτῷ καὶ λαμπρότατόν ἐστι τῶν εἰργασμένων, ὁ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον πόλεμος, ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπολεμήθη. Δημήτριος δέ, καὶ[2] πρὶν εἰς τύχας ἐλθεῖν αναγ-

[1] ἐπὶ Bekker reads ἡ, with a single MS.
[2] καὶ deleted by Bekker, after Schaefer.

yet Antony had the courage to seek the power of Caesar, to which his birth gave him no claim, and to all that Caesar had wrought out before him he made himself the rightful successor. And so great strength did he attain, in reliance upon his own resources alone, that, after forcing a division of the empire into two parts, he chose one, and took the more splendid one of the two; and though absent himself, through his assistants and lieutenant-generals he defeated the Parthians many times, and drove the barbarous tribes about the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea. Moreover, even the things that brought him ill-repute bear witness to his greatness. For Antigonus was well pleased to have his son Demetrius marry Phila, the daughter of Antipater, in spite of her disparity in years, because he thought her a greater personage; whereas Antony's marriage to Cleopatra was a disgrace to him, although she was a woman who surpassed in power and splendour all the royalties of her time except Arsaces. But he made himself so great that men thought him worthy of greater things than he desired.

II. As regards their resolution to win empire, this was blameless in the case of Demetrius, who sought to subdue and reign as king over men who were accustomed to subjection and kings; but in the case of Antony it was harsh and tyrannical, since he tried to enslave the Roman people when it had just escaped from the sole rule of Caesar. Moreover, as regards the greatest and most brilliant of his achievements, namely, the war against Cassius and Brutus, it was to deprive his country and his fellow citizens of their liberty that the war was waged. But Demetrius, even before he felt the constraints of adversity, kept on

καίας, ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τῶν πόλεων
ἐξελαύνων τὰς φρουρὰς διετέλεσεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ
Ἀντώνιος, ὅτι τοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντας τὴν Ῥώμην
3 ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, σεμνυνόμενος. ἓν τοί-
νυν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων Ἀντωνίου, τὸ φιλό-
δωρον καὶ μεγαλόδωρον, ἐν ᾧ τοσοῦτον ὑπεραίρει
Δημήτριος ὥστε χαρίσασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅσα
τοῖς φίλοις οὐκ ἔδωκεν Ἀντώνιος. καίτοι ταφῆναί
γε καὶ περισταλῆναι κελεύσας Βροῦτον ἐκεῖνος
εὐδοκίμησεν· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τῶν
πολεμίων πάντας ἐκήδευσε καὶ τοὺς ἁλόντας
Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ χρημάτων καὶ δωρεῶν ἀπέ-
πεμψεν.

III. Ὑβρισταὶ μὲν εὐτυχοῦντες ἀμφότεροι, καὶ
πρὸς τρυφὰς ἀνειμένοι καὶ ἀπολαύσεις. οὐκ ἂν
εἴποι δέ τις ὡς Δημήτριον ἐν εὐπαθείαις καὶ
συνουσίαις ὄντα πράξεων καιρὸς ἐξέφυγεν, ἀλλὰ
τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς σχολῆς ἐπεισῆγε τὰς ἡδονάς,
καὶ τὴν Λάμιαν ὥσπερ τὴν μυθικὴν ἀτεχνῶς
2 παίζων καὶ νυστάζων ἐποιεῖτο διαγωγήν. ἐν δὲ
ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευαῖς οὐκ εἶχεν αὐτοῦ
τὸ δόρυ κιττόν, οὐδὲ μύρων ὠδώδει τὸ κράνος,
οὐδὲ γεγανωμένος καὶ ἀνθηρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας
ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος προῄει, κοιμίζων δὲ τοὺς
θιάσους καὶ τὰ βακχεῖα καταπαύων ἀμφίπολος
Ἄρεος ἀνιέρου, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἐγίνετο, καὶ
δι' ἡδονὴν ἢ ῥαθυμίαν οὐθὲν ἁπλῶς ἔπταισεν.

3 Ἀντώνιον δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ὁρῶμεν
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὴν Ὀμφάλην ὑφαιροῦσαν τὸ
ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν ἀποδύουσαν, οὕτω
πολλάκις Κλεοπάτρα παροπλίσασα καὶ κατα-

liberating Greece and expelling their garrisons from her cities, unlike Antony, whose boast was that he had slain in Macedonia the men who had given liberty to Rome. And besides, as regards their love of giving and the largeness of their gifts, one of the things for which Antony is lauded, Demetrius far surpassed in this, and bestowed more upon his enemies than Antony ever gave to his friends. It is true that for ordering the body of Brutus to be robed and buried Antony won a good name; but Demetrius gave obsequies to all his enemy's dead, and sent his prisoners back to Ptolemy with money and gifts.[1]

III. Both were insolent in prosperity, and abandoned themselves to luxury and enjoyment. But it cannot be said that Demetrius, for all his pleasures and amours, ever let slip the time for action, nay, it was only when his leisure was abundant that he introduced his pleasures; and his Lamia, like the creature of fable, he made his pastime only when he was sportive or drowsy. But when he got ready for war, his spear was not tipped with ivy, nor did his helmet smell of myrrh, nor did he go forth to his battles from the women's chamber, sleek and blooming, but quieting down and stopping the revels and orgies of Bacchus, he became, in the words of Euripides,[2] a "minister of unhallowed Ares," and got not a single slip or fall because of his indolence or pleasures.

Antony, on the contrary, like Heracles in paintings where Omphalé is seen taking away his club and stripping off his lion's skin, was often disarmed by Cleopatra, subdued by her spells, and persuaded to

[1] See the *Demetrius*, xvii. 1.
[2] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2] p. 679.

θέλξασα συνέπεισεν ἀφέντα μεγάλας πράξεις ἐκ
τῶν χειρῶν καὶ στρατείας ἀναγκαίας ἐν ταῖς περὶ 957
Κάνωβον καὶ Ταφόσιριν ἀκταῖς ἀλύειν καὶ παί-
4 ζειν μετ' αὐτῆς. τέλος δέ, ὡς ὁ Πάρις, ἐκ τῆς
μάχης ἀποδρὰς εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνης κατεδύετο κόλ-
πους· μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ μὲν Πάρις ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν εἰς
τὸν θάλαμον, Ἀντώνιος δὲ Κλεοπάτραν διώκων
ἔφυγε καὶ προήκατο τὴν νίκην.

IV. Ἔτι Δημήτριος μέν, οὐ κεκωλυμένον, ἀλλ'
ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονὸς ἐν ἔθει
τοῖς Μακεδόνων βασιλεῦσιν, ἐγάμει γάμους πλεί-
ονας, ὥσπερ Λυσίμαχος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, ἔσχε δὲ
διὰ τιμῆς ὅσας ἔγημεν· Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρῶτον
μὲν ὁμοῦ δύο γυναῖκας ἠγάγετο, πρᾶγμα μηδενὶ
Ῥωμαίῳ τετολμημένον, ἔπειτα τὴν ἀστὴν καὶ
δικαίως γαμηθεῖσαν ἐξήλασε τῇ ξένῃ καὶ μὴ κατὰ
νόμους συνούσῃ χαριζόμενος· ὅθεν ἐκ γάμου τῷ
μὲν οὐθέν, τῷ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἀπήν-
τησεν.

2 Ἀσέβημα μέντοι τοσοῦτον δι' ἀσέλγειαν οὐθὲν
ταῖς Ἀντωνίου πράξεσιν ὅσον ταῖς Δημητρίου
πρόσεστιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱστορικοί φασι καὶ τῆς
ἀκροπόλεως ὅλης εἴργεσθαι τὰς κύνας, διὰ τὸ τὴν
μῖξιν ἐμφανῆ μάλιστα τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι τὸ ζῷον·
ὁ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Παρθενῶνι ταῖς τε πόρναις
3 συνῆν καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν κατεπόρνευσε πολλάς· καὶ
οὗ τις ἂν ἥκιστα τὰς τοιαύτας τρυφὰς καὶ ἀπο-
λαύσεις οἴοιτο μετέχειν κακοῦ, τῆς ὠμότητος,
τοῦτο ἔνεστι τῇ Δημητρίου φιληδονίᾳ, περιϊδόντος,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκάσαντος, οἰκτρῶς ἀποθανεῖν τὸν
κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον Ἀθηναίων, φεύ-
γοντα τὸ καθυβρισθῆναι. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν,

drop from his hands great undertakings and necessary campaigns, only to roam about and play with her on the sea-shores by Canopus and Taphosiris. And at last, like Paris, he ran away from the battle and sank upon her bosom; although, more truly stated, Paris ran away to Helen's chamber after he had been defeated; but Antony ran away in chase of Cleopatra, and thereby threw away the victory.

IV. Further, Demetrius, in making several marriages, did not do what was prohibited, but what had been made customary for the kings of Macedonia by Philip and Alexander; he did just what Lysimachus and Ptolemy did, and held all his wives in honour. Antony, on the contrary, in marrying two wives at once, in the first place did what no Roman had ever dared to do; and in the second place, he drove away his Roman and lawfully wedded wife, in order to gratify the foreigner, with whom he was living contrary to law. Hence marriage brought no harm to Demetrius, but to Antony the greatest of his evils.

On the other hand, the lascivious practices of Antony are marked by no such sacrilege as are those of Demetrius. For historians tell us that dogs are excluded from the entire acropolis, because these animals couple without the least concealment; but the very Parthenon itself saw Demetrius cohabiting with harlots and debauching many Athenian women. And that vice which one would think least associated with such wanton enjoyments, namely, the vice of cruelty, this enters into Demetrius' pursuit of pleasure, since he suffered, or rather compelled, the lamentable death of the most beautiful and the most chaste of Athenians, who thus sought to escape his shameful treatment. In a word, Antony wronged

Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν, Δημήτριος δὲ ἄλλους ἠδίκησε.

V. Πρὸς μέντοι γονεῖς ἄμεμπτον ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἅπαντα παρέσχεν ὁ Δημήτριος· Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἐξέδωκεν ἐπὶ τῷ Κικέρωνα ἀποκτεῖναι, πρᾶγμα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μιαρὸν καὶ ὠμόν, ὡς μόλις ἂν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' αὐτῷ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, εἰ σωτηρίας τοῦ θείου μισθὸς ἦν ὁ Κικέρωνος θάνατος.

2 Ἃ τοίνυν ἐπιώρκησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ παρεσπόνδησαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτάβαζον συλλαβών, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποκτείνας, Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἔχει τὴν πρόφασιν ὁμολογουμένην· ἀπελείφθη γὰρ ἐν Μήδοις ὑπὸ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ προεδόθη· Δημήτριον δὲ πολλοὶ λέγουσι ψευδεῖς αἰτίας, ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασε, πλασάμενον κατηγορεῖν ἀδικηθέντα, οὐκ ἀδικήσαντα ἀμύνασθαι.

Πάλιν δὲ τῶν μὲν κατορθωμάτων αὐτουργὸς ὁ Δημήτριος γέγονε· καὶ τοὐναντίον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐν οἷς οὐ παρῆν, καλλίστας καὶ μεγίστας διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνῃρεῖτο νίκας.

VI. Ἐξέπεσον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμφότεροι μὲν δι' αὑτούς, οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλειφθείς, ἀπέστησαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνες, ὁ δὲ ἐγκαταλιπών, ἔφυγε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύοντας· ὥστε τοῦ μὲν ἔγκλημα εἶναι τὸ δυσμενεῖς οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεργάσασθαι τοὺς μαχομένους, τοῦ δὲ τὸ παρεσκευασμένην εὔνοιαν τοιαύτην καὶ πίστιν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν.

2 Τὸν δὲ θάνατον οὐδετέρου μὲν ἔστιν ἐπαινέσαι, ψεκτὸς δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου μᾶλλον. αἰχμάλωτός τε γὰρ ὑπέμεινε γενέσθαι, καὶ καθειρχθεὶς ἠγάπησεν

himself by his excesses, while Demetrius wronged others.

V. Again, towards his parents Demetrius was in all respects blameless; whereas Antony surrendered his mother's brother for the privilege of killing Cicero, a deed in itself so abominable and cruel that Antony would hardly have been forgiven had Cicero's death been the price of his uncle's safety.

Further, as regards violations of oaths and treaties by both, in the seizure of Artabazus by the one, and the killing of Alexander by the other, for Antony there is the excuse which men admit to be valid, namely, that he had been deserted in Media by Artabazus and betrayed; but Demetrius, as many say, invented false accusations, upon which he acted, and denounced one who had been wronged by him; the murder was not retaliation for wrongs done to him.

And again, Demetrius was himself the author of his successes; Antony, on the contrary, won his greatest and fairest victories through his generals, on fields where he was not present.

VI. But the downfall of both was due to themselves, though the manner of it differed. Demetrius was deserted by others, for the Macedonians went away from him; whereas Antony deserted others, for he ran away from those who were risking their lives for him. Demetrius may therefore be blamed for making his soldiers so hostile to him, and Antony for abandoning a goodwill and confidence which was so much in evidence.

As for their deaths, neither is to be commended, but that of Demetrius is the more to be censured. For he suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and

ἐπικερδᾶναι τριετίαν, οἴνῳ καὶ γαστρὶ καθάπερ τὰ ζῷα χειροήθης γενόμενος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ δειλῶς μὲν καὶ οἰκτρῶς καὶ ἀτίμως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρό γε τοῦ κύριον γενέσθαι τὸν πολέμιον τοῦ σώματος ἑαυτὸν ἐξήγαγεν.

was well content to add to his life three years of imprisonment. He was tamed, like a wild beast, by way of his belly and by wine. Whereas Antony took himself off,—in a cowardly, pitiful, and ignoble way, it is true, but at least before his enemy became master of his person.

PYRRHUS

ΠΥΡΡΟΣ

I. Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Μολοσσῶν μετὰ τὸν κατα- 383
κλυσμὸν ἱστοροῦσι Φαέθοντα βασιλεῦσαι πρῶ-
τον, ἕνα τῶν μετὰ Πελασγοῦ παραγενομένων εἰς
τὴν Ἤπειρον· ἔνιοι δὲ Δευκαλίωνα καὶ Πύρραν
εἱσαμένους τὸ περὶ Δωδώνην ἱερὸν αὐτόθι κατοι-
2 κεῖν ἐν Μολοσσοῖς. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Νεοπτό-
λεμος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως λαὸν ἀγαγὼν αὐτός τε τὴν
χώραν κατέσχε καὶ διαδοχὴν βασιλέων ἀφ' αὐ-
τοῦ κατέλιπε, Πυρρίδας ἐπικαλουμένους· καὶ γὰρ
αὐτῷ Πύρρος ἦν παιδικὸν ἐπωνύμιον, καὶ τῶν
γνησίων παίδων ἐκ Λανάσσης τῆς Κλεοδαίου
τοῦ Ὕλλου γενομένων ἕνα Πύρρον ὠνόμασεν. ἐκ
τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ τιμὰς ἰσοθέ-
ους ἔσχεν, Ἄσπετος ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ προσα-
3 γορευόμενος. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν διὰ
μέσου βασιλέων ἐκβαρβαρωθέντων καὶ γενομέ-
νων τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τοῖς βίοις ἀμαυροτέρων,
Θαρρύπαν πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσι
καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιλανθρώποις διακόσ-
μήσαντα τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι. Θαρρύ-
που δὲ Ἀλκέτας υἱὸς ἦν, Ἀλκέτα δ' Ἀρύβας,
4 Ἀρύβου δὲ καὶ Τρῳάδος Αἰακίδης. οὗτος ἔγημε
τὴν Μένωνος τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ θυγατέρα Φθίαν,
ἀνδρὸς εὐδοκίμου περὶ τὸν Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον
γενομένου καὶ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τῶν συμμάχων

PYRRHUS

I. HISTORIANS tell us that the first king of the Thesprotians and Molossians after the flood was Phaethon, one of those who came into Epeirus with Pelasgus; but some say that Deucalion and Pyrrha established the sanctuary at Dodona and dwelt there among the Molossians. In after time, however, Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, bringing a people with him, got possession of the country for himself, and left a line of kings descending from him. These were called after him Pyrrhidae; for he had the surname of Pyrrhus in his boyhood, and of his legitimate children by Lanassa, the daughter of Cleodaeus the son of Hyllus, one was named by him Pyrrhus. Consequently Achilles also obtained divine honours in Epeirus, under the native name of Aspetus. But the kings who followed in this line soon lapsed into barbarism and became quite obscure, both in their power and in their lives, and it was Tharrhypas, historians say, who first introduced Greek customs and letters and regulated his cities by humane laws, thereby acquiring for himself a name. Alcetas was a son of Tharrhypas, Arybas of Alcetas, and of Arybas and Troas, Aeacides. He married Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, a man who won high repute at the time of the Lamian war[1] and acquired the highest authority

[1] 323–322 B.C. See the *Demosthenes*, xxvii. 1.

μετὰ Λεωσθένην λαβόντος. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Φθίας τῷ Αἰακίδῃ γίνονται θυγατέρες Δηϊδάμεια καὶ Τρῳάς, υἱὸς δὲ Πύρρος.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ στασιάσαντες οἱ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ τὸν Αἰακίδην ἐκβαλόντες ἐπηγάγοντο τοὺς Νεοπτολέμου παῖδας, οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοῦ Αἰακίδου διεφθάρησαν καταληφθέντες, τὸν δὲ Πύρρον ἔτι νήπιον ὄντα καὶ ζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκκλέψαντες οἱ περὶ Ἀνδροκλείδην καὶ Ἄγγελον ἔφευγον, οἰκέτας ὀλίγους καὶ γύναια τιθηνούμενα
2 τὸ παιδίον ἀναγκαίως ἐφελκόμενοι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς φυγῆς αὐτοῖς γινομένης δυσέργου καὶ βραδείας καταλαμβανόμενοι τὸ μὲν παιδίον ἐγχειρίζουσιν Ἀνδροκλείωνι καὶ Ἱππίᾳ καὶ Νεάνδρῳ, νεανίσκοις οὖσι πιστοῖς καὶ ῥωμαλέοις, ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν καὶ Μεγάρων ἔχεσθαι χωρίου Μακεδονικοῦ προστάξαντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν δεόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἀπομαχόμενοι τοῖς διώκουσιν
3 ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν ἄχρι δείλης ὀψίας. ἀποτραπομένων δὲ μόλις ἐκείνων μετέθεον τοὺς τὸν Πύρρον κομίζοντας. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου καταδεδυκότος ἐγγὺς γενόμενοι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐξαίφνης ἀπεκόπησαν, ἐντυχόντες τῷ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ, χαλεπῷ μὲν ὀφθῆναι καὶ ἀγρίῳ, πειρωμένοις δὲ διαβαίνειν παντάπασιν ἀπορωτάτῳ. πολύ τε γὰρ ἐξέπιπτε ῥεῦμα καὶ θολερὸν ὄμβρων ἐπιγενομένων, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐποίει πάντα
4 φοβερώτερα. καθ' αὑτοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπέγνωσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν παιδίον φερόμενοι καὶ γύναια τὰ τρέφοντα τὸ παιδίον, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰς ἐν τῷ πέραν ἑστῶτας ἐδέοντο συλλαβέσθαι 384

among the confederates after Leosthenes. Phthia bore to Aeacides two daughters, Deïdameia and Troas, and a son, Pyrrhus.

II. But factions arose among the Molossians, and expelling Aeacides they brought into power the sons of Neoptolemus.[1] The friends of Aeacides were then seized and put to death, but Pyrrhus, who was still a babe and was sought for by the enemy, was stolen away by Androcleides and Angelus, who took to flight. However, they were obliged to take along with them a few servants, and women for the nursing of the child, and on this account their flight was laborious and slow and they were overtaken. They therefore entrusted the child to Androcleion, Hippias, and Neander, sturdy and trusty young men, with orders to fly with all their might and make for Megara, a Macedonian town; while they themselves, partly by entreaties and partly by fighting, stayed the course of the pursuers until late in the evening. After these had at last been driven back, they hastened to join the men who were carrying Pyrrhus. The sun had already set and they were near their hoped-for refuge, when suddenly they found themselves cut off from it by the river which flowed past the city. This had a forbidding and savage look, and when they tried to cross it, proved altogether impassable. For its current was greatly swollen and violent from rains that had fallen, and the darkness made everything more formidable. Accordingly, they gave up trying to cross unaided, since they were carrying the child and the women who cared for the child; and perceiving some of the people of the country standing on the further bank, they

[1] A brother of Arybas, and therefore uncle of Aeacides.

πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἀνεδείκνυσαν
βοῶντες καὶ ἱκετεύοντες. οἱ δὲ οὐ κατήκουον διὰ
5 τραχύτητα καὶ πάταγον τοῦ ῥεύματος, ἀλλ' ἦν
διατριβὴ τῶν μὲν βοώντων, τῶν δὲ μὴ συνιέντων,
ἄχρι τις ἐννοήσας καὶ περιελὼν δρυὸς φλοιὸν
ἐνέγραψε πόρπῃ γράμματα φράζοντα τήν τε
χρείαν καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ παιδός, εἶτα λίθῳ τὸν
φλοιὸν περιελίξας καὶ χρησάμενος οἷον ἕρματι
τῆς βολῆς ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέραν· ἔνιοι δέ φασι
6 σαυνίῳ περιπήξαντας ἀκοντίσαι τὸν φλοιόν. ὡς
δ' οὖν ἀνέγνωσαν οἱ πέραν τὰ γράμματα καὶ
συνεῖδον τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ καιροῦ, κόπτοντες ξύλα
καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα συνδέοντες ἐπεραιοῦντο. καὶ
κατὰ τύχην ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν περαιωθεὶς Ἀχιλ-
λεὺς τοὔνομα τὸν Πύρρον ἐδέξατο· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
ὡς ἔτυχον ἄλλοι διεκόμιζον.

III. Οὕτω δὲ σωθέντες καὶ φθάσαντες τὴν
δίωξιν εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς παρεγένοντο πρὸς Γλαυκίαν
τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ καθεζόμενον εὑρόντες οἴκοι
μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν μέσῳ τὸ παιδίον ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς κατέθεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ γνώμης, Κάσανδρον
δεδοικὼς ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τοῦ Αἰακίδου, καὶ σιωπὴν
2 εἶχε πολὺν χρόνον βουλευόμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
ὁ Πύρρος ἀπ' αὐτομάτου προσερπύσας καὶ λαβό-
μενος τοῦ ἱματίου ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ προσεξαναστὰς
πρὸς τὰ γόνατα τοῦ Γλαυκίου γέλωτα πρῶτον,
εἶτα οἶκτον παρέσχεν, ὥσπερ τις ἱκέτης ἐχό-

besought their help in crossing, and showed them Pyrrhus, with loud cries and supplications. But the people on the other side could not hear them for the turbulence and splashing of the stream, and so there was delay, one party shouting what the other could not understand, until some one bethought himself of a better way. He stripped off a piece of bark from a tree and wrote thereon with a buckle-pin a message telling their need and the fortune of the child; then he wrapped the bark about a stone, which he used to give force to his cast, and threw it to the other side. Some say, however, that it was a javelin about which he wrapped the bark, and that he shot it across. Accordingly, when those on the other side had read the message and saw that no time was to be lost, they cut down trees, lashed them together, and made their way across. As chance would have it, the first of them to make his way across was named Achilles; he took Pyrrhus in his arms, and the rest of the fugitives were conveyed across by others in one way or another.

III. Having thus outstripped their pursuers and reached a place of safety, the fugitives betook themselves to Glaucias the king of the Illyrians; and finding him sitting at home with his wife, they put the little child down on the floor before them. Then the king began to reflect. He was in fear of Cassander, who was an enemy of Aeacides, and held his peace a long time as he took counsel with himself. Meanwhile Pyrrhus, of his own accord, crept along the floor, clutched the king's robe, and pulled himself on to his feet at the knees of Glaucias, who was moved at first to laughter, then to pity, as he saw the child clinging to his knees and weeping like a formal

μενος καὶ δακρύων. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν οὐ τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσπεσεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ βωμοῦ θεῶν προσαψάμενον ἑστάναι πρὸς αὐτὸν περιβαλόντα τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ θεῖον
3 φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ παραυτίκα τὸν Πύρρον ἐνεχείρισε τῇ γυναικί, κελεύσας ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις τρέφεσθαι, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξαιτουμένων τῶν πολεμίων, Κασάνδρου δὲ καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα διδόντος, οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γενόμενον δυοκαίδεκα ἐτῶν καταγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Ἤπειρον μετὰ δυνάμεως βασιλέα κατέστησεν.

4 Ἦν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τῇ μὲν ἰδέᾳ τοῦ προσώπου φοβερώτερον ἔχων ἢ σεμνότερον τὸ βασιλικόν, πολλοὺς δὲ ὀδόντας οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἓν ὀστέον συνεχὲς ἦν ἄνωθεν, οἷον λεπταῖς ἀμυχαῖς τὰς διαφυὰς ὑπογεγραμμένον τῶν ὀδόντων. τοῖς δὲ σπληνιῶσιν ἐδόκει βοηθεῖν, ἀλεκτρυόνα θύων λευκόν, ὑπτίων τε κατακειμένων τῷ δεξιῷ ποδὶ πιέζων ἀτρέμα τὸ σπλάγχνον. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἦν πένης οὐδὲ ἄδοξος οὕτως ὥστε μὴ τυχεῖν τῆς
5 ἰατρείας δεηθείς. ἐλάμβανε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα θύσας, καὶ τὸ γέρας τοῦτο ἥδιστον ἦν αὐτῷ. λέγεται δὲ τοῦ ποδὸς ἐκείνου τὸν μείζονα δάκτυλον ἔχειν δύναμιν θείαν, ὥστε μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος κατακαέντος ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἄθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς εὑρεθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον.

IV. Γενομένῳ δὲ περὶ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη καὶ δοκοῦντι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν βεβαίως ἀποδημία τις

suppliant. Some say, however, that the child did not supplicate Glaucias, but caught hold of an altar of the gods and stood there with his arms thrown round it, and that Glaucias thought this a sign from Heaven. Therefore he at once put Pyrrhus in the arms of his wife, bidding her rear him along with their children; and a little while after, when the child's enemies demanded his surrender, and Cassander offered two hundred talents for him, Glaucias would not give him up, but after he had reached the age of twelve years, actually conducted him back into Epeirus with an armed force and set him upon the throne there.

In the aspect of his countenance Pyrrhus had more of the terror than of the majesty of kingly power. He had not many teeth, but his upper jaw was one continuous bone, on which the usual intervals between the teeth were indicated by slight depressions. People of a splenetic habit believed that he cured their ailment; he would sacrifice a white cock, and, while the patient lay flat upon his back, would press gently with his right foot against the spleen. Nor was any one so obscure or poor as not to get this healing service from him if he asked it. The king would also accept the cock after he had sacrificed it, and this honorarium was most pleasing to him. It is said, further, that the great toe of his right foot had a divine virtue, so that after the rest of his body had been consumed, this was found to be untouched and unharmed by the fire. These things, however, belong to a later period.

IV. When he had reached the age of seventeen years[1] and was thought to be firmly seated on his

[1] In 302 B.C.

συνέτυχε, τῶν Γλαυκίου παίδων ἑνός, οἷς συνετέ-
θραπτο, γυναῖκα λαμβάνοντος. πάλιν οὖν οἱ
Μολοττοὶ συστάντες ἐξέβαλον τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν καὶ Νεοπτολέμῳ
2 παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος οὕτω τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλὼν καὶ γενόμενος πάντων ἔρημος
Δημητρίῳ τῷ Ἀντιγόνου προσέμιξεν ἑαυτόν,
ἔχοντι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Δηϊδάμειαν, ἣν ἔτι
μὲν οὖσαν κόρην ὠνόμαζον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
Ῥωξάνης γυναῖκα, τῶν δὲ κατ᾿ ἐκείνους δυστυχη-
θέντων ὥραν ἔχουσαν αὐτὴν ἔγημεν ὁ Δημήτριος.
3 τῆς δὲ μεγάλης μάχης ἣν ἐν Ἰψῷ πάντες οἱ
βασιλεῖς ἠγωνίσαντο, παρὼν ὁ Πύρρος τοῖς περὶ
Δημήτριον συμμετεῖχε μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι, καὶ τοὺς
καθ᾿ ἑαυτὸν ἐτρέψατο, καὶ διεφάνη λαμπρὸς ἐν 385
τοῖς μαχομένοις. πταίσαντα δὲ Δημήτριον οὐκ
ἐγκατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεις
πιστευθεὶς διεφύλαξε, καὶ συμβάσεων αὐτῷ
γενομένων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἔπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυ-
4 πτον ὁμηρεύσων. καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν ἔν τε
θήραις καὶ γυμνασίοις ἐπίδειξιν ἀλκῆς καὶ καρ-
τερίας παρεῖχε, τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην ὁρῶν μέγιστον
δυναμένην καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει
τῶν Πτολεμαίου γυναικῶν, ἐθεράπευε μάλιστα·
καὶ δεινὸς ὢν ὑπελθεῖν ἐπ᾿ ὠφελείᾳ τοὺς κρείτ-
τονας, ὥσπερ ὑπερόπτης τῶν ταπεινοτέρων,
κόσμιος δὲ καὶ σώφρων περὶ δίαιταν, ἐκ πολλῶν

throne, it came to pass that he went on a journey, when one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been reared, was married. Once more, then, the Molossians banded together, drove out his friends, plundered his property, and put themselves under Neoptolemus.[1] Pyrrhus, thus stripped of his realm and rendered destitute of all things, joined himself to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who had his sister Deïdameia to wife. She, while she was still a girl, had been nominally given in marriage to Alexander, Roxana's son; but their affairs miscarried, and when she was of age Demetrius married her.[2] In the great battle which all the kings fought at Ipsus[3] Pyrrhus was present, and took part with Demetrius, though still a stripling. He routed the enemy opposed to him, and made a brilliant display of valour among the combatants. Moreover, though Demetrius lost the day, Pyrrhus did not abandon him, but kept guard over his cities in Greece which were entrusted to him,[4] and when Demetrius made peace with Ptolemy, sailed to Egypt as hostage for him. Here, both in hunting and in bodily exercises, he gave Ptolemy proof of his prowess and endurance, and seeing that among the wives of Ptolemy it was Berenicé who had the greatest influence and was foremost in virtue and understanding, he paid especial court to her. He was adept at turning to his own advantage the favour of his superiors, just as he was inclined to look down upon his inferiors, and since he was orderly and restrained in his ways of living, he was selected from among many young

[1] A grandson of the Neoptolemus mentioned in chapter ii. 1.
[2] See the *Demetrius*, xxv. 2.
[3] In 301 B.C. Cf. the *Demetrius*, chapters xxviii. f.
[4] Cf. the *Demetrius*, xxxi. 2.

νέων ἡγεμονικῶν προεκρίθη λαβεῖν Ἀντιγόνην γυναῖκα τῶν Βερενίκης θυγατέρων, ἣν ἔσχεν ἐκ Φιλίππου πρὶν ἢ Πτολεμαίῳ συνοικεῖν.

V. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν γάμον τοῦτον ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμῶν, καὶ γυναικὸς ἀγαθῆς τῆς Ἀντιγόνης περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης, διεπράξατο χρήματα λαβὼν καὶ δύναμιν εἰς Ἤπειρον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποσταλῆναι. καὶ παρῆν οὐκ ἄκουσι τοῖς πολλοῖς[1] διὰ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου χαλεπῶς καὶ βιαίως ἄρχοντος. πλὴν ἀλλὰ δείσας μὴ πρός τινα τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος τράπηται, διαλύσεις ἔθετο καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς.
2 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἦσαν οἱ παροξύνοντες αὐτοὺς κρύφα καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐμποιοῦντες ὑποψίας. ἡ μέντοι μάλιστα κινήσασα τὸν Πύρρον αἰτία λέγεται τοιαύτην ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν.

Εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρῶνι, χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διῒ θύσαντες ὁρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις καὶ ὁρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν
3 διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐδρᾶτο ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων παρόντων, καὶ συνῆσαν ἀλλήλοις μετὰ τῶν φίλων, δῶρα πολλὰ τὰ μὲν διδόντες, τὰ δὲ λαμβάνοντες. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Γέλων, ἀνὴρ πιστὸς Νεοπτολέμῳ, δεξιωσάμενος φιλοφρόνως τὸν Πύρρον ἐδωρήσατο βοῶν ἀροτήρων δυσὶ ζεύγεσι. ταῦτα Μυρτίλος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου παρὼν ᾔτει τὸν Πύρρον· ἐκείνου δὲ μὴ διδόντος, ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Μυρτίλος οὐκ
4 ἔλαθε τὸν Γέλωνα. καλέσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ

[1] τοῖς πολλοῖς with Coraës and Blass: πολλοῖς.

princes as a husband for Antigone, one of the daughters of Berenicé, whom she had by Philip[1] before her marriage with Ptolemy.

V. After this marriage he was held in still greater esteem, and since Antigone was an excellent wife to him, he brought it to pass that he was sent into Epeirus with money and an army to regain his kingdom. Most people there were glad to see him come, owing to their hatred of Neoptolemus, who was a stern and arbitrary ruler. However, fearing lest Neoptolemus should have recourse to one of the other kings, he came to terms and made friendship with him on the basis of a joint exercise of the royal power. But as time went on there were people who secretly exasperated them against one another and filled them with mutual suspicions. The chief ground, however, for action on the part of Pyrrhus is said to have had its origin as follows.

It was customary for the kings, after sacrificing to Zeus Areius at Passaro, a place in the Molossian land, to exchange solemn oaths with the Epeirots, the kings swearing to rule according to the laws, and the people to maintain the kingdom according to the laws. Accordingly, this was now done; both the kings were present, and associated with one another, together with their friends, and many gifts were interchanged. Here Gelon, a man devoted to Neoptolemus, greeted Pyrrhus in a friendly manner and made him a present of two yoke of oxen for ploughing. Pyrrhus was asked for these by Myrtilus, his cup-bearer; and when Pyrrhus would not give them to him, but gave them to another, Myrtilus was deeply resentful. This did not escape the notice of

[1] An obscure Macedonian.

δεῖπνον, ὡς δέ φασιν ἔνιοι, καὶ χρησάμενος παρ'
οἶνον ὥραν ἔχοντι, λόγους προσήνεγκε παρα-
καλῶν ἑλέσθαι τὰ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ φαρ-
μάκοις διαφθεῖραι τὸν Πύρρον. ὁ δὲ Μυρτίλος
ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν πεῖραν ὡς ἐπαινῶν καὶ συμπε-
πεισμένος, ἐμήνυσε δὲ τῷ Πύρρῳ· καὶ κελεύ-
σαντος ἐκείνου τὸν ἀρχιοινοχόον Ἀλεξικράτην
τῷ Γέλωνι συνέστησεν, ὡς δὴ μεθέξοντα τῆς
πράξεως αὐτοῖς· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐν πλείοσιν ὁ
Πύρρος τὸν ἔλεγχον γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀδικήματος.
5 οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐξαπατωμένου συνεξαπατώ-
μενος ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος, καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ὁδῷ
βαδίζειν οἰόμενος οὐ κατεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χαρᾶς
ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους. καί ποτε κωμάσας
παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καδμείαν ἐχρῆτο λαλιᾷ περὶ
τούτων, οὐδένα συνακούειν οἰόμενος· οὐδεὶς γὰρ
ἦν πλησίον ἄλλος ἢ Φαιναρέτη γυνὴ Σάμωνος
τοῦ τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὰ βουκόλια τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ
διοικοῦντος, αὕτη δὲ ἀπεστραμμένη πρὸς τὸν τοῖ-
6 χον[1] ἐπὶ κλίνης τινὸς ἐδόκει καθεύδειν. συνήκοος
δὲ πάντων γενομένη καὶ λαθοῦσα μεθ' ἡμέραν ἧκε
πρὸς Ἀντιγόνην τὴν Πύρρου γυναῖκα, καὶ πάντα
κατεῖπεν ὅσα τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν
ἤκουσε λέγοντος. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἐκεῖ
μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἐν δὲ θυσίᾳ καλέσας ἐπὶ
7 δεῖπνον τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ἀπέκτεινεν, αἰσθόμενος
τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν τοὺς κρατίστους προσέχοντας
αὑτῷ, καὶ παρακελευομένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ
Νεοπτολέμου, καὶ μὴ μερίδα μικρὰν ἔχοντα 386
βασιλείας ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει χρήσασθαι

[1] τὸν τοῖχον with Coraës, Blass, and C: τοῖχον.

Gelon, who therefore invited Myrtilus to supper, and even, as some say, enjoyed his youthful beauty as they drank; then he reasoned with him and urged him to become an adherent of Neoptolemus and to destroy Pyrrhus by poison. Myrtilus accepted the proposal, pretending to approve of it and to be persuaded, but informed Pyrrhus. He also, by the king's orders, presented Alexicrates, the king's chief cup-bearer, to Gelon, assuring him that he would take part in their enterprise; for Pyrrhus wished to have several persons who could testify to the intended crime. Thus Gelon was thoroughly deceived, and Neoptolemus as well, and as thoroughly, who, supposing that the plot was duly progressing, could not keep it to himself, but in his joy would talk about it to his friends. Once, in particular, after a revel at the house of his sister Cadmeia, he fell to prattling about the matter, supposing that no one would hear the conversation but themselves; for no one else was near except Phaenarete, the wife of Samon, a man who managed the flocks and herds of Neoptolemus, and Phaenarete was lying on a couch with her face to the wall and seemed to be asleep. But she heard everything, and next day went unobserved to Antigone the wife of Pyrrhus, and told her all that she had heard Neoptolemus say to his sister. When Pyrrhus learned of it, he kept quiet for a time, but on a day of sacrifice invited Neoptolemus to supper and killed him. For he was aware that the chief men among the Epeirots were devoted to himself and were eager to see him rid himself of Neoptolemus; also that they wished him not to content himself with having a small share of the kingdom, but to follow his natural bent and

μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβανόμενον, καί τινος ὑποψίας ἅμα προσγενομένης τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον φθάσας[1] ἀνελεῖν.

VI. Μεμνημένος δὲ Βερενίκης καὶ Πτολεμαίου παιδίον μὲν αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης Πτολεμαῖον ὠνόμασεν, οἰκίσας δὲ πόλιν ἐν τῇ χερρονήσῳ τῆς Ἠπείρου Βερονικίδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν περινοῶν καὶ μεγάλα τῇ γνώμῃ, ταῖς δὲ ἐλπίσι μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τῶν πλησίον, εὗρεν ἐμφῦναι τοῖς Μακεδόνων πράγμασιν ἐκ τοιᾶσδέ τινος προφάσεως.

2 Τῶν Κασάνδρου παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀντίπατρος τήν τε μητέρα Θεσσαλονίκην ἀνεῖλε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ πρός τε Δημήτριον ἔπεμψε δεόμενος βοηθεῖν καὶ Πύρρον ἐκάλει. Δημητρίου δὲ ὑπὸ ἀσχολιῶν βραδύνοντος ἐπελθὼν ὁ Πύρρος ᾔτησε μισθὸν τῆς συμμαχίας τήν τε Στυμφαίαν καὶ τὴν Παραυαίαν τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ τῶν ἐπικτήτων ἐθνῶν Ἀμ-
3 βρακίαν, Ἀκαρνανίαν, Ἀμφιλοχίαν. προεμένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου ταῦτα μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχε φρουραῖς καταλαβών, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κτώμενος ἐκείνῳ περιέκοπτε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. Λυσίμαχος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν ἐν ἀσχολίαις προθυμούμενος Ἀντιπάτρῳ βοηθεῖν, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Πύρρον οὐδὲν ἀχαριστεῖν οὐδὲ ἀρνεῖσθαι Πτολεμαίῳ βουλόμενον ἔπεμψε πλαστὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς Πτολεμαίου κελεύοντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῆς στρατείας τριακόσια τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ
4 Ἀντιπάτρου λαβόντα. λύσας δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν

[1] φθάσας Coraës and Blass, with most MSS.: φθάσαι.

attempt greater things, and, now that some suspicion had added its weight to other motives for the deed, to anticipate Neoptolemus by taking him off first.

VI. And now, in honour of Berenicé and Ptolemy, he gave the name of Ptolemy to his infant son by Antigone, and called the city which he had built on the peninsula of Epeirus, Berenicis. After this, he began to revolve many large projects in his mind; but his hopes were fixed first and more especially on undertakings close at hand, and he found a way to take direct part in Macedonian affairs, on grounds something like the following.

Of Cassander's sons, the elder, Antipater, killed his mother Thessalonicé and drove away his brother Alexander.[1] Alexander sent to Demetrius begging for help, and also called upon Pyrrhus. Demetrius was delayed by matters that he had in hand; but Pyrrhus came, and demanded as a reward for his alliance Stymphaea and Parauaea in Macedonia, and, of the countries won by the allies, Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. The youthful Alexander gave way to his demands, and Pyrrhus took possession of these countries and held them for himself with garrisons; he also proceeded to strip from Antipater the remaining parts of his kingdom and turn them over to Alexander. Now Lysimachus the king, who was eager to give aid to Antipater, was fully occupied himself and could not come in person; but knowing that Pyrrhus was desirous to do Ptolemy every favour and refuse him nothing, he sent a forged letter to him which stated that Ptolemy urged him to give up his expedition on payment of three hundred talents from Antipater. As soon as Pyrrhus opened the

[1] Cf. the *Demetrius*, xxxvi. 1 f.

ὁ Πύρρος εὐθὺς τὸ ῥᾳδιούργημα τοῦ Λυσιμάχου
συνεῖδεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἡ συνήθης γεγραμμένη
προσαγόρευσις, "Ὁ πατὴρ τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν·"
ἀλλά, "Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεῖ Πύρρῳ
χαίρειν." λοιδορήσας δὲ τὸν Λυσίμαχον ὅμως
ἐποιεῖτο τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ συνῄεσαν ὡς κατὰ
5 σφαγίων ὁρκωμοτήσοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύρου καὶ
κάπρου καὶ κριοῦ προσαχθέντος ὁ κριὸς αὐτο-
μάτως ἀπέθανε, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις γελᾶν ἐπῄει, τὸν
δὲ Πύρρον ὁ μάντις Θεόδοτος ὀμόσαι διεκώλυσε,
φήσας τὸ δαιμόνιον ἑνὶ προσημαίνειν τῶν τριῶν
βασιλέων θάνατον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύρρος οὕτως
ἀπέστη τῆς εἰρήνης.

VII. Τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἤδη
κατάστασιν ἐχόντων ὅμως ὁ Δημήτριος ἀφίκετο·
καὶ δῆλος μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς ἥκων μὴ δεομένῳ, καὶ
φόβον παρεῖχεν, ὀλίγας δ' ἡμέρας συγγενόμενοι
δι' ἀπιστίας ἐπεβούλευσαν ἀλλήλοις ἀμφότεροι.
καιρῷ δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ φθάσας ἀποκτίννυσιν ὁ
Δημήτριος τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη
2 Μακεδονίας. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ
πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐγκλήματα, καὶ καταδρομαὶ τῆς
Θεσσαλίας ἐγεγόνεισαν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ
σύμφυτον νόσημα ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονεξία,
τὴν γειτνίασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπίφοβον καὶ ἄπιστον
παρεῖχε, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι μετὰ τὴν τῆς Δηϊδαμείας
τελευτήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ κατασχόντες ἀμφότεροι
Μακεδονίας συνέπιπτον εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ μείζονας
3 ἐλάμβανε προφάσεις ἡ διαφορά, Δημήτριος μὲν

letter he perceived the fraud of Lysimachus; for the letter did not have the customary address, "The father, to the son, health and happiness," but instead, "King Ptolemy, to King Pyrrhus, health and happiness." Pyrrhus reviled Lysimachus for the fraud, but nevertheless made the desired peace, and they all met to ratify it with sacrificial oaths. However, after a bull, a boar, and a ram had been brought up for sacrifice, of its own accord the ram fell down dead. The rest of the spectators were moved to laughter, but Theodotus the seer prevented Pyrrhus from taking the oath by declaring that Heaven thus betokened in advance the death of one of the three kings. In this way, then, Pyrrhus was led to renounce the peace.

VII. Thus Alexander's affairs were already settled with the help of Pyrrhus, but nevertheless Demetrius came to him; and as soon as he arrived it was plain that he was not wanted, and he inspired only fear; and after they had been together a few days their mutual distrust led them to plot against each other. But Demetrius, taking advantage of his opportunity, got beforehand with the young prince and slew him, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.[1] Now, even before this there had been differences between him and Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus had overrun Thessaly;[2] and greed for power, the natural disease of dynasties, made them formidable and suspicious neighbours, and all the more after the death of Deïdameia. And now that both of them had occupied part of Macedonia, they came into collision, and their quarrel was furnished with stronger grounds. Demetrius there-

[1] Cf. the *Demetrius*, xxxvi. 2–6, xxxvii.
[2] Cf. the *Demetrius*, xl. i

ἐπ᾿ Αἰτωλοὺς στρατευσάμενος καὶ κρατήσας,
Πάνταυχον αὐτόθι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως κατα-
λιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ Πύρρον, καὶ Πύρρος
ἐπ᾿ ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ᾔσθετο. γενομένης δὲ διαμαρτίας
καθ᾿ ὁδὸν ἀλλήλους παρήλλαξαν· καὶ Δημήτριος
μὲν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἤπειρον ἐλεηλάτει, Πύρρος δὲ
4 Πανταύχῳ περιπεσὼν εἰς μάχην κατέστη. καὶ
τῶν στρατιωτῶν συμπεσόντων δεινὸς ἦν καὶ
μέγας ἀγών, μάλιστα κατὰ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. ὅ τε
γὰρ Πάνταυχος ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ῥώμῃ
σώματος ἄριστος ὢν ὁμολογουμένως τῶν περὶ
Δημήτριον στρατηγῶν, καὶ θάρσος ἔχων καὶ
φρόνημα, προὐκαλεῖτο τὸν Πύρρον εἰς χεῖρας, ὅ
τε Πύρρος οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων ὑφιέμενος ἀλκῆς
καὶ τόλμης, καὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως δόξαν αὑτῷ δι᾿
ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γένος συνοικειοῦν βουλό-
μενος, ἐναντίος ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν προμάχων ἐπὶ τὸν
5 Πάνταυχον. ἦν δὲ δορατισμὸς τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα 387
ἐν χεροῖν γενόμενοι μετὰ τέχνης ἅμα καὶ βίας
ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ξίφεσι. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἓν
τραῦμα, δοὺς δὲ δύο, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν μηρόν, τὸ δὲ
παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον, ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατέβαλε τὸν
Πάνταυχον· οὐ μὴν ἀνεῖλεν, ἀνηρπάγη γὰρ ὑπὸ
τῶν φίλων. οἱ δὲ Ἠπειρῶται τῇ νίκῃ τοῦ
βασιλέως ἐπαρθέντες καὶ θαυμάσαντες τὴν
ἀρετὴν ἐβιάσαντο καὶ διέκοψαν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν
Μακεδόνων, καὶ φεύγοντας διώκοντες ἀπέκτεινάν
τε πολλοὺς καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ζῶντας εἷλον.

VIII. Ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὗτος οὐ τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ὧν
ἔπαθον οὐδὲ μίσους ἐνέπλησε τοὺς Μακεδόνας
πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον, ὅσην δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ θαῦμα

fore made an expedition against the Aetolians and conquered them, and then, leaving Pantauchus there with a large force, he himself moved against Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus, when he heard of it, against him. Owing to a mistake in the way, however, they passed by one another, and Demetrius, throwing his forces into Epeirus, plundered the country, while Pyrrhus, encountering Pantauchus, joined battle with him.[1] There was a sharp and terrible conflict between the soldiers who engaged, and especially also between the leaders. For Pantauchus, who was confessedly the best of the generals of Demetrius for bravery, dexterity, and vigour of body, and had both courage and a lofty spirit, challenged Pyrrhus to a hand-to-hand combat; and Pyrrhus, who yielded to none of the kings in daring and prowess, and wished that the glory of Achilles should belong to him by right of valour rather than of blood alone, advanced through the foremost fighters to confront Pantauchus. At first they hurled their spears, then, coming to close quarters, they plied their swords with might and skill. Pyrrhus got one wound, but gave Pantauchus two, one in the thigh, and one along the neck, and put him to flight and overthrew him; he did not kill him, however, for his friends haled him away. Then the Epeirots, exalted by the victory of their king and admiring his valour, overwhelmed and cut to pieces the phalanx of the Macedonians, pursued them as they fled, slew many of them, and took five thousand of them alive.[2]

VIII. This conflict did not fill the Macedonians with wrath and hate towards Pyrrhus for their losses, rather it led those who beheld his exploits

[1] Cf. the *Demetrius*, xli. 1 f. [2] Cf. the *Demetrius*, xli. 2.

τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ λόγον ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς ἰδοῦσι τὰ ἔργα καὶ συνενεχθεῖσι κατὰ τὴν μάχην. καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ᾤοντο καὶ τάχος ἐοικέναι καὶ κίνημα τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνου καὶ βίας παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τούτῳ σκιάς τινας ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ μιμήματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἐν πορφύραις καὶ δορυφόροις καὶ κλίσει τραχήλου καὶ τῷ μεῖζον διαλέγεσθαι, μόνου δὲ Πύρρου τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

2 Τῆς δὲ περὶ τάξεις καὶ στρατηγίας ἐπιστήμης αὐτοῦ καὶ δεινότητος ἔνεστι δείγματα λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ περὶ τούτων ἀπολέλοιπε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἄριστος τῶν στρατηγῶν, φάναι, "Πύρρος, ἂν γηράσῃ," περὶ τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν οὕτως ἀποφηνάμενος μόνον. Ἀννίβας δὲ συμπάντων ἀπέφηνε τῶν στρατηγῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ δεινότητι Πύρρον, Σκηπίωνα δὲ δεύτερον, ἑαυτὸν δὲ τρίτον, ὡς ἐν
3 τοῖς περὶ Σκηπίωνος γέγραπται. καὶ ὅλως τοῦτο μελετῶν ἔοικε καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἀεὶ διατελεῖν ὁ Πύρρος, ὡς μαθημάτων βασιλικώτατον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας γλαφυρίας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τίθεσθαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐρωτηθεὶς ἔν τινι πότῳ, πότερον αὐτῷ φαίνεται Πύθων αὐλητὴς ἀμείνων ἢ Καφισίας, εἰπεῖν ὅτι Πολυσπέρχων στρατηγός, ὡς ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ζητεῖν μόνα καὶ γινώσκειν προσῆκον.

and engaged him in the battle to esteem him highly and admire his bravery and talk much about him. For they likened his aspect and his swiftness and all his motions to those of the great Alexander, and thought they saw in him shadows, as it were, and imitations of that leader's impetuosity and might in conflicts.[1] The other kings, they said, represented Alexander with their purple robes, their body-guards, the inclination of their necks,[2] and their louder tones in conversation; but Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus alone, in arms and action.

Of his knowledge and ability in the field of military tactics and leadership one may get proofs from the writings on these subjects which he left. It is said also that Antigonus, when asked who was the best general, replied, "Pyrrhus, if he lives to be old." This verdict of Antigonus applied only to his contemporaries. Hannibal, however, declared that the foremost of all generals in experience and ability was Pyrrhus, that Scipio was second, and he himself third, as I have written in my Life of Scipio.[3] And in a word, Pyrrhus would seem to have been always and continually studying and meditating upon this one subject, regarding it as the most kingly branch of learning; the rest he regarded as mere accomplishments and held them in no esteem. For instance, we are told that when he was asked at a drinking-party whether he thought Python or Caphisias the better flute-player, he replied that Polysperchon was a good general, implying that it became a king to investigate and understand such matters only.

[1] Cf. the *Demetrius*, xli. 3. [2] See the *Alexander*, iv. 1.
[3] The "book" containing the Lives of Epaminondas and Scipio Africanus the Elder has been lost.

4 Ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἐπιεικὴς καὶ πρᾷος ὀργήν, σφοδρὸς δὲ καὶ πρόθυμος ἐν ταῖς χάρισιν. Ἀερόπου γοῦν ἀποθανόντος οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀνθρώπινα πεπονθέναι φάσκων, ἑαυτὸν δὲ μεμφόμενος καὶ κακίζων ὅτι μέλλων ἀεὶ καὶ βραδύνων χάριν οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ χρέα καὶ κληρονόμοις ἐστὶν ἀποδοῦναι τῶν δανεισάντων, αἱ δὲ τῶν χαρίτων ἀμοιβαὶ μὴ γενόμεναι πρὸς αἰσθανομένους ἀνιῶσι
5 τὸν χρηστὸν καὶ δίκαιον. ἐν δὲ Ἀμβρακίᾳ κακολόγον τινὰ καὶ βλάσφημον ἄνθρωπον οἰομένων δεῖν μεταστῆσαι τὸν Πύρρον "Αὐτοῦ μένων," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἐν ὀλίγοις ἢ περιϊὼν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους κακῶς λεγέτω." καὶ τοὺς παρ' οἶνον αὐτὸν λοιδορήσαντας, εἶτα ἐλεγχομένους ἠρώτησεν εἰ ταῦτα εἶπον· ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων ἑνός, "Ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ· πλείονα δ' ἂν ἔτι τούτων εἰρήκειμεν, εἰ πλείων παρῆν οἶνος ἡμῖν," γελάσας ἀφῆκε.

IX. Γυναῖκας δὲ πραγμάτων ἕνεκα καὶ δυνάμεως πλείονας ἔγημε μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνης τελευτήν. καὶ γὰρ Αὐτολέοντος τοῦ Παιόνων βασιλέως ἔλαβε θυγατέρα, καὶ Βιρκένναν τὴν Βαρδύλλιος τοῦ Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ Λάνασσαν τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Συρακουσίου, προῖκα προσφερομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Κερκυραίων πόλιν ἡλωκυῖαν ὑπὸ Ἀγαθοκλέους. ἐκ μὲν οὖν Ἀντιγόνης

He was also kind towards his familiar friends, and mild in temper, but eager and impetuous in returning favours. At any rate, when Aeropus died, he was distressed beyond measure, declaring that Aeropus had indeed only suffered what was common to humanity, but that he blamed and reviled himself because he had always delayed and moved slowly in the matter and so had not returned his friend's favour. For the debts due to one's creditors can be paid back to their heirs; but if the favours received from friends are not returned while those friends can be sensible of the act, it is an affliction to a just and good man. Again, in Ambracia there was a fellow who denounced and reviled him, and people thought that Pyrrhus ought to banish him. "Let him remain here," said Pyrrhus, "and speak ill of us among a few, rather than carry his slanders round to all mankind." And again, some young fellows indulged in abuse of him over their cups, and were brought to task for it. Pyrrhus asked them if they had said such things, and when one of them replied, "We did, O King; and we should have said still more than this if we had had more wine." Pyrrhus laughed and dismissed them.[1]

IX. In order to enlarge his interests and power he married several wives after the death of Antigone. He took to wife, namely, a daughter of Autoleon, king of the Paeonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis the Illyrian; and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who brought him as her dowry the city of Corcyra, which had been captured by Agathocles. By Antigone he had a son Ptolemy,

[1] The story is found also in Plutarch's *Morals*, p. 184 d, and in Val. Max. 5, 1, ext. 3.

Πτολεμαῖον υἱὸν ἔσχεν, ἐκ δὲ Λανάσσης Ἀλέξανδρον, Ἕλενον δὲ τὸν νεώτατον ἐκ Βιρκέννης.
2 καὶ πάντας ἀγαθοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐθρέψατο καὶ 388
διαπύρους, εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο θηγομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑφ' ἑνὸς αὐτῶν ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, τίνι καταλείψει τὴν βασιλείαν, εἰπεῖν, "Ὃς ἂν ὑμῶν τὴν μάχαιραν ὀξυτάτην[1] ἔχῃ." τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποδεῖ τῆς τραγικῆς ἀρᾶς ἐκείνης· "Θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν" τοὺς ἀδελφούς. οὕτως ἄμικτός ἐστι καὶ θηριώδης ἡ τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑπόθεσις.

X. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ταύτην ὁ Πύρρος ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ φρονήματος ἔχαιρε· καὶ Ἀετὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν προσαγορευόμενος, "Δι' ὑμᾶς," ἔλεγεν, "ἀετός εἰμι· πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλω, τοῖς ὑμετέροις ὅπλοις ὥσπερ ὠκυπτέροις ἐπαιρόμενος;" ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον πυθόμενος νοσεῖν τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπισφαλῶς ἐνέβαλε μὲν ἐξαίφνης εἰς Μακεδονίαν ὡς ἐπιδρομήν τινα καὶ λεηλασίαν ποιησόμενος,
2 παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἦλθε πάντων ὁμοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀμαχεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐλάσας ἄχρι Ἐδέσσης μηδενὸς ἀμυνομένου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ προστιθεμένων καὶ συστρατευόντων. αὐτόν τε δὴ τὸν Δημήτριον ὁ κίνδυνος ἐξανέστησε παρὰ δύναμιν, οἵ τε φίλοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλοὺς ἀθροίσαντες ἐρρωμένως καὶ προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον ὥρμησαν. ὁ δὲ ληστρικώτερον ἀφιγμένος οὐκ ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ φεύγων μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλε καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Μακεδόνων.

[1] ὀξυτάτην with Blass: ὀξυτέραν.

Alexander by Lanassa, and Helenus, his youngest son, by Bircenna. He brought them all up to be brave in arms and fiery, and he whetted them for this from their very birth. It is said, for instance, that when he was asked by one of them, who was still a boy, to whom he would leave his kingdom, he replied: "To that one of you who keeps his sword the sharpest." This, however, meant nothing less than the famous curse of Oedipus in the tragedy;[1] that "with whetted sword," and not by lot, the brothers should "divide the house." So savage and ferocious is the nature of rapacity.

X. After this battle Pyrrhus returned to his home rejoicing in the splendour which his fame and lofty spirit had brought him; and when he was given the surname of "Eagle" by the Epeirots, "Through you," he said, "am I an eagle; why, pray, should I not be? It is by your arms that I am borne aloft as by swift pinions." But a little while after, learning that Demetrius was dangerously sick, he suddenly threw an army into Macedonia, intending merely to overrun and plunder some parts of it. Yet he came within a little of mastering the whole country and getting the kingdom without a battle; for he marched on as far as Edessa without opposition from anyone, and many actually joined his forces and shared his expedition. And now Demetrius himself was roused by the peril to act beyond his strength, while his friends and commanders in a short time collected many soldiers and set out with zeal and vigour against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, however, had come more for plunder than anything else, and would not stand his ground, but fled, losing a part of his army on the march, under the attacks of the Macedonians.

[1] Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 68.

3 Οὐ μὴν ὅτι ῥᾳδίως καὶ ταχὺ τὸν Πύρρον
ἐξέβαλε τῆς χώρας ὁ Δημήτριος ἠμέλησεν,
ἐγνωκὼς δὲ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβά-
νεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτᾶσθαι δέκα
μυριάσι στρατοῦ καὶ ναυσὶ πεντακοσίαις οὐκ
ἐβούλετο τῷ Πύρρῳ προσπταῖσαι, οὐδὲ ἀπο-
λιπεῖν Μακεδόσι πάροικον ἐργώδη καὶ χαλεπόν,
ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐσχόλαζε πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν,
διαλυθεὶς καὶ θέμενος εἰρήνην οὕτως ἐπὶ τοὺς
4 ἄλλους βασιλεῖς τραπέσθαι. γενομένων δὲ διὰ
ταῦτα τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἅμα τῷ
μεγέθει τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐκφανείσης τοῦ Δημη-
τρίου, φοβηθέντες οἱ βασιλεῖς διεπέμποντο πρὸς
τὸν Πύρρον ἀγγέλους καὶ γράμματα, θαυμάζειν
φάσκοντες εἰ τὸν αὐτοῦ προέμενος καιρόν, ἐν τῷ
Δημητρίου πολεμῆσαι περιμένει, καὶ δυνάμενος
Μακεδονίας ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν πολλὰ πράττοντα
καὶ ταραττόμενον, ἐκδέχεται καὶ σχολάζοντι καὶ
μεγάλῳ γενομένῳ περὶ τῶν ἐν Μολοσσοῖς ἱερῶν
καὶ τάφων διαγωνίσασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα Κέρκυραν
ἔναγχος ἀφῃρημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς γυναι-
5 κός. ἡ γὰρ Λάνασσα μεμψαμένη τὸν Πύρρον
ὡς μᾶλλον προσέχοντα ταῖς βαρβάροις γυναιξὶν
εἰς Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε, καὶ δεομένη γάμων
βασιλικῶν ἐκάλει Δημήτριον, ἐπισταμένη μά-
λιστα τῶν βασιλέων εὐκόλως ἔχοντα πρὸς γάμους
γυναικῶν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ πλεύσας τῇ τε Λανάσσῃ
συνῆλθε καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπε.

However, because Demetrius had easily and speedily driven Pyrrhus out of the country, he did not leave him to his own devices, but now that he had determined to undertake a great enterprise and to recover his father's realm with a hundred thousand soldiers and five hundred ships, he did not wish to have collisions with Pyrrhus, nor yet to leave behind in him an enterprising and troublesome neighbour for the Macedonians. He wished, rather, since he had no time to wage war against Pyrrhus, to come to terms and make peace with him, and then turn his arms against the other kings. But after an agreement had been made between them for these reasons, the purpose of Demetrius became apparent, as well as the magnitude of his preparations, and the kings, in alarm, kept sending to Pyrrhus messengers and letters,[1] expressing their amazement that he should let slip his own opportunity for making war and wait for Demetrius to seize his; and that when he was able to drive Demetrius out of Macedonia, since he was now much occupied and disturbed, he should await the time when his adversary, at his leisure and after he had become great, could wage a decisive struggle with him for the sanctuaries and tombs of the Molossian land, an adversary who had just robbed him of Corcyra, and his wife besides. For Lanassa, who found fault with Pyrrhus for being more devoted to his barbarian wives than to her, had retired to Corcyra, whither, since she desired a royal marriage, she invited Demetrius, understanding that he, of all the kings, was most readily disposed to marry wives. So Demetrius sailed thither, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city.

[1] Cf. the *Demetrius*, xliv. 1.

XI. Ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον οἱ βασιλεῖς γρά-
φοντες ἅμα καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἔτι μέλλοντα καὶ
παρασκευαζόμενον τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκίνουν. Πτο-
λεμαῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐπιπλεύσας μεγάλῳ στόλῳ τὰς
Ἑλληνίδας ἀφίστη πόλεις, Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὴν
ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἐκ Θρᾴκης ἐμβαλὼν ἐπόρθει.
Πύρρος δὲ τούτοις ἅμα συνεξαναστὰς ἐπὶ Βέροιαν
ἤλαυνε, προσδοκῶν, ὅπερ συνέβη, Δημήτριον
ὑπαντιάζοντα Λυσιμάχῳ τὴν κάτω χώραν ἀπο-
2 λείψειν ἔρημον. ἐκείνης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔδοξε
κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καλεῖσθαι τοῦ
μεγάλου, καὶ παραγενόμενος κλινήρη μὲν αὐτὸν
ἰδεῖν, λόγων δὲ χρηστῶν τυχεῖν καὶ φιλοφροσύ-
νης ἐπαγγελλομένου προθύμως βοηθήσειν. αὐτοῦ
δὲ τολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, "Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
νοσῶν δυνατὸς εἴης ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν;" αὐτῷ φάναι τῷ 389
ὀνόματι, καὶ περιβάντα Νισαῖον ἵππον ἡγεῖσθαι.
3 Ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν ὄψιν ἐπερρώσθη· τάχει δὲ
χρησάμενος καὶ διαδραμὼν τὰ μεταξὺ κατα-
λαμβάνει τὴν Βέροιαν· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτόθι
τῆς στρατιᾶς ἱδρύσας τὰ λοιπὰ προσήγετο διὰ
τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐπεὶ ταῦτα
ἤκουσε καὶ πονηρὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θόρυβον
ᾔσθετο τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἔδεισε πορρωτέρω προ-
αγαγεῖν, μὴ πλησίον γενόμενοι βασιλέως Μακεδό-
νος καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντος μεταβάλωνται πρὸς αὐτόν.
4 ὅθεν ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἦγεν ὡς ξένον
καὶ μισούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ
παρεστρατοπέδευσεν αὐτόθι, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς

XI. Such letters the kings kept sending to Pyrrhus, and at the same time on their own part they assailed Demetrius while he was still waiting to complete his preparations. Ptolemy sailed up with a great fleet and tried to bring the Greek cities to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded upper Macedonia from Thrace and ravaged the country. So Pyrrhus, taking the field at the same time with these, marched against Beroea, expecting, as proved to be the case, that Demetrius would go to confront Lysimachus, and thus leave the lower country unprotected. That night Pyrrhus dreamed that he was called by Alexander the Great, and that when he answered the call he found the king lying on a couch, but met with kindly speech and friendly treatment from him, and received a promise of his ready aid and help. "And how, O King," Pyrrhus ventured to ask, "when thou art sick, canst thou give me aid and help?" "My name itself will give it," said the king, and mounting a Nisaean horse he led the way.

This vision gave Pyrrhus great assurance, and leading his army with all speed through the intervening districts he took possession of Beroea; then, stationing the greater part of his forces there, he proceeded to subdue the rest of the country through his generals. When Demetrius heard of this, and became aware of a pernicious uproar in his camp on the part of the Macedonians, he was afraid to lead them farther on, lest on coming into the neighbourhood of a Macedonian king of great renown they should go over to him. Therefore he turned back and led them against Pyrrhus, with the idea that he was a foreigner and hated by the Macedonians. But after he had pitched his camp over against Pyrrhus, many

Βεροίας ἀφικνούμενοι τὸν Πύρρον ἐνεκωμίαζον, ὡς ἄμαχον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ λαμπρὸν ἄνδρα, πρᾴως δὲ καὶ φιλανθρώπως τοῖς ἡλωκόσι χρώμενον. ἦσαν δέ τινες οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐγκαθίει προσποιουμένους εἶναι Μακεδόνας, καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι νῦν καιρός ἐστι τῆς Δημητρίου βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι, πρὸς ἄνδρα δημοτικὸν καὶ φιλοστρατιώτην μεταβαλομένους τὸν Πύρρον.
5 *ἐκ τούτου τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνηρέθιστο τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἐζήτουν περισκοποῦντες. ἔτυχε γὰρ ἀφῃρημένος τὸ κράνος, ἄχρι οὗ συμφρονήσας καὶ πάλιν*[1] *περιθέμενος ἐγνώσθη τῷ τε λόφῳ διαπρέποντι καὶ τοῖς τραγικοῖς κέρασιν, ὥστε τοὺς Μακεδόνας σύνθημα προστρέχοντας αἰτεῖν, ἄλλους δὲ κλάδους δρυὸς ἀναστέφεσθαι διὰ τὸ*
6 *καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐστεφανωμένους ὁρᾶν· ἤδη δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν τὸν Δημήτριον ὡς ὑπεκστὰς καὶ προέμενος τὰ πράγματα καλῶς δόξει βεβουλεῦσθαι. τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ὅμοιον ὁρῶν τὸ κίνημα τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ φοβηθεὶς κρύφα διεξέπεσε, καυσίᾳ τινὶ καὶ λιτῷ χλαμυδίῳ περιστείλας ἑαυτόν. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη Μακεδόνων.*

XII. *Ἐπιφανέντος δὲ Λυσιμάχου καὶ κοινὸν ἔργον ἀμφοῖν ποιουμένου τὴν Δημητρίου κατάλυσιν καὶ νέμεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀξιοῦντος, οὔπω πάνυ βεβαίως τοῖς Μακεδόσι πιστεύων ὁ Πύρρος, ἀλλ' ἀμφίβολος ὢν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐδέξατο τοῦ Λυσιμάχου τὴν πρόκλησιν, καὶ διενείμαντο*

[1] Before *περιθέμενος*, with Blass: *πάλιν συμφρονήσας.*

Beroeans came thither with loud praises of Pyrrhus; they said he was invincible in arms and a brilliant hero, and treated his captives with mildness and humanity. There were some also whom Pyrrhus himself sent into the camp; they pretended to be Macedonians, and said that now was the favourable time to rid themselves of Demetrius and his severity, by going over to Pyrrhus, a man who was gracious to the common folk and fond of his soldiers. In consequence of this, the greater part of the army was all excitement, and went about looking for Pyrrhus; for it chanced that he had taken off his helmet, and he was not recognised until he bethought himself and put it on again, when its towering crest and its goat's horns made him known to all. Some of the Macedonians therefore ran to him and asked him for his watchword, and others put garlands of oaken boughs about their heads because they saw the soldiers about him garlanded. And presently even to Demetrius himself certain persons ventured to say that if he quietly withdrew and renounced his undertakings men would think that he had taken wise counsel. He saw that this advice tallied with the agitation in the camp, and was frightened, and secretly stole away, after putting on a broad-brimmed hat and a simple soldier's cloak. So Pyrrhus came up, took the camp without a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

XII. But now Lysimachus made his appearance, claimed that the overthrow of Demetrius had been the joint work of both, and demanded a division of the kingdom. So Pyrrhus, who did not yet feel entire confidence in the Macedonians, but was still doubtful about them, accepted the proposition of

τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
2 τοῦτο δὲ ὤνησε μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ κατέπαυσε
τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔγνωσαν
οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔχθρας, ἀλλ' ἐγκλημάτων καὶ
διαφορᾶς ἀρχὴν πεποιημένοι τὴν νέμησιν. οἷς
γὰρ οὐ πέλαγος, οὐκ ὄρος, οὐκ ἀοίκητος ἐρημία
πέρας ἐστὶ πλεονεξίας, οὐδ' οἱ διαιροῦντες Εὐρώ-
πην καὶ Ἀσίαν τέρμονες ὁρίζουσι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας,
πῶς ἂν ἁπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ἀλλήλων ἀτρε-
3 μοῖεν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι μὴ ἀδικοῦντες, οὐκ ἔστιν
εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολεμοῦσι μὲν ἀεί, τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν
καὶ φθονεῖν ἔμφυτον ἔχοντες, δυεῖν δὲ ὀνομάτων,
ὥσπερ νομισμάτων, πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, τῷ
παρατυχόντι χρῶνται πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, οὐ πρὸς
τὸ δίκαιον, ἐπεὶ βελτίους γε πολεμεῖν ὁμολογοῦν-
τές εἰσιν ἢ τῆς ἀδικίας τὸ ἀργοῦν καὶ σχολάζον
4 δικαιοσύνην καὶ φιλίαν ὀνομάζοντες. ἐδήλωσε δὲ
ὁ Πύρρος· ἐμποδὼν γὰρ αὐξομένῳ τῷ Δημητρίῳ
πάλιν ἱστάμενος, καὶ κωλύων τὴν δύναμιν ὥσπερ
ἐξ ἀρρωστίας μεγάλης ἀναλαμβάνουσαν, ἐβοήθει
τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.
ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ θύσας τῇ θεῷ
καὶ καταβὰς αὐθημερὸν ἀγαπᾶν μὲν ἔφησε τοῦ
δήμου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν καὶ πίστιν, ἂν
μέντοι σωφρονῶσι μηδένα τῶν βασιλέων ἔτι
παρήσειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὰς πύλας
5 ἀνοίξειν· ἐκ τούτου καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον εἰρήνην
ἐποιήσατο, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον, εἰς Ἀσίαν 390

Lysimachus, and they divided the cities and the territory with one another. This availed for the present, and prevented war between them, but shortly afterward they perceived that the distribution which they had made did not put an end to their enmity, but gave occasion for complaints and quarrels. For how men to whose rapacity neither sea nor mountain nor uninhabitable desert sets a limit, men to whose inordinate desires the boundaries which separate Europe and Asia put no stop, can remain content with what they have and do one another no wrong when they are in close touch, it is impossible to say. Nay, they are perpetually at war, because plots and jealousies are parts of their natures, and they treat the two words, war and peace, like current coins, using whichever happens to be for their advantage, regardless of justice; for surely they are better men when they wage war openly than when they give the names of justice and friendship to the times of inactivity and leisure which interrupt their work of injustice. And Pyrrhus made this plain; for, setting himself to hinder the growing power of Demetrius, and trying to prevent its recovery, so to speak, from a serious illness, he went to the help of the Greeks and entered Athens. Here he went up to the acropolis and sacrificed to the goddess, then came down again on the same day, and told the people he was well pleased with the confidence and goodwill which they had shown him, but that in future, if they were wise, they would not admit any one of the kings into their city nor open their gates to him. After this, he actually made peace with Demetrius, but in a little while, when Demetrius had

ἀπάραντος αὐτοῦ, πάλιν πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου Θετταλίαν ἀφίστη καὶ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς φρουραῖς προσεπολέμει, βελτίοσι χρώμενος τοῖς Μακεδόσι στρατευομένοις ἢ σχολάζουσι, καὶ ὅλως αὐτὸς οὐκ εὖ πρὸς ἡσυχίαν πεφυκώς.

Τέλος δὲ Δημητρίου καταπολεμηθέντος ἐν Συρίᾳ Λυσίμαχος ἐπ' ἀδείας γενόμενος καὶ σχο-
6 λάζων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον ὥρμησε. καὶ καθημένου περὶ τὴν Ἔδεσσαν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς κομιζομέναις ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ κρατήσας ἀπορίαν πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιέστησεν, εἶτα γράμμασι καὶ λόγοις διέφθειρε τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὀνειδίζων εἰ ξένον ἄνδρα καὶ προγόνων ἀεὶ δεδουλευκότων Μακεδόσι δεσπότην ἑλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀπωθοῦσι
7 Μακεδονίας. ἀναπειθομένων δὲ πολλῶν δείσας ὁ Πύρρος ἀπηλλάγη μετὰ τῆς Ἠπειρωτικῆς καὶ συμμαχικῆς δυνάμεως, ἀποβαλὼν Μακεδονίαν ᾧ τρόπῳ παρέλαβεν. ὅθεν οὐδ' αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς μετατιθεμένους πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον· ἐκείνους γὰρ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα μιμοῦνται ποιοῦντες, ἀπιστίας καὶ προδοσίας διδασκάλους ὄντας, καὶ πλεῖστα νομίζοντας ὠφελεῖσθαι τὸν ἐλάχιστα τῷ δικαίῳ χρώμενον.

XIII. Τότε δ' οὖν εἰς Ἤπειρον ἐκπεσόντι τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ προεμένῳ Μακεδονίαν ἡ μὲν τύχη παρεῖχε χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπραγμόνως καὶ

set out for Asia, he once more took the advice of Lysimachus and tried to bring Thessaly to revolt, besides waging war upon the garrisons of Demetrius in the Greek cities. For he found that the Macedonians were better disposed when they were on a campaign than when they were unoccupied, and he himself was by nature entirely averse to keeping quiet.

But at last, after Demetrius had been wholly overthrown in Syria,[1] Lysimachus, who now felt himself secure, and had nothing on his hands, at once set out against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was in camp at Edessa, where Lysimachus fell upon his provision trains and mastered them, thus bringing him to straits; then, by letters and conferences he corrupted the leading Macedonians, upbraiding them because they had chosen as lord and master a man who was a foreigner, whose ancestors had always been subject to Macedonia, and were thrusting the friends and familiars of Alexander out of the country. After many had thus been won over, Pyrrhus took alarm and departed with his Epeirots and allied forces, thus losing Macedonia precisely as he got it.[2] Whence we see that kings have no reason to find fault with popular bodies for changing sides as suits their interests; for in doing this they are but imitating the kings themselves, who are their teachers in unfaithfulness and treachery, and think him most advantaged who least observes justice.

XIII. At this time, then, when Pyrrhus had been driven back into Epeirus and had given up Macedonia, Fortune put it into his power to enjoy what he had without molestation, to live in peace, and to

[1] At the battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C. Cf. the *Demetrius*, chapter xliv. [2] Cf. chapter xi.

ζῆν ἐν εἰρήνῃ βασιλεύοντα τῶν οἰκείων· ὁ δὲ τὸ μὴ παρέχειν ἑτέροις κακὰ μηδὲ ἔχειν ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἄλυν τινὰ ναυτιώδη νομίζων, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν σχολήν,

ἀλλὰ φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ
αὖθι μένων, ποθέεσκε δ' ἀϋτήν τε πτόλεμόν τε.

δεόμενος δ' οὖν ἔλαβε πραγμάτων καινῶν τοιαύ-
2 την ὑπόθεσιν. Ῥωμαῖοι Ταραντίνοις ἐπολέμουν· οἱ δὲ μήτε φέρειν τὸν πόλεμον δυνάμενοι μήτε θέσθαι θρασύτητι καὶ μοχθηρίᾳ δημαγωγῶν, ἐβουλεύοντο ποιεῖσθαι Πύρρον ἡγεμόνα καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς σχολὴν ἄγοντα πλείστην τῶν βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγὸν ὄντα δεινότατον. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων πολιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄντικρυς ἐνιστάμενοι πρὸς τὴν γνώμην ἐξέπιπτον ὑπὸ κραυγῆς καὶ βίας τῶν πολεμοποιῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες
3 ἀπέλειπον τὰς ἐκκλησίας. εἷς δέ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικής, Μέτων ὄνομα, τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ᾗ τὸ δόγμα κυροῦν ἔμελλον ἐνστάσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου καθεζομένου, λαβὼν στέφανον τῶν ἑώλων καὶ λαμπάδιον, ὥσπερ οἱ μεθύοντες, αὐλητρίδος ὑφηγουμένης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκώμαζεν. οἷα δὲ ἐν ὄχλῳ δημοκρατίας κόσμον οὐκ ἐχούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκρότουν ἰδόντες, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλων, ἐκώλυε δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γύναιον αὐλεῖν κἀκεῖνον ᾄδειν ἐκέλευον εἰς μέσον[1] προελθόντα·[2] καὶ τοῦτο
4 ποιήσων ἐπίδοξος ἦν. γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς

[1] *εἰς μέσον* with Blass and most MSS: *μέσον*.
[2] *προελθόντα* Blass, after Reiske: *προσελθόντα*.

reign over his own people. But he thought it tedious to the point of nausea if he were not inflicting mischief on others or suffering it at others' hands, and like Achilles could not endure idleness,

> "but ate his heart away
> Remaining there, and pined for war-cry and battle."[1]

Filled with such desires, then, he found ground for fresh undertakings in the following circumstances. The Romans were at war with the people of Tarentum, who, being able neither to carry on the war, nor yet, owing to the rashness and villainy of their popular leaders, to put an end to it, wished to make Pyrrhus their leader and summon him to the war, believing him to be most at leisure of all the kings, and a most formidable general. Of the elderly and sensible citizens, some who were directly opposed to this plan were overborne by the clamour and violence of the war party, and others, seeing this, absented themselves from the assembly. But there was a certain worthy man, Meton by name, who, when the day on which the decree was to be ratified was at hand and the people were taking their seats in the assembly, took a withered garland and a torch, after the way of revellers, and came dancing in behind a flute-girl who led the way for him. Then, as will happen in a throng of free people not given to decorum, some clapped their hands at sight of him, and others laughed, but none tried to stop him; nay, they bade the woman play on her flute and called upon Meton to come forward and give them a song; and it was expected that he would do so. But when silence had been made,

[1] *Iliad*, i. 491 f.

"Ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "Ταραντῖνοι, καλῶς ποιεῖτε
παίζειν καὶ κωμάζειν, ἕως ἔξεστι, τοῖς βουλο-
μένοις μὴ φθονοῦντες. ἐὰν δὲ σωφρονῆτε, καὶ
πάντες ἀπολαύσετε ἔτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὡς ἕτερα
πράγματα καὶ βίον καὶ δίαιταν ἕξοντες ὅταν
Πύρρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγένηται." ταῦτα
ῥηθέντα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔπεισε τῶν Ταραντίνων,
καὶ θροῦς διέδραμε τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς εὖ λεγο-
5 μένων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δεδιότες, μὴ γενο-
μένης εἰρήνης ἐκδοθῶσι, τόν τε δῆμον ἐλοιδόρουν
εἰ φέρει πρᾴως ἐπικωμαζόμενος οὕτως ἀσελγῶς
καὶ παροινούμενος, τόν τε Μέτωνα συστραφέντες
ἐξέβαλον.

Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ δόγματος κυρίου γενομένου πρέ-
σβεις ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἤπειρον, οὐχ αὑτῶν μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν, δῶρα τῷ Πύρρῳ
κομίζοντας καὶ λέγοντας ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἔμφρονος 391
6 δέονται καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντος, δυνάμεις δὲ αὐτόθεν
ὑπάρξουσι μεγάλαι παρά τε Λευκανῶν καὶ
Μεσσαπίων καὶ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Ταραντίνων εἰς
δισμυρίους ἱππεῖς, πεζῶν δὲ ὁμοῦ πέντε καὶ
τριάκοντα μυριάδας. ταῦτα οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν
ἐπῆρε τὸν Πύρρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις
προθυμίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ὁρμὴν τῆς στρατείας.

XIV. Ἦν δέ τις Κινέας, Θεσσαλὸς ἀνήρ, τῷ μὲν φρονεῖν δοκῶν ἱκανὸς εἶναι, Δημοσθένους δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀκηκοὼς ἐδόκει μόνος εὖ μάλιστα[1] τῶν τότε λεγόντων οἷον ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως καὶ δεινότητος ἀναμιμνήσκειν τοὺς

[1] *μόνος εὖ μάλιστα* Sintenis, with Sg; Bekker corrects *εὖ* to *ἢ* (*alone or most*), after Bryan and Reiske, and is followed by Blass; AC have *μάλιστα εὖ μόνος*.

he said: "Men of Tarentum, ye do well not to frown upon those who wish to sport and revel, while they can. And if ye are wise, ye will all also get some enjoyment still out of your freedom, assured that ye will have other business and a different life and diet when Pyrrhus has come into the city." These words brought conviction to most of the Tarentines, and a murmur of applause ran through the assembly. But those who were afraid that if peace were made they would be given up to the Romans, reviled the people for tamely submitting to such shameless treatment from a drunken reveller, and banding together they cast Meton out.[1]

And so the decree was ratified, and the people sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus,[2] not only from their own number, but also from the Italian Greeks. These brought gifts to Pyrrhus, and told him they wanted a leader of reputation and prudence, and that he would find there large forces gathered from Lucania, Messapia, Samnium, and Tarentum, amounting to twenty thousand horse and three hundred and fifty thousand foot all told. This not only exalted Pyrrhus himself, but also inspired the Epeirots with eagerness to undertake the expedition.

XIV. Now, there was a certain Cineas, a man of Thessaly, with a reputation for great wisdom, who had been a pupil of Demosthenes the orator, and was quite the only public speaker of his day who was thought to remind his hearers, as a statue might, of that great orator's power and ability. Associating

[1] Cf. Dionysius Hal., *Excerpta ex lib. xix.*, 8.
[2] In the summer of 281 B.C.

ἀκούοντας. συνὼν δὲ τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ πεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐβεβαίου τὸ Εὐριπίδειον,[1] ὅτι "πᾶν ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος

ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν."

2 ὁ γοῦν Πύρρος ἔλεγε πλείονας πόλεις ὑπὸ Κινέου τοῖς λόγοις ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσῆχθαι· καὶ διετέλει τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ χρώμενος. οὗτος οὖν τὸν Πύρρον ὡρμημένον τότε ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰς λόγους ἐπηγάγετο τοιούτους, ἰδὼν σχολάζοντα. "Πολεμισταὶ μέν, ὦ Πύρρε, Ῥωμαῖοι λέγονται καὶ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν μαχίμων ἄρχοντες· εἰ δὲ δοίη θεὸς περιγενέσθαι
3 τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τί χρησόμεθα τῇ νίκῃ;" καὶ ὁ Πύρρος, "Ἐρωτᾷς," εἶπεν, "ὦ Κινέα, πρᾶγμα φαινόμενον· οὔτε βάρβαρος ἡμῖν ἐκεῖ πόλις οὔτε Ἑλληνὶς ἀξιόμαχος Ῥωμαίων κρατηθέντων, ἀλλ' ἕξομεν εὐθὺς Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν, ἧς μέγεθος καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλῳ πού τινι μᾶλλον ἀγνοεῖν ἢ σοὶ προσήκει." μικρὸν οὖν ἐπισχὼν ὁ Κινέας, "Ἰταλίαν δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, λαβόντες, τί
4 ποιήσομεν;" καὶ ὁ Πύρρος οὔπω τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καθορῶν, "Ἐγγύς," εἶπεν, "ἡ Σικελία χεῖρας ὀρέγει, νῆσος εὐδαίμων καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἁλῶναι δὲ ῥᾴστη· στάσις γάρ, ὦ Κινέα, πάντα νῦν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀναρχία πόλεων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ὀξύτης Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐκλελοιπότος." "Εἰκότα," ἔφη, "λέγεις," ὁ Κινέας· "ἀλλ' ἦ τοῦτο πέρας
5 ἡμῖν τῆς στρατείας, λαβεῖν Σικελίαν;" "Θεός,"

[1] πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος
ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν.
(*Phoenissae*, 517 f., Kirchhoff.)

himself with Pyrrhus, and sent by him as ambassador to the cities, he confirmed the saying of Euripides, to wit, "all can be won by eloquence

That even the sword of warring enemies might gain."

At any rate, Pyrrhus used to say that more cities had been won for him by the eloquence of Cineas than by his own arms; and he continued to hold Cineas in especial honour and to demand his services. It was this Cineas, then, who, seeing that Pyrrhus was eagerly preparing an expedition at this time to Italy, and finding him at leisure for the moment, drew him into the following discourse. "The Romans, O Pyrrhus, are said to be good fighters, and to be rulers of many warlike nations; if, then, Heaven should permit us to conquer these men, how should we use our victory?" And Pyrrhus said: "Thy question, O Cineas, really needs no answer; the Romans once conquered, there is neither barbarian nor Greek city there which is a match for us, but we shall at once possess all Italy, the great size and richness and importance of which no man should know better than thyself." After a little pause, then, Cineas said: "And after taking Italy, O King, what are we to do?" And Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his intention, replied: "Sicily is near, and holds out her hands to us, an island abounding in wealth and men, and very easy to capture, for all is faction there, her cities have no government, and demagogues are rampant now that Agathocles is gone." "What thou sayest," replied Cineas, "is probably true; but will our expedition stop with the taking of Sicily?" "Heaven grant us," said Pyrrhus,

ἔφη ὁ Πύρρος, "νικᾶν διδῴη καὶ κατορθοῦν· τούτοις δὲ προάγωσι χρησόμεθα πραγμάτων μεγάλων. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀπόσχοιτο Λιβύης καὶ Καρχηδόνος ἐν ἐφικτῷ γενομένης, ἣν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἀποδρὰς ἐκ Συρακουσῶν κρύφα καὶ περάσας ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις λαβεῖν παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθεν; ὅτι δὲ τουτων κρατήσασιν ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς ἀντιστήσεται τῶν νῦν ὑβριζόντων πολεμίων, τί ἂν λέγοι τις;"

6 "Οὐδέν," ὁ Κινέας εἶπε· "δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν ὑπάρξει βεβαίως ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως. γενομένων δὲ πάντων ὑφ' ἡμῖν, τί ποιήσομεν;" καὶ ὁ Πύρρος ἐπιγελάσας, "Σχολήν," ἔφη, "ἄξομεν πολλήν, καὶ κώθων, ὦ μακάριε, καθημερινὸς ἔσται, καὶ διὰ λόγων συνόντες ἀλλήλους
7 εὐφρανοῦμεν." ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν λόγων καταστήσας τὸν Πύρρον ὁ Κινέας, "Εἶτα," ἔφη, "τί νῦν ἐμποδών ἐστιν ἡμῖν βουλομένοις κώθωνι χρῆσθαι καὶ σχολάζειν μετ' ἀλλήλων, εἰ ταῦτα ἔχομεν ἤδη καὶ πάρεστιν ἀπραγμόνως ἐφ' ἃ δι' αἵματος καὶ πόνων μεγάλων καὶ κινδύνων μέλλομεν ἀφίξεσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ δράσαντες ἑτέρους κακὰ καὶ παθόντες;"

8 Τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἠνίασε μᾶλλον ἢ μετέθηκε τὸν Πύρρον ὁ Κινέας, νοήσαντα μὲν ὅσην ἀπέλειπεν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὧν δὲ ὠρέγετο τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενον.

XV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπέστειλε τὸν Κινέαν τοῖς Ταραντίνοις στρατιώτας ἄγοντα τρισχιλίους·

"victory and success so far; and we will make these contests but the preliminaries of great enterprises. For who could keep his hands off Libya, or Carthage, when that city got within his reach, a city which Agathocles, slipping stealthily out of Syracuse and crossing the sea with a few ships, narrowly missed taking? And when we have become masters here, no one of the enemies who now treat us with scorn will offer further resistance; there is no need of saying that." "None whatever," said Cineas, "for it is plain that with so great a power we shall be able to recover Macedonia and rule Greece securely. But when we have got everything subject to us, what are we going to do?" Then Pyrrhus smiled upon him and said: "We shall be much at ease, and we'll drink bumpers, my good man, every day, and we'll gladden one another's hearts with confidential talks." And now that Cineas had brought Pyrrhus to this point in the argument, he said: "Then what stands in our way now if we want to drink bumpers and while away the time with one another? Surely this privilege is ours already, and we have at hand, without taking any trouble, those things to which we hope to attain by bloodshed and great toils and perils, after doing much harm to others and suffering much ourselves."

By this reasoning of Cineas Pyrrhus was more troubled than he was converted; he saw plainly what great happiness he was leaving behind him, but was unable to renounce his hopes of what he eagerly desired.

XV. First, then, he sent Cineas to Tarentum with three thousand soldiers; next, after numerous

ἔπειτα πολλῶν ἱππηγῶν καὶ καταφράκτων καὶ πορθμείων παντοδαπῶν ἐκ Τάραντος κομισθέντων ἐνεβίβαζεν ἐλέφαντας εἴκοσι καὶ τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς, πεζοὺς δὲ δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους 392
τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας πεντακοσίους. γενομένων δὲ πάντων ἑτοίμων ἀναχθεὶς ἔπλει· καὶ μέσον ἔχων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἁρπάζεται βορέᾳ ἀνέμῳ
2 παρ' ὥραν ἐκραγέντι. καὶ βιασθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀρετῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ ναυτῶν καὶ κυβερνητῶν ἐξανέφερε καὶ προσανῆγε τῇ γῇ πολυπόνως καὶ παραβόλως, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου στόλου συγχυθέντος καὶ τῶν νεῶν σκεδασθεισῶν αἱ μὲν ἀποσφαλεῖσαι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος, τὰς δὲ ὑπερβαλεῖν μὴ δυνηθείσας ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν νύξ τε κατελάμβανε, καὶ πολλὴ καὶ χαλεπὴ θάλασσα παίουσα πρὸς χωρία δύσορμα καὶ τυφλὰ πάσας διέφθειρε πλὴν
3 τῆς βασιλικῆς. αὕτη δὲ πλαγίου[1] μὲν ἔτι ὄντος τοῦ κύματος ἠμύνετο καὶ διέφευγε μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς θαλάσσης· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιελθὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀπήντα τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κίνδυνον εἶχεν ἡ ναῦς ἀντίπρῳρος ἱσταμένη πρὸς κλύδωνα πολὺν διαρραγῆναι, τὸ δὲ ἐφέντας αὖθις ἠγριωμένῳ πελάγει καὶ πνεύματι τροπὰς λαμβάνοντι παντοδαπὰς φέρεσθαι φοβερώτερον ἐφαίνετο τῶν παρόντων κακῶν, ἄρας ὁ Πύρρος αὐτὸν
4 ἀφῆκεν εἰς θάλασσαν, καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων εὐθὺς ἦν ἅμιλλα καὶ προθυμία περὶ αὐτόν. ἡ δὲ νὺξ καὶ τὸ κῦμα μετὰ ψόφου μεγάλου καὶ τραχείας ἀνακοπῆς χαλεπὴν ἐποίει τὴν βοήθειαν, ὥστε μόλις ἡμέρας ἤδη

[1] πλαγίου with Sintenis[1], Blass, and the MSS.: πελαγίου.

cavalry-transports, decked vessels, and passage-boats of every sort had been brought over from Tarentum, he put on board of them twenty elephants and three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers. When all was ready, he put out and set sail; but when he was half way across the Ionian sea he was swept away by a north wind that burst forth out of all season. In spite of its violence he himself, through the bravery and ardour of his seamen and captains, held out and made the land, though with great toil and danger; but the rest of the fleet was thrown into confusion and the ships were scattered. Some of them missed Italy and were driven off into the Libyan and Sicilian sea; others, unable to round the Iapygian promontory, were overtaken by night, and a heavy and violent sea, which drove them upon harbourless and uncertain shores, and destroyed them all except the royal galley. She, as long as the waves drove upon her side, held her own, and was saved by her great size and strength from the blows of the water; but soon the wind veered round and met her from the shore, and the ship was in danger of being crushed by the heavy surges if she stood prow on against them. However, to allow her again to be tossed about by an angry open sea and by blasts of wind that came from all directions, was thought to be more fearful than their present straits. Pyrrhus therefore sprang up and threw himself into the sea, and his friends and bodyguards were at once emulously eager to help him. But night and the billows with their heavy crashing and violent recoil made assistance difficult, so that it was not until day

μαραινομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τῷ μὲν σώματι παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντα, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνταίροντα
5 *πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἅμα δὲ οἵ τε* Μεσσάπιοι, *καθ' οὓς ἐξεβράσθη, συνέθεον βοηθοῦντες ἐκ τῶν παρόντων προθύμως, καὶ προσεφέροντο τῶν σωζομένων ἔνιαι νεῶν, ἐν αἷς ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν ὀλίγοι παντάπασι, πεζοὶ δὲ δισχιλίων ἐλάττους, ἐλέφαντες δὲ δύο.*

XVI. Τούτους *ἀναλαβὼν ὁ* Πύρρος *ἐβάδιζεν εἰς* Τάραντα. *καὶ τοῦ* Κινέου *προαγαγόντος εἰς ἀπάντησιν, ὡς ᾔσθετο, τοὺς στρατιώτας, παρελθὼν οὐδὲν ἀκόντων οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν ἔπραττε τῶν* Ταραντίνων, *ἕως ἀνεσώθησαν αἱ νῆες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνῆλθεν ἡ πλείστη τῆς δυνάμεως.*
2 *τηνικαῦτα δὲ ὁρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἄνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης μήτε σώζεσθαι δυνάμενον μήτε σώζειν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐκείνου προπολεμοῦντος οἴκοι καθῆσθαι περὶ λουτρὰ καὶ συνουσίας γενόμενον, ἀπέκλεισε μὲν τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τοὺς περιπάτους, ἐν οἷς ἀλύοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων λόγῳ διεστρατήγουν, πότους δὲ καὶ κώμους καὶ θαλίας ἀκαίρους ἀνεῖλεν, ἐκάλει δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ περὶ τοὺς καταλόγους τῶν στρατευομένων ἀπαραίτητος ἦν καὶ λυπηρός, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθεῖν ἀηθείᾳ τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι δουλείαν τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζῆν καλοῦντας.*

3 Ἐπεὶ *δὲ* Λαιβῖνος *ὁ τῶν* Ῥωμαίων *ὕπατος ἠγγέλλετο πολλῇ στρατιᾷ χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἅμα*

had already come and the wind was dying away that he succeeded in gaining the shore, in body altogether powerless, but with boldness and strength of spirit still making head against his distress. The Messapians, among whom he had been cast forth, ran together with eager offers to assist as well as they could, and at the same time some of his ships that had escaped the storm came up; in these there were but a few horsemen all told, less than two thousand footmen, and two elephants.

XVI. With these Pyrrhus set out for Tarentum, where Cineas, on learning of his approach, led out his soldiers to meet him. Entering the city, he did nothing that was against the wishes of the Tarentines, nor did he put any compulsion upon them, until his ships came back in safety from the sea and the greater part of his forces were assembled. Then, however, seeing that the multitude were incapable, unless under strong constraint, of either saving themselves or saving others, but were inclined to let him do their fighting for them while they remained at home in the enjoyment of their baths and social festivities, he closed up the gymnasia and the public walks, where, as they strolled about, they fought out their country's battles in talk; he also put a stop to drinking-bouts, revels, and festivals, as unseasonable, called the men to arms, and was stern and inexorable in his enrolment of them for military service. Many therefore left the city, since they were not accustomed to being under orders, and called it servitude not to live as they pleased.

And now word was brought to Pyrrhus that Laevinus the Roman consul was coming against him

τὴν Λευκανίαν διαπορθῶν, οὐδέπω μὲν οἱ σύμ-
μαχοι παρῆσαν αὐτῷ, δεινὸν δὲ ποιούμενος
ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ περιϊδεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγυ-
τέρω προϊόντας ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, προ-
πέμψας κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰ φίλον
ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς πρὸ πολέμου δίκας λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν
Ἰταλιωτῶν, αὐτῷ δικαστῇ καὶ διαλλακτῇ χρησα-
4 μένους. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Λαιβίνου μήτε
διαλλακτὴν Πύρρον αἱρεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους μήτε
δεδοικέναι πολέμιον, προελθὼν κατεστρατο-
πέδευσεν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ πεδίῳ Πανδοσίας πόλεως
καὶ Ἡρακλείας. πυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
ἐγγὺς εἶναι καὶ πέραν τοῦ Σίριος ποταμοῦ κατα-
στρατοπεδεύειν, προσίππευσε τῷ ποταμῷ θέας
ἕνεκα· καὶ κατιδὼν τάξιν τε καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ 393
κόσμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς στρατοπεδείας
5 ἐθαύμασε, καὶ τῶν φίλων προσαγορεύσας τὸν
ἐγγυτάτω, "Τάξις μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Μεγάκλεις,
αὕτη τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ βάρβαρος, τὸ δὲ ἔργον
εἰσόμεθα." καὶ διὰ φροντίδος ἔχων ἤδη τὸ
μέλλον ἔγνω τοὺς συμμάχους ἀναμένειν, τοῖς δὲ
Ῥωμαίοις, ἂν πρότερον ἐπιχειρῶσι διαβαίνειν,
ἐπέστησε φυλακὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν
6 εἴρξουσαν. οἱ δέ, ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος ἔγνω περιμένειν,
φθῆναι σπεύδοντες, ἐνεχείρουν τῇ διαβάσει, κατὰ
πόρον μὲν οἱ πεζοί, πολλαχόθεν δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς
διεξελαύνοντες τὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε δείσαντας τὴν
κύκλωσιν ἀναχωρεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, αἰσθόμενον
δὲ τὸν Πύρρον καὶ διαταραχθέντα τοῖς μὲν
ἡγεμόσι τοῦ πεζοῦ παρεγγυᾶν εὐθὺς εἰς τάξιν
καθίστασθαι καὶ περιμένειν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, αὐτὸν

with a large army and plundering Lucania as he came. Pyrrhus had not yet been joined by his allies, but thinking it an intolerable thing to hold back and suffer his enemies to advance any nearer, he took the field with his forces, having first sent a herald to the Romans with the enquiry whether it was their pleasure, before waging war, to receive satisfaction from the Italian Greeks, employing him as arbiter and mediator. But Laevinus made answer that the Romans neither chose Pyrrhus as a mediator nor feared him as a foe. Pyrrhus therefore went forward and pitched his camp in the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heracleia. When he learned that the Romans were near and lay encamped on the further side of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to get a view of them; and when he had observed their discipline, the appointment of their watches, their order, and the general arrangement of their camp, he was amazed, and said to the friend who was nearest him: "The discipline of these Barbarians is not barbarous; but the result will show us what it amounts to." He was now less confident of the issue, and determined to wait for his allies; but he stationed a guard on the bank of the river to check the Romans if, in the meantime, they should attempt to cross it. The Romans, however, anxious to anticipate the coming of the forces which Pyrrhus had decided to await, attempted the passage, their infantry crossing the river by a ford, and their cavalry dashing through the water at many points, so that the Greeks on guard, fearing that they would be surrounded, withdrew. When Pyrrhus saw this, he was greatly disturbed, and charging his infantry officers to form in line of battle at once and stand

δὲ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι παρεξελάσαι τρισχιλίοις οὖσιν, ἐλπίζοντα διαβαίνοντας ἔτι καὶ διεσπασμένους
7 *ἀτάκτους λήψεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα θυρεούς τε πολλοὺς ὑπερφαινομένους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπελαύνοντας ἐν τάξει, συστρέψας ἐνέβαλε πρῶτος, αὐτόθεν τε περίοπτος ὢν ὅπλων κάλλει καὶ λαμπρότητι κεκοσμημένων περιττῶς, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔργοις οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν αὑτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς· μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρέχων τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν ἀμυνόμενος ἐρρωμένως οὐ συνεχεῖτο*
8 *τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδὲ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἐξέπιπτεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν ἐφορῶν διεκυβέρνα τὸν πόλεμον, αὐτὸς μεταθέων ἑκασταχόσε καὶ παραβοηθῶν τοῖς ἐκβιάζεσθαι δοκοῦσιν.*

Ἔνθα δὴ Λεοννάτος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἄνδρα κατιδὼν Ἰταλὸν ἐπέχοντα τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀντιπαρεξάγοντα καὶ συμμεθιστάμενον ἀεὶ καὶ συγκινούμενον, "Ὁρᾷς," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν βάρβαρον ἐκεῖνον, ὃν ὁ μέλας ἵππος ὁ λευκόπους φέρει; μέγα τι βουλευομένῳ καὶ δεινὸν ὅμοιός
9 *ἐστι. σοὶ γὰρ ἐνορᾷ καὶ πρὸς σὲ τέταται πνεύματος μεστὸς ὢν καὶ θυμοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐᾷ χαίρειν. ἀλλὰ σὺ φυλάττου τὸν ἄνδρα." καὶ ὁ Πύρρος ἀπεκρίνατο, "Τὸ μὲν εἱμαρμένον, ὦ Λεοννάτε, διαφυγεῖν ἀδύνατον· χαίρων δὲ οὔτε οὗτος οὔτ' ἄλλος τις Ἰταλῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἡμῖν σύνεισιν." ἔτι ταῦτα προσδιαλεγομένων ὁ Ἰταλὸς διαλαβὼν τὸ δόρυ καὶ συστρέψας τὸν*

under arms, he himself rode out with his three thousand horsemen, hoping to come upon the Romans while they were still crossing, and to find them scattered and in disorder. But when he saw a multitude of shields gleaming on the bank of the river and the cavalry advancing upon him in good order, he formed his men in close array and led them to the attack. He was conspicuous at once for the beauty and splendour of his richly ornamented armour, and showed by his deeds that his valour did not belie his fame; and this most of all because, while actively participating in the fight and vigorously repelling his assailants, he did not become confused in his calculations nor lose his presence of mind, but directed the battle as if he were surveying it from a distance, darting hither and thither himself and bringing aid to those whom he thought to be overwhelmed.

Here Leonnatus the Macedonian, observing that an Italian was intent upon Pyrrhus, and was riding out against him and following him in every movement from place to place, said: "Seest thou, O King, that Barbarian yonder, riding the black horse with white feet? He looks like a man who has some great and terrible design in mind. For he keeps his eyes fixed upon thee, and is intent to reach thee with all his might and main, and pays no heed to anybody else. So be on thy guard against the man." To him Pyrrhus made reply: "What is fated, O Leonnatus, it is impossible to escape; but with impunity neither he nor any other Italian shall come to close quarters with me." While they were still conversing thus, the Italian levelled his spear, wheeled his horse, and

10 ἵππον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον. εἶτα ἅμα παίει
μὲν αὐτὸς τῷ δόρατι τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἵππον,
παίει δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου παραβαλὼν ὁ Λεοννάτος.
ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ἵππων πεσόντων τὸν μὲν
Πύρρον οἱ φίλοι περισχόντες ἀνήρπασαν, τὸν δὲ
Ἰταλὸν μαχόμενον διέφθειραν. ἦν δὲ τῷ γένει
Φρεντανός, ἴλης ἡγεμών, Ὄπλακος ὄνομα.

XVII. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐδίδαξε τὸν Πύρρον μᾶλλον
φυλάττεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὁρῶν ἐνδιδόντας
μετεπέμπετο τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ παρέταττεν, αὐ-
τὸς δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοὺς ἑνὶ
τῶν ἑταίρων Μεγακλεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ἐκείνου τρόπον
τινὰ κατακρύψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπῆγε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.
δεξαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ συμβαλόντων χρόνον
τε πολὺν εἱστήκει τὰ τῆς μάχης ἄκριτα, καὶ
τροπὰς ἑπτὰ λέγεται φευγόντων ἀνάπαλιν καὶ
2 διωκόντων γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ διάμειψις τῶν
ὅπλων ἐν καιρῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ γεγονυῖα
τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἀνατρέψαι τὰ
πράγματα καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν νίκην. πολλῶν
γὰρ ἐφιεμένων τοῦ Μεγακλέους, ὁ πρῶτος πατά-
ξας καὶ καταβαλὼν αὐτόν, ὄνομα Δεξόος, ἀφαρ-
πάσας τὸ κράνος καὶ τὴν χλαμύδα τῷ Λαιβίνῳ
προσίππευσεν ἀναδεικνύων ἅμα καὶ βοῶν ἀνῃρη-
3 κέναι τὸν Πύρρον. ἦν οὖν παρὰ τὰς τάξεις τῶν
λαφύρων παραφερομένων καὶ ἀναδεικνυμένων
τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις χαρὰ μετ᾽ ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν ἀθυμία καὶ κατάπληξις, ἄχρι οὗ μαθὼν
ὁ Πύρρος τὸ γινόμενον παρήλαυνε γυμνῷ τῷ 394
προσώπῳ τήν τε δεξιὰν ὀρέγων τοῖς μαχομένοις
καὶ τῇ φωνῇ σημαίνων ἑαυτόν. τέλος δὲ τῶν

charged upon Pyrrhus. Then at the same instant the Barbarian's spear smote the king's horse, and his own horse was smitten by the spear of Leonnatus. Both horses fell, but while Pyrrhus was seized and rescued by his friends, the Italian, fighting to the last, was killed. He was a Frentanian by race, captain of a troop of horse, Oplax by name.[1]

XVII. This taught Pyrrhus to be more on his guard; and seeing that his cavalry were giving way, he called up his phalanx and put it in array, while he himself, after giving his cloak and armour to one of his companions, Megacles, and hiding himself after a fashion behind his men, charged with them upon the Romans. But they received and engaged him, and for a long time the issue of the battle remained undecided; it is said that there were seven turns of fortune, as each side either fled back or pursued. And indeed the exchange of armour which the king had made, although it was opportune for the safety of his person, came near overthrowing his cause and losing him the victory. For many of the enemy assailed Megacles, and the foremost of them, Dexoüs by name, smote him and laid him low, and then, snatching away his helmet and cloak, rode up to Laevinus, displaying them, and shouting as he did so that he had killed Pyrrhus. Accordingly, as the spoils were carried along the ranks and displayed, there was joy and shouting among the Romans, and among the Greeks consternation and dejection, until Pyrrhus, learning what was the matter, rode along his line with his face bare, stretching out his hand to the combatants and giving them to know him by his voice. At last, when the Romans were more than

[1] Cf. Dionysius Hal., *Excerpta ex lib. xix.*, 12.

θηρίων ἐκβιαζομένων μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τῶν ἵππων, πρὶν ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι, δυσανασχετούντων καὶ παραφερόντων τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν Θετταλικὴν ἵππον αὐτοῖς ταρασσομένοις ἐτρέψατο πολλῷ φόνῳ.

4 Διονύσιος μὲν οὖν ὀλίγῳ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάσσονας πεσεῖν ἱστορεῖ Ῥωμαίων, Ἱερώνυμος δὲ μόνους ἑπτακισχιλίους, τῶν δὲ περὶ Πύρρον ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος ἐλάττονας τῶν τετρακισχιλίων· κράτιστοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι· καὶ τῶν φίλων ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἷς μάλιστα χρώ-
5 μενος διετέλει καὶ πιστεύων ἀπέβαλεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλαβε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκλιπόντων, καὶ πόλεις συμμαχίδας αὐτῶν προσηγάγετο, καὶ χώραν πολλὴν διεπόρθησε, καὶ προῆλθεν ὅσον μὴ πλέον σταδίων τριακοσίων ἀποσχεῖν τῆς Ῥώμης. ἀφίκοντο δὲ αὐτῷ Λευκανῶν τε πολλοὶ καὶ Σαυνιτῶν μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οὓς ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὑστερήσαντας, ἦν δὲ δῆλος ἡδόμενος καὶ μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι μόνοις τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ταραντίνοις ἐκράτησε τῆς μεγάλης Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως.

XVIII. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Λαιβῖνον μὲν οὐκ ἀπήλλαξαν τῆς ἀρχῆς. καίτοι λέγεται Γάϊον Φαβρίκιον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ Ἠπειρῶται Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ Πύρρος νενικήκοι Λαιβῖνον, οἰόμενον οὐ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς στρατηγίας γεγονέναι τὴν ἧτταν· ἀναπληροῦντες δὲ τὰς τάξεις καὶ συντάττοντες ἑτέρας προθύμως, καὶ λόγους ἀδεεῖς καὶ σοβαροὺς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου λέγοντες, ἔκπληξιν τῷ Πύρρῳ
2 παρεῖχον. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πέμψαντι πρότερον

ever crowded back by the elephants, and their horses, before they got near the animals, were terrified and ran away with their riders, Pyrrhus brought his Thessalian cavalry upon them while they were in confusion and routed them with great slaughter.

Dionysius states that nearly fifteen thousand of the Romans fell, but Hieronymus says only seven thousand; on the side of Pyrrhus, thirteen thousand fell, according to Dionysius, but according to Hieronymus less than four thousand. These, however, were his best troops; and besides, Pyrrhus lost the friends and generals whom he always used and trusted most. However, he took the camp of the Romans after they had abandoned it, and won over to his side some of their allied cities; he also wasted much territory, and advanced until he was within three hundred furlongs' distance from Rome. And now, after the battle, there came to him many of the Lucanians and Samnites. These he censured for being late, but it was clear that he was pleased and proud because with his own troops and the Tarantines alone he had conquered the great force of the Romans.

XVIII. The Romans did not depose Laevinus from his consular office; and yet we are told that Caius Fabricius declared that it was not the Epeirots who had conquered the Romans, but Pyrrhus who had conquered Laevinus, Fabricius being of the opinion that the Roman defeat was not due to their army, but to its general; but they lost no time in filling up their depleted legions and raising others, used fearless and vehement language about the war, and thus filled Pyrrhus with consternation. He decided, therefore, to send to them first and find out whether they were

διάπειραν λαβεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰ συμβατικῶς ἔχοιεν, ἡγουμένῳ τὸ μὲν ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κρατῆσαι παντάπασιν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον οὐδὲ τῆς παρούσης δυνάμεως εἶναι, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις κάλλιστα ἔχειν πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῷ μετὰ νίκην. πεμφθεὶς οὖν ὁ Κινέας ἐνετύγχανε τοῖς δυνατοῖς, καὶ δῶρα παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ γυναιξὶν
3 ἔπεμψε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔλαβε δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίναντο πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι ὅτι δημοσίᾳ σπονδῶν γενομένων καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρξει πρόθυμα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ κεχαρισμένα. πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ Κινέου πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθέντος, ἄσμενοι μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἑτοίμως ἐδέχοντο, καίπερ ἄνδρας τε τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ δίχα λύτρων ἀφιέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ συγκατεργάσασθαι τὴν
4 Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγγελλομένου, φιλίαν δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἄδειαν, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν αἰτουμένου. δῆλοί γε μὴν ἦσαν ἐνδιδόντες οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην, ἡττημένοι τε μεγάλῃ μάχῃ καὶ προσδοκῶντες ἑτέραν ἀπὸ μείζονος δυνάμεως, τῶν Ἰταλικῶν τῷ Πύρρῳ προσγεγονό-
5 των. ἔνθα δὴ Κλαύδιος Ἄππιος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, ὑπὸ δὲ γήρως ἅμα καὶ πηρώσεως ὀμμάτων ἀπειρηκὼς πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ πεπαυμένος, ἀπαγγελλομένων τότε τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λόγου κατασχόντος ὡς μέλλει ψηφίζεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις ἡ σύγκλητος, οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεράποντας ἄρασθαι κελεύσας αὑτὸν ἐκομίζετο πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐν φορείῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς.
6 γενόμενον δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἅμα τοῖς γαμβροῖς ὑπολαβόντες καὶ περισχόντες

disposed to come to terms, for he regarded the capture of their city and their complete conquest as a large task and one that was beyond his present force, whereas a friendly settlement with them after a victory would greatly enhance his reputation. Accordingly, Cineas was sent to Rome, where he had conferences with the men in authority, and sent their wives and children gifts in the name of his king. No one, however, would accept the gifts, but all replied, men and women alike, that if a peace were publicly concluded they also, on their part, would show goodwill and kindness to the king. Moreover, though Cineas made many kind and alluring proposals to the senate, not one of them was received there with alacrity or pleasure, although Pyrrhus offered to restore without a ransom their men who had been captured in the battle, and promised to assist them in the subjugation of Italy, and in return for these favours asked only friendship for himself, immunity for the Tarentines, and nothing else. Nevertheless, most of the senators were plainly inclined towards peace, since they had been defeated in one great battle, and expected another with a larger army, now that the Italian Greeks had joined Pyrrhus. At this point Appius Claudius, a man of distinction, but one whom old age and blindness had forced to give up all public activities, now that the message from the king had come and a report was rife that the senate was going to vote for the proposed cessation of hostilities, could not restrain himself, but ordered his attendants to take him up and had himself carried on a litter through the forum to the senate-house. When he had reached the door, his sons and sons-in-law took him up in their arms and brought

εἰσῆγον, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ σιωπὴν αἰδουμένη τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ τιμῆς ἔσχεν.

XIX. Ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν καταστάς, "Πρότερον μέν," ἔφη, "τὴν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα τύχην ἀνιαρῶς ἔφερον, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, νῦν δὲ ἄχθομαι πρὸς τῷ τυφλὸς εἶναι μὴ καὶ κωφὸς ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀκούων αἰσχρὰ βουλεύματα καὶ δόγματα ὑμῶν ἀνατρέποντα τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ κλέος. ποῦ γὰρ ὑμῶν ὁ
πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους θρυλούμενος ἀεὶ λόγος, 395
ὡς, εἰ παρῆν ἐκεῖνος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὁ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ συνηνέχθη νέοις ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἀκμάζουσιν, οὐκ ἂν ὑμνεῖτο νῦν ἀνίκητος, ἀλλ' ἢ φυγὼν ἂν ἤ που πεσὼν ἐνταῦθα
2 τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνδοξοτέραν ἀπέλιπε; ταῦτα μέντοι κενὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ κόμπον ἀποδείκνυτε, Χάονας καὶ Μολοσσούς, τὴν ἀεὶ Μακεδόνων λείαν, δεδιότες, καὶ τρέμοντες Πύρρον, ὃς τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρων ἕνα γοῦν ἀεὶ περιέπων καὶ θεραπεύων διατετέλεκε, καὶ νῦν οὐ βοηθῶν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα μᾶλλον Ἕλλησιν ἢ φεύγων τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολεμίους πλανᾶται περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἡμῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως ἣ μέρος μικρὸν αὐτῷ Μακεδονίας οὐκ
3 ἤρκεσε διαφυλάξαι. μὴ τοῦτον οὖν ἀπαλλάξειν νομίζετε ποιησάμενοι φίλον, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνους ἐπάξεσθαι καταφρονήσαντας ὑμῶν ὡς πᾶσιν εὐκατεργάστων, εἰ Πύρρος ἄπεισι μὴ δοὺς δίκην ὧν

him inside, and the senators, out of regard for the man, kept respectful silence.

XIX. Then Appius raised himself up where he was and said: "Up to this time, O Romans, I have regarded the misfortune to my eyes as an affliction, but it now distresses me that I am not deaf as well as blind, that I might not hear the shameful resolutions and decrees of yours which bring low the glory of Rome. For what becomes of the words that ye are ever reiterating to all the world, namely, that if the great Alexander of renown had come to Italy and had come into conflict with us, when we were young men, and with our fathers, when they were in their prime, he would not now be celebrated as invincible, but would either have fled, or, perhaps, have fallen there, and so have left Rome more glorious still? Surely ye are proving that this was boasting and empty bluster, since ye are afraid of Chaonians and Molossians, who were ever the prey of the Macedonians, and ye tremble before Pyrrhus, who has ever been a minister and servitor to one at least of Alexander's bodyguards,[1] and now comes wandering over Italy, not so much to help the Greeks who dwell here, as to escape his enemies at home, promising to win for us the supremacy here with that army which could not avail to preserve for him a small portion of Macedonia. Do not suppose that ye will rid yourselves of this fellow by making him your friend; nay, ye will bring against you others, and they will despise you as men whom anybody can easily subdue, if Pyrrhus goes away without having been punished for his insults, but

[1] Referring sarcastically to his relations with Ptolemy and Demetrius.

ὕβρισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαβὼν μισθὸν τὸ[1] ἐπεγγελάσαι Ῥωμαίοις Ταραντίνους καὶ Σαυνίτας."

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀππίου διαλεχθέντος ὁρμὴ παρέστη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸν Κινέαν ἀποπέμπουσιν ἀποκρινάμενοι Πύρρον ἐξελθόντα
4 τῆς Ἰταλίας, οὕτως, εἰ δέοιτο, περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλέγεσθαι, μέχρι δὲ οὗ πάρεστιν ἐν ὅπλοις, πολεμήσειν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους κατὰ κράτος, κἂν μυρίους ἔτι Λαιβίνους τρέψηται μαχόμενος. λέγεται δὲ Κινέαν, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ἅμα ποιησάμενον ἔργον καὶ σπουδάσαντα τῶν τε βίων γενέσθαι θεατὴν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρετὴν
5 κατανοῆσαι, καὶ διὰ λόγων ἐλθόντα τοῖς ἀρίστοις τά τε ἄλλα τῷ Πύρρῳ φράσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτῷ βασιλέων πολλῶν συνέδριον φανείη, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους δεδιέναι, μὴ πρός τινα φανῶσι Λερναίαν ὕδραν μαχόμενοι· διπλασίους γὰρ ἤδη τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῶν παρατεταγμένων πρότερον ἠθροῖσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις εἶναι τοσούτους ἔτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα φέρειν δυναμένους.

XX. Ἐκ τούτου πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ περὶ Γάϊον Φαβρίκιον, οὗ πλεῖστον ἔφη Ῥωμαίους λόγον ἔχειν ὁ Κινέας ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολεμικοῦ, πένητος δὲ ἰσχυρῶς. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Πύρρος ἰδίᾳ φιλοφρονούμενος ἔπειθε λαβεῖν χρυσίον, ἐπ' οὐδενὶ δῆθεν αἰσχρῷ, φιλίας δέ τι καὶ ξενίας ἐπονομάζων τοῦτο σύμ-
2 βολον. ἀπωσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Φαβρικίου τότε μὲν

[1] τὸ with Blass: τοῦ.

actually rewarded for them in having enabled Tarantines and Samnites to mock at Romans."

After Appius had thus spoken, his hearers were seized with eagerness to prosecute the war, and Cineas was sent back with the reply that Pyrrhus must first depart out of Italy, and then, if he wished, the Romans would talk about friendship and alliance; but as long as he was there in arms, they would fight him with all their might, even though he should rout in battle ten thousand men like Laevinus. It is said, too, that Cineas, while he was on this mission, made it his earnest business at the same time to observe the life and manners of the Romans, and to understand the excellences of their form of government; he also conversed with their best men, and had many things to tell Pyrrhus, among which was the declaration that the senate impressed him as a council of many kings, and that, as for the people, he was afraid it might prove to be a Lernaean hydra for them to fight against, since the consul already had twice as many soldiers collected as those who faced their enemies before, and there were many times as many Romans still who were capable of bearing arms.

XX. After this, an embassy came from the Romans to treat about the prisoners that had been taken. The embassy was headed by Caius Fabricius, who, as Cineas reported, was held in highest esteem at Rome as an honourable man and good soldier, but was inordinately poor. To this man, then, Pyrrhus privately showed kindness and tried to induce him to accept gold, not for any base purpose, indeed, but calling it a mark of friendship and hospitality. But Fabricius rejected the gold, and for that day Pyrrhus

ἡσύχασε, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἐκπλῆξαι μήπω θεατὴν ἐλέφαντος γεγενημένον, ἐκέλευσε τῶν θηρίων τὸ μέγιστον ἐξόπισθεν αὐτοῖς παραστῆσαι κοινολογουμένοις, αὐλαίαν παρατείναντας. ἐγένετο δὴ ταῦτα· καὶ σημείου δοθέντος ἡ μὲν αὐλαία παρήχθη, τὸ δὲ θηρίον ἄφνω τήν τε προνομαίαν ἀράμενον ὑπερέσχε τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Φαβρικίου καὶ φωνὴν ἀφῆκε φοβερὰν
3 καὶ τραχεῖαν. ὁ δὲ ἠρέμα μεταστραφεὶς καὶ διαμειδιάσας πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον εἶπεν· "Οὔτε χθές με τὸ χρυσίον ἐκίνησεν οὔτε σήμερον τὸ θηρίον." ἐν δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ λόγων παντοδαπῶν γενομένων, πλείστων δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων, ἔτυχέ πως ὁ Κινέας ἐπιμνησθεὶς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου, καὶ διῆλθεν ἃ λέγουσι περὶ θεῶν καὶ πολιτείας καὶ τέλους, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἡδονῇ τιθέμενοι, πολιτείαν δὲ φεύγοντες ὡς βλάβην καὶ σύγχυσιν τοῦ μακαρίου, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀπωτάτω χάριτος καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ τοῦ μέλειν ἡμῶν εἰς ἀπράγμονα
4 βίον καὶ μεστὸν εὐπαθειῶν ἀποικίζοντες. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀνακραγὼν ὁ Φαβρίκιος, "Ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπε, "Πύρρῳ τὰ δόγματα μέλοι ταῦτα καὶ Σαυνίταις, ἕως πολεμοῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς."

Οὕτω δὴ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸ ἦθος ὁ Πύρρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠρέγετο φιλίαν ἀντὶ πολέμου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· 396
κἀκεῖνον ἰδίᾳ παρεκάλει ποιησάμενον τὰς διαλύσεις ἕπεσθαι καὶ συζῆν μετ' αὐτοῦ, πρῶτον ὄντα πάντων τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ ἡσυχῇ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, "Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ

let him alone; on the following day, however, wishing to frighten a man who had not yet seen an elephant, he ordered the largest of these animals to be stationed behind a hanging in front of which they stood conversing together. This was done; and at a given signal the hanging was drawn aside, and the animal suddenly raised his trunk, held it over the head of Fabricius, and emitted a harsh and frightful cry. But Fabricius calmly turned and said with a smile to Pyrrhus: "Your gold made no impression on me yesterday, neither does your beast to-day." Again, at supper, where all sorts of topics were discussed, and particularly that of Greece and her philosophers, Cineas happened somehow to mention Epicurus, and set forth the doctrines of that school concerning the gods, civil government, and the highest good, explaining that they made pleasure the highest good, but would have nothing to do with civil government on the ground that it was injurious and the ruin of felicity, and that they removed the Deity as far as possible from feelings of kindness or anger or concern for us, into a life that knew no care and was filled with ease and comfort. But before Cineas was done, Fabricius cried out and said: "O Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites cherish these doctrines, as long as they are at war with us."

Thus Pyrrhus was led to admire the high spirit and character of the man, and was all the more eager to have friendship with his city instead of waging war against it; he even privately invited him, in case he brought about the settlement, to follow his fortunes and share his life as the first and foremost of all his companions and generals. But Fabricius, as we are told, said quietly to him: "Nay, O King, this

σοὶ τοῦτο, βασιλεῦ, λυσιτελές ἐστιν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ νῦν σε τιμῶντες καὶ θαυμάζοντες, ἂν ἐμοῦ πεῖραν λάβωσιν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθελήσουσιν ἢ
5 σοῦ βασιλεύεσθαι." τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Φαβρίκιος. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος οὐ πρὸς ὀργὴν οὐδὲ τυραννικῶς ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἀπήγγειλε τοῦ Φαβρικίου τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ διεπίστευσεν, ὅπως, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσαιτο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ σύγκλητος, ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς προσήκοντας καὶ τὰ Κρόνια διεορτάσαντες ἀποπεμφθεῖεν πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν μετὰ τὴν ἑορτήν, τῷ ὑπολειφθέντι τῆς βουλῆς ζημίαν θάνατον ψηφισαμένης.

XXI. Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Φαβρικίου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος ἧκεν ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζων, ἣν ἔγραψεν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἰατρὸς ἐπαγγελλόμενος φαρμάκοις ἀναιρήσειν τὸν Πύρρον, εἰ χάρις αὐτῷ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁμολογηθείη λύσαντι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκινδύνως. ὁ δὲ Φαβρίκιος δυσχεράνας πρὸς τὴν ἀδικίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα διαθεὶς ὁμοίως, ἔπεμψε γράμματα πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον κατὰ τάχος
2 φυλάττεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κελεύων. εἶχε δὲ οὕτως τὰ γεγραμμένα· "Γάϊος Φαβρίκιος καὶ Κόϊντος Αἰμίλιος ὕπατοι Ῥωμαίων Πύρρῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. οὔτε φίλων εὐτυχὴς ἔοικας εἶναι κριτὴς οὔτε πολεμίων. γνώσῃ δὲ τὴν πεμφθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνούς, ὅτι χρηστοῖς

would not be to thy advantage; for the very men who now admire and honour thee, if they should become acquainted with me, would prefer to have me as their king rather than thee." Such a man was Fabricius. And Pyrrhus did not receive the speech with anger or like a tyrant, but actually reported to his friends the magnanimity of Fabricius, and entrusted his prisoners of war to him alone, on condition that, in case the senate should not vote for the peace, they should be sent back again to him, though they might first greet their relatives and celebrate the festival of Saturn. And they were so sent back after the festival, the senate having voted a penalty of death for any that stayed behind.

XXI. After this, and when Fabricius had assumed the consulship,[1] a man came into his camp with a letter for him. The letter had been written by the physician of Pyrrhus, who promised that he would take the king off by poison, provided that the Romans would agree to reward him for putting an end to the war without further hazard on their part. But Fabricius, who was indignant at the iniquity of the man, and had disposed his colleague to feel likewise, sent a letter to Pyrrhus with all speed urging him to be on his guard against the plot. The letter ran as follows: "Caius Fabricius and Quintus Aemilius, consuls of Rome, to King Pyrrhus, health and happiness. It would appear that thou art a good judge neither of friends nor of enemies. Thou wilt see, when thou hast read the letter which we send, that the men with whom thou art at war are

[1] The chronology of the story is at fault here. Fabricius and Aemilius were consuls in 278, the year after the battle at Asculum described in §§ 5 ff.

καὶ δικαίοις ἀνδράσι πολεμεῖς, ἀδίκοις δὲ καὶ
3 κακοῖς πιστεύεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα σῇ χάριτι
μηνύομεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ τὸ σὸν πάθος ἡμῖν
διαβολὴν ἐνέγκῃ καὶ δόλῳ δόξωμεν, ὡς ἀρετῇ μὴ
δυνάμενοι, κατεργάσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον.'" ἐν-
τυχὼν τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τὴν
ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξελέγξας τὸν μὲν ἰατρὸν ἐκόλασε,
Φαβρικίῳ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀμοιβὴν ἐδωρεῖτο
προῖκα τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ πάλιν ἔπεμψε τὸν
4 Κινέαν διαπραξόμενον αὐτῷ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ δὲ
Ῥωμαῖοι, μήτε εἰ χάρις ἐστὶ παρὰ πολεμίου, μήτε
εἰ μισθὸς τοῦ μὴ ἀδικηθῆναι, λαβεῖν προῖκα τοὺς
ἄνδρας ἀξιώσαντες ἴσους ἀπέλυσαν αὐτῷ Ταραν-
τίνων καὶ Σαυνιτῶν, περὶ δὲ φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης
οὐδὲν εἴων διαλέγεσθαι πρὶν ἀράμενος τὰ ὅπλα
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αἷς ἦλθε ναυσὶν
ἀποπλεύσῃ πάλιν εἰς Ἤπειρον.

5 Ἐκ τούτου μάχης ἄλλης τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ
δεομένων ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐχώρει, καὶ
περὶ Ἄσκλον πόλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνάψας καὶ
βιαζόμενος πρὸς χωρία δύσιππα καὶ ποταμὸν
ὑλώδη καὶ τραχύν, ἔφοδον τῶν θηρίων οὐ λαβόν-
των ὥστε προσμῖξαι τῇ φάλαγγι, τραυμάτων
πολλῶν γενομένων καὶ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, τότε
6 μὲν διεκρίθη μέχρι νυκτὸς ἀγωνισάμενος. τῇ δ'
ὑστεραίᾳ στρατηγῶν δι' ὁμαλοῦ τὴν μάχην θέσθαι
καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις γενέσθαι τῶν

honourable and just, but that those whom thou trustest are unjust and base. And indeed we do not give thee this information out of regard for thee, but in order that thy ruin may not bring infamy upon us, and that men may not say of us that we brought the war to an end by treachery because we were unable to do so by valour." When Pyrrhus had read this letter and got proof of the plot against his life, he punished the physician, and as a requital to Fabricius and the Romans made them a present of his prisoners of war, and once more sent Cineas to negotiate a peace for him. But the Romans would not consent to receive the men for nothing, either as a favour from an enemy, or as a reward for not committing iniquity against him, and therefore released for Pyrrhus an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites whom they had taken; on the subject of friendship and peace, however, they declared they would allow nothing to be said until Pyrrhus had taken his arms and his army out of Italy and sailed back to Epeirus on the ships that brought him.

Consequently, Pyrrhus found himself obliged to fight another battle, and after recuperating his army he marched to the city of Asculum, where he engaged the Romans. Here, however, he was forced into regions where his cavalry could not operate, and upon a river with swift current and wooded banks, so that his elephants could not charge and engage the enemy's phalanx. Therefore, after many had been wounded and slain, for the time being the struggle was ended by the coming of night. But on the next day, designing to fight the battle on level ground, and to bring his elephants to bear upon the ranks of the enemy, Pyrrhus occupied betimes the

πολεμίων, προέλαβε τὰς δυσχωρίας φυλακῇ, καὶ
πολλὰ καταμίξας ἀκοντίσματα καὶ τοξεύματα
τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπῆγε μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ βίας πυκνὴν
καὶ συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι
τὰς διακλίσεις καὶ τὰς ἀντιπαραγωγὰς τὰς πρό-
τερον οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἐξ ἐπιπέδου συνεφέροντο κατὰ
στόμα· καὶ σπεύδοντες ὤσασθαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας
πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι τὰ θηρία, δεινοὺς περὶ τὰς σαρίσας
τῶν ξιφῶν ἀγῶνας εἶχον, ἀφειδοῦντες ἑαυτῶν καὶ
τὸ τρῶσαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ὁρῶντες, τὸ δὲ παθεῖν
7 εἰς οὐδὲν τιθέμενοι. χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ λέγεται μὲν 397
ἀρχὴ τροπῆς κατ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Πύρρον
ἐπερείσαντα τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον
ἀλκῇ καὶ βίᾳ τῶν ἐλεφάντων κατειργάσατο,
χρήσασθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ πρὸς τὴν μάχην τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐφόδῳ κύματος ἢ
σεισμοῦ κατερείποντος οἰομένων δεῖν ἐξίστασθαι,
μηδὲ ὑπομένειν ἀπράκτους ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐν τῷ
μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν πάντα πάσχοντας τὰ χαλεπώ-
τατα.
8 Τῆς δὲ φυγῆς οὐ μακρᾶς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
γενομένης ἑξακισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν φησι τῶν
Ῥωμαίων Ἱερώνυμος, τῶν δὲ περὶ Πύρρον ἐν τοῖς
βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἀνενεχθῆναι τρισχιλίους
9 πεντακοσίους καὶ πέντε τεθνηκότας. ὁ μέντοι
Διονύσιος οὔτε δύο περὶ Ἄσκλον μάχας οὔτε
ὁμολογουμένην ἧτταν ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων,
ἅπαξ δὲ μέχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου μαχεσαμένους μόλις
ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τοῦ Πύρρου τρωθέντος ὑσσῷ τὸν
βραχίονα καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅμα Δαυνίων[1]

[1] Δαυνίων with Blass, in agreement with Dionys. Hal. xx. 3: Σαμνιτῶν.

unfavourable parts of the field with a detachment of his troops; then he put great numbers of slingers and archers in the spaces between the elephants and led his forces to the attack in dense array and with a mighty impetus. So the Romans, having no opportunity for sidelong shifts and counter-movements, as on the previous day, were obliged to engage on level ground and front to front; and being anxious to repulse the enemy's men-at-arms before their elephants came up, they fought fiercely with their swords against the Macedonian spears, reckless of their lives and thinking only of wounding and slaying, while caring naught for what they suffered. After a long time, however, as we are told, they began to be driven back at the point where Pyrrhus himself was pressing hard upon his opponents; but the greatest havoc was wrought by the furious strength of the elephants, since the valour of the Romans was of no avail in fighting them, but they felt that they must yield before them as before an onrushing billow or a crashing earthquake, and not stand their ground only to die in vain, or suffer all that is most grievous without doing any good at all.

After a short flight the Romans reached their camp, with a loss of six thousand men, according to Hieronymus, who also says that on the side of Pyrrhus, according to the king's own commentaries, thirty-five hundred and five were killed. Dionysius, however, makes no mention of two battles at Asculum, nor of an admitted defeat of the Romans, but says that the two armies fought once for all until sunset and then at last separated; Pyrrhus, he says, was wounded in the arm by a javelin, and also had his baggage

διαρπασάντων, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ καὶ Πύρρου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους ἑκατέρων.

Διελύθησαν δὲ ἀμφότεροι· καὶ λέγεται τὸν Πύρρον εἰπεῖν πρός τινα τῶν συνηδομένων αὐτῷ, "Ἂν ἔτι μίαν μάχην Ῥωμαίους νικήσωμεν, ἀπο-
10 λούμεθα παντελῶς." πολὺ μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλώλει μέρος ἧς ἄγων ἧκε δυνάμεως, φίλοι δὲ καὶ στρατηγοὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντες, μεταπέμπεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν ἕτεροι, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι συμμάχους ἀμβλυτέρους ἑώρα, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς οἴκοθεν ἐπιρρεούσης ἀναπληρούμενον εὐπόρως καὶ ταχὺ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ταῖς ἥτταις οὐκ ἀποβάλλοντας τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥώμην καὶ φιλονεικίαν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον προσλαμβάνοντας.

XXII. Ἐν τοιαύταις δὲ ὢν ἀπορίαις εἰς ἐλπίδας αὖ πάλιν καινὰς ἐνέπεσε καὶ πράγματα διχοστασίαν ἔχοντα τῆς γνώμης. ἅμα γὰρ ἧκον ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἄνδρες Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Συρακούσας καὶ Λεοντίνους ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτῷ, καὶ δεόμενοι Καρχηδονίους τε συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ τῶν τυράννων ἀπαλλάξαι τὴν νῆσον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγγέλλοντες ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κεραυνὸς ἀπόλωλε συμπεσὼν Γαλάταις μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ νῦν ἂν ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα δεομένοις βασιλέως Μακε-
2 δόσι παραγένοιτο. πολλὰ δὴ τὴν τύχην μεμψάμενος ὅτι πράξεων μεγάλων ὑποθέσεις εἰς ἕνα

plundered by the Daunians;[1] and there fell, on the side of Pyrrhus and on that of the Romans, over fifteen thousand men.

The two armies separated; and we are told that Pyrrhus said to one who was congratulating him on his victory, "If we are victorious in one more battle with the Romans, we shall be utterly ruined." For he had lost a great part of the forces with which he came, and all his friends and generals except a few; moreover, he had no others whom he could summon from home, and he saw that his allies in Italy were becoming indifferent, while the army of the Romans, as if from a fountain gushing forth indoors, was easily and speedily filled up again, and they did not lose courage in defeat, nay, their wrath gave them all the more vigour and determination for the war.

XXII. But while he was involved in such perplexities, new hopes once more inspired him, and projects which divided his purposes. For at one and the same time there came to him from Sicily men who offered to put into his hands the cities of Agrigentum, Syracuse, and Leontini, and begged him to help them to drive out the Carthaginians and rid the island of its tyrants; and from Greece, men with tidings that Ptolemy Ceraunus[2] with his army had perished at the hands of the Gauls, and that now was the time of all times for him to be in Macedonia, where they wanted a king. Pyrrhus rated Fortune soundly because occasions for two great undertakings had come to him at one time,

[1] Auxiliaries of the Romans from Arpinum in Apulia.

[2] The son of Ptolemy I. of Egypt. In 280 B.C. he had basely assassinated Seleucus, and made himself king of Macedonia.

καιρὸν αὐτῷ συνήνεγκε, καὶ νομίζων ὡς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπαρχόντων ἀπολλύναι θάτερον, διηνέχθη τοῖς λογισμοῖς πολὺν χρόνον. εἶτα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς μειζόνων ὑποκεῖσθαι πραγμάτων δοκούντων, Λι-
3 βύης ἐγγὺς εἶναι δοκούσης, ἐπὶ ταῦτα τρέψας Κινέαν μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψε προδιαλεξόμενον, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ταῖς πόλεσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις δυσανασχετοῦσιν ἐμβαλὼν φρουράν, καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν ἢ παρέχειν ἐφ' οἷς ἧκε, συμπολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις, ἢ τὴν χώραν προέμενον αὐτῶν ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν οἵαν παρέλαβε, μηδὲν ἐπιεικὲς ἀποκρινάμενος, ἀλλὰ προστάξας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ περιμένειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καιρόν, ἐξέπλευσεν.

4 Ἁψαμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ Σικελίας ἃ μὲν ἤλπισεν εὐθὺς ἀπήντα βέβαια, καὶ παρεῖχον αἱ πόλεις ἑαυτὰς προθύμως, τῶν δὲ ἀγῶνος καὶ βίας δεηθέντων οὐδὲν ἀντεῖχε τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τρισμυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ δισχιλίοις πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσι καὶ διακοσίαις ναυσὶν ἐπιὼν τούς τε Φοίνικας ἐξῄρει καὶ κατεστρέφετο τὴν ἐπικράτειαν αὐτῶν. τοῦ δ' Ἔρυκος ἐχυρωτάτου τῶν χωρίων ὄντος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀμυνομένους ἔχοντος ἔγνω βιάζεσθαι πρὸς
5 τὰ τείχη. καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς γενομένης ἑτοίμης ἐνεδύσατο τὴν πανοπλίαν, καὶ προελθὼν[1] εὔξατο τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ποιήσειν ἀγῶνα καὶ θυσίαν ἀριστεῖον, 398
ἂν τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἄξιον ἀγωνιστὴν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσιν Ἕλλησι· τῇ δὲ σάλπιγγι σημήνας καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνασκεδάσας καὶ τὰς κλίμακας
6 προσαγαγὼν πρῶτος ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους. ἀντι-

[1] προελθὼν with Blass: προσελθών.

and thinking that the presence of both meant the loss of one, he wavered in his calculations for a long time. Then Sicily appeared to offer opportunities for greater achievements, since Libya was felt to be near, and he turned in this direction, and forthwith sent out Cineas to hold preliminary conferences with the cities, as was his wont, while he himself threw a garrison into Tarentum. The Tarentines were much displeased at this, and demanded that he either apply himself to the task for which he had come, namely to help them in their war with Rome, or else abandon their territory and leave them their city as he had found it. To this demand he made no very gracious reply, but ordering them to keep quiet and await his convenience, he sailed off.

On reaching Sicily,[1] his hopes were at once realized securely; the cities readily gave themselves up to him, and wherever force and conflict were necessary nothing held out against him at first, but advancing with thirty thousand foot, twenty-five hundred horse, and two hundred ships, he put the Phoenicians to rout and subdued the territory under their control. Then he determined to storm the walls of Eryx, which was the strongest of their fortresses and had numerous defenders. So when his army was ready, he put on his armour, went out to battle, and made a vow to Heracles that he would institute games and a sacrifice in his honour, if the god would render him in the sight of the Sicilian Greeks an antagonist worthy of his lineage and resources; then he ordered the trumpets to sound, scattered the Barbarians with his missiles, brought up his scaling-ladders, and was the first to mount

[1] Early in the year 278 B.C.

στάντων δὲ πολλῶν ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσε τοῦ τείχους ἐπ' ἀμφότερα καὶ κατέβαλε, πλείστους δὲ περὶ αὑτὸν τῷ ξίφει χρώμενος ἐσώρευσε νεκρούς. ἔπαθε δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσιδεῖν δεινὸς ἐφάνη τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἔδειξεν ὀρθῶς καὶ μετὰ ἐμπειρίας ἀποφαίνοντα τῶν ἀρετῶν μόνην τὴν ἀνδρείαν φορὰς πολλάκις ἐνθουσιώδεις καὶ μανικὰς φερομένην. ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔθυσέ τε τῷ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ θέας ἀγώνων παντοδαπῶν παρέσχε.

XXIII. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Μεσσήνην βαρβάρων, Μαμερτίνων δὲ καλουμένων, πολλὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐνοχλούντων, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ φόρου πεποιημένων ὑποτελεῖς, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μαχίμων ὄντων, διὸ καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν Ἀρήϊοι γλώσσῃ τῇ Λατίνων, τοὺς μὲν φορολόγους συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ νικήσας μάχῃ πολλὰ τῶν φρουρίων
2 ἐξέκοψε. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ συμβατικῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ χρήματα βουλομένοις τελεῖν, εἰ γένοιτο φιλία, καὶ ναῦς ἀποστέλλειν, ἀπεκρίνατο πλειόνων ἐφιέμενος μίαν εἶναι διάλυσιν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ πᾶσαν ἐκλιπόντες Σικελίαν ὅρῳ χρῷντο τῇ Λι-
3 βυκῇ θαλάσσῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. εὐτυχίᾳ δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ τῶν παρόντων ἐπαιρόμενος, καὶ διώκων τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐφ' αἷς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔπλευσε, πρώτης δὲ Λιβύης ἐφιέμενος καὶ ναῦς ἔχων πολλὰς πλη-

the wall. Many were the foes against whom he strove; some of them he pushed from the wall on either side and hurled them to the ground, but most he laid dead in heaps about him with the strokes of his sword. He himself suffered no harm, but was a terrible sight for his enemies to look upon, and proved that Homer[1] was right and fully justified in saying that valour, alone of the virtues, often displays transports due to divine possession and frenzy. After the capture of the city, he sacrificed to the god in magnificent fashion and furnished spectacles of all sorts of contests.

XXIII. The Barbarians about Messana, called Mamertines, were giving much annoyance to the Greeks, and had even laid some of them under contribution. They were numerous and warlike, and therefore had been given a name which, in the Latin tongue, signifies *martial*. Pyrrhus seized their collectors of tribute and put them to death, then conquered the people themselves in battle and destroyed many of their strongholds. Moreover, when the Carthaginians were inclined to come to terms and were willing to pay him money and send him ships in case friendly relations were established, he replied to them (his heart being set upon greater things) that there could be no settlement or friendship between himself and them unless they abandoned all Sicily and made the Libyan Sea a boundary between themselves and the Greeks. But now, lifted up by his good fortune and by the strength of his resources, and pursuing the hopes with which he had sailed from home in the beginning, he set his heart upon Libya first; and since many of the ships

[1] As in *Iliad*, v. 185; vi. 101; ix. 238.

ρωμάτων ἐπιδεεῖς ἤγειρεν ἐρέτας, οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἐντυγχάνων οὐδὲ πρᾴως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῶς καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν βιαζόμενος καὶ κολάζων, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὢν οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἑτέρων τῷ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ πάντα πιστεύειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν ὑπαγόμενος, εἶτα γινόμενος ἐκ δημαγωγοῦ τύραννος ἀχαριστίας τῇ χαλεπότητι καὶ ἀπιστίας προσωφλίσκανε δόξαν.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἀναγκαῖα συνεχώρουν, καίπερ δυσφοροῦντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ Θοίνωνα καὶ Σωσίστρατον, ἄνδρας ἡγεμονικοὺς ἐν Συρακούσαις, οἳ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἔπεισαν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἐλθόντι δὲ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ πλεῖστα συγκατειργάσαντο τῶν Σικελικῶν, μήτε ἄγειν σὺν αὑτῷ μήτε ἀπολείπειν βουλόμενος ἐν ὑποψίαις εἶχε, καὶ Σωσίστρατος μὲν ἀπέστη
5 φοβηθείς, Θοίνωνα δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονεῖν αἰτιασάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ κατὰ μικρὸν οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν αὐτῷ μεθίστατο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ δεινοῦ τινος μίσους ἐγγενομένου ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ μὲν προσετίθεντο Καρχηδονίοις, αἱ δὲ ἐπήγοντο Μαμερτίνους. ἀποστάσεις δὲ ὁρῶν ἅπαντα καὶ νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ σύστασιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐφ' αὑτόν, ἐδέξατο γράμματα Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Ταραντίνων μόλις ἀντεχόντων ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς πρὸς τὸν

that he had were insufficiently manned, he began to collect oarsmen, not dealing with the cities in an acceptable or gentle manner, but in a lordly way, angrily putting compulsion and penalties upon them. He had not behaved in this way at the very beginning, but had even gone beyond others in trying to win men's hearts by gracious intercourse with them, by trusting everybody, and by doing nobody any harm. But now he ceased to be a popular leader and became a tyrant, and added to his name for severity a name for ingratitude and faithlessness.

Nevertheless the Sicilians put up with these things as necessary, although they were exasperated; but then came his dealings with Thoenon and Sosistratus. These were leading men in Syracuse, and had been first to persuade Pyrrhus to come into Sicily. Moreover, after he had come, they immediately put their city into his hands and assisted him in most of what he had accomplished in Sicily. And yet he was willing neither to take them with him nor to leave them behind, and held them in suspicion. Sosistratus took the alarm and withdrew; but Thoenon was accused by Pyrrhus of complicity with Sosistratus and put to death.[1] With this, the situation of Pyrrhus was suddenly and entirely changed. A terrible hatred arose against him in the cities, some of which joined the Carthaginians, while others called in the Mamertines. And now, as he saw everywhere secessions and revolutionary designs and a strong faction opposed to him, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who had been excluded from all their territories, could with difficulty maintain the war

[1] Cf. Dionysius Hal., *Excerpta ex lib. xx.*, 8.

πόλεμον, εἰργομένων δὲ τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης καὶ
6 δεομένων βοηθεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν εὐπρέπεια μὴ φυγὴν εἶναι μηδὲ ἀπόγνωσιν τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῶν αὐτόθι πραγμάτων· τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς οὐ δυνάμενος κρατεῖν Σικελίας ὥσπερ νεὼς ταραχθείσης, ἀλλ' ἔκβασιν ζητῶν, αὖθις ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. λέγεται δ' ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἤδη πρὸς τὴν νῆσον ἀπιδὼν εἰπεῖν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· "Οἵαν ἀπολείπομεν, ὦ φίλοι, Καρχηδονίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παλαίστραν." καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ὥσπερ εἰκάσθη, μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐγένετο.

XXIV. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀποπλέοντα, Καρχηδονίοις μὲν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ
ναυμαχήσας ἀπέβαλε τῶν νεῶν πολλάς, ταῖς δ' 399
ἄλλαις κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Μαμερτῖνοι δὲ μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους προδιαβάντες ἀντιτάξασθαι μὲν ἐφοβήθησαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα συνετάραξαν. ἔπεσε δὲ δύο θηρία καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν ὀπισθοφυλακούντων ἀπέθνησκον.
2 αὐτὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος παρελάσας ἠμύνετο καὶ διεκινδύνευε πρὸς ἄνδρας ἠσκημένους μάχεσθαι καὶ θυμοειδεῖς. πληγεὶς δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ξίφει καὶ μικρὸν ἐκ τῶν μαχομένων ἀποστὰς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπῆρε τοὺς πολεμίους. εἷς δὲ καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιδραμών, ἀνὴρ τῷ τε σώματι μέγας καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις λαμπρός, ἐχρῆτο τῇ φωνῇ θρασυτέρᾳ
3 καὶ προελθεῖν ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν, εἰ ζῇ. παροξυνθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἐπέστρεψε βίᾳ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, καὶ

even in their cities, and begged for his assistance. This gave him a fair pretext for his sailing away, without its being called a flight or despair of his cause in the island; but in truth it was because he could not master Sicily, which was like a storm-tossed ship, but desired to get out of her, that he once more threw himself into Italy. And it is said that at the time of his departure he looked back at the island and said to those about him: "My friends, what a wrestling ground for Carthaginians and Romans we are leaving behind us!" And this conjecture of his was soon afterwards confirmed.

XXIV. But the Barbarians combined against him as he was setting sail. With the Carthaginians he fought a sea-fight in the strait and lost many of his ships, but escaped with the rest to Italy; and here the Mamertines, more than ten thousand of whom had crossed in advance of him, though they were afraid to match forces with him, yet threw his whole army into confusion by setting upon him and assailing him in difficult regions. Two of his elephants fell, and great numbers of his rearguard were slain. Accordingly, riding up in person from the van, he sought to ward off the enemy, and ran great risks in contending with men who were trained to fight and were inspired with high courage. And when he was wounded on the head with a sword and withdrew a little from the combatants, the enemy were all the more elated. One of them ran forth far in advance of the rest, a man who was huge in body and resplendent in armour, and in a bold voice challenged Pyrrhus to come out, if he were still alive. This angered Pyrrhus, and wheeling round in spite of his guards, he pushed

μετ' ὀργῆς αἵματι πεφυρμένος καὶ δεινὸς ὀφθῆναι
τὸ πρόσωπον ὠσάμενος δι' αὐτῶν καὶ φθάσας τὸν
βάρβαρον ἔπληξε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῷ ξίφει
πληγὴν ῥώμῃ τε τῆς χειρὸς ἅμα καὶ βαφῆς ἀρετῇ
τοῦ σιδήρου μέχρι τῶν κάτω διαδραμοῦσαν, ὥστε
ἑνὶ χρόνῳ περιπεσεῖν ἑκατέρωσε τὰ μέρη τοῦ
4 σώματος διχοτομηθέντος. τοῦτο τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἐπέσχε τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν, ὥς τινα τῶν κρειττό-
νων θαυμάσαντας καὶ καταπλαγέντας τὸν Πύρ-
ρον. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἀδεῶς διεξελθὼν ἧκεν
εἰς Τάραντα, δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τρισχιλίους
ἱππεῖς κομίζων. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τῶν Ταραντίνων
τοὺς κρατίστους, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἦγεν ἐν τῇ
Σαυνίτιδι στρατοπεδεύοντας.

XXV. Τῶν δὲ Σαυνιτῶν τά τε πράγματα διέ-
φθαρτο, καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ὑφεῖντο, κεκρατη-
μένοι μάχαις πολλαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ἐνῆν
δέ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ὀργῆς διὰ τὸν εἰς
Σικελίαν πλοῦν· ὅθεν οὐ πολλοὶ τούτων αὐτῷ
συνῆλθον. πάντας δὲ νείμας δίχα τοὺς μὲν εἰς
τὴν Λευκανίαν ἔπεμψεν ἀντιληψομένους τοῦ ἑτέ-
2 ρου τῶν ὑπάτων, ὡς μὴ βοηθοίη, τοὺς δὲ ἦγεν
αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Μάνιον Κούριον περὶ πόλιν Βενεουεντὸν
ἱδρυμένον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ περιμένοντα τὴν ἐκ τῆς
Λευκανίας βοήθειαν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ μάντεων αὐ-
τὸν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς ἀποτρεπόντων ἡσύχαζε.
σπεύδων οὖν ὁ Πύρρος ἐπιθέσθαι τούτοις, πρὶν
ἐκείνους ἐπελθεῖν, ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ

his wáy through them—full of wrath, smeared with blood, and with a countenance terrible to look upon, and before the Barbarian could strike dealt him such a blow on the head with his sword that, what with the might of his arm and the excellent temper of his steel, it cleaved its way down through, so that at one instant the parts of the sundered body fell to either side. This checked the Barbarians from any further advance, for they were amazed and confounded at Pyrrhus, and thought him some superior being. So he accomplished the rest of his march unmolested and came to Tarentum,[1] bringing twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Then, adding to his force the best troops of the Tarentines, he forthwith led them against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

XXV. But the power of the Samnites had been shattered, and their spirits were broken, in consequence of many defeats at the hands of the Romans. They also cherished considerable resentment against Pyrrhus because of his expedition to Sicily; hence not many of them came to join him. Pyrrhus, however, divided his army into two parts, sent one of them into Lucania to attack the other consul, that he might not come to the help of his colleague, and led the other part himself against Manius Curius, who was safely encamped near the city of Beneventum and was awaiting assistance from Lucania; in part also it was because his soothsayers had dissuaded him with unfavourable omens and sacrifices that he kept quiet. Pyrrhus, accordingly, hastening to attack this consul before the other one came up, took his best men and his most

[1] In the autumn of 276 B.C.

τῶν θηρίων τὰ μαχιμώτατα λαβὼν νυκτὸς ὥρμη-
3 σεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. περιϊόντι δὲ αὐτῷ μακ-
ρὰν καὶ δασεῖαν ὕλαις ὁδὸν οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὰ φῶτα,
καὶ πλάναι τοῖς στρατιώταις συνέτυχον· καὶ περὶ
ταῦτα γινομένης διατριβῆς ἥ τε νὺξ ἐπέλιπε καὶ
καταφανὴς ἦν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπερχό-
μενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ὥστε θόρυβον πολὺν καὶ
κίνησιν παρασχεῖν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τῷ Μανίῳ γενομένων,
καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ βοηθεῖν ἀναγκάζοντος, ἐξελθὼν
ἐνέβαλε τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τρεψάμενος ἐφόβησε
πάντας, ὥστε καὶ πεσεῖν οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν
4 ἐλεφάντων τινὰς ἁλῶναι καταλειφθέντας. αὕτη
τὸν Μάνιον ἡ νίκη κατήγαγε μαχούμενον εἰς τὸ
πεδίον· καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐκ προδήλου τὸ μὲν ἐτρέ-
ψατο τῶν πολεμίων, ἔστι δ' ᾗ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
θηρίων καὶ συσταλεὶς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς
φύλακας ἐκάλει συχνοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τῷ χάρακι
5 μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀκμῆτας. οἱ δὲ ἐπιφανέντες
ἐκ τόπων ὀχυρῶν καὶ τὰ θηρία βάλλοντες ἠνάγ-
κασαν ἀποστρέφεσθαι καὶ φυγῇ χωροῦντα διὰ
τῶν συμμάχων ὀπίσω ταραχὴν ἀπεργάσασθαι
καὶ σύγχυσιν, ἣ τὸ νίκημα παρέδωκε τοῖς Ῥω-
μαίοις, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ
γὰρ φρόνημα καὶ δύναμιν καὶ δόξαν ὡς ἄμαχοι
προσλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν
ἀγώνων Ἰταλίαν μὲν εὐθύς, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον
Σικελίαν κατέσχον.

XXVI. Οὕτω μὲν ἐξέπεσε τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ 400
Σικελικῶν ὁ Πύρρος ἐλπίδων, ἑξαετῆ χρόνον ἀνα-
λώσας περὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους, καὶ τοῖς[1] πράγ-

[1] τοῖς Coraës and Bekker have τοῖς μὲν, after Muretus.

warlike elephants and set out by night against his camp. But since he took a long circuit through a densely wooded country, his lights did not hold out, and his soldiers lost their way and straggled. This caused delay, so that the night passed, and at daybreak he was in full view of the enemy as he advanced upon them from the heights, and caused much tumult and agitation among them.

Manius, however, since the sacrifices were propitious and the crisis forced action upon him, led his forces out and attacked the foremost of the enemy, and after routing these, put their whole army to flight, so that many of them fell and some of their elephants were left behind and captured. This victory brought Manius down into the plain to give battle; here, after an engagement in the open, he routed the enemy at some points, but at one was overwhelmed by the elephants and driven back upon his camp, where he was obliged to call upon the guards, who were standing on the parapets in great numbers, all in arms, and full of fresh vigour. Down they came from their strong places, and hurling their javelins at the elephants compelled them to wheel about and run back through the ranks of their own men, thus causing disorder and confusion there. This gave the victory to the Romans, and at the same time the advantage also in the struggle for supremacy. For having acquired high courage and power and a reputation for invincibility from their valour in these struggles, they at once got control of Italy, and soon afterwards of Sicily.

XXVI. Thus Pyrrhus was excluded from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after squandering six years' time in his wars there, and after being worsted in his

μασιν ἐλαττωθείς, τὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖον ἀνίκητον ἐν ταῖς ἥτταις διαφυλάξας· καὶ νομισθεὶς ἐμπειρίᾳ μὲν πολεμικῇ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ τόλμῃ πολὺ πρῶτος εἶναι τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν βασιλέων, ἃ δὲ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐκτᾶτο ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀπολλύναι, δι' ἔρωτα τῶν ἀπόντων οὐδὲν εἰς ὃ δεῖ θέσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
2 φθάσας. ὅθεν ἀπείκαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντίγονος κυβευτῇ πολλὰ βάλλοντι καὶ καλά, χρῆσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένῳ τοῖς πεσοῦσι.

Κομίσας δὲ εἰς Ἤπειρον ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ πεντακοσίους ἱππεῖς, χρήματα δὴ οὐκ ἔχων ἐζήτει πόλεμον ᾧ θρέψει τὸ στράτευμα. καί τινων Γαλατῶν αὐτῷ προσγενομένων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύ-
3 οντος ὡς ἁρπαγῇ καὶ λεηλασίᾳ χρησόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐλάμβανε συχνὰς καὶ στρατιῶται δισχίλιοι μετέστησαν ὡς αὐτόν, ἐλπίσας τι πλέον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ περὶ τὰ στενὰ προσπεσὼν συνετάραξε τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τεταγμένοι Γαλάται, συχνοὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ὑπέστησαν εὐρώστως· καὶ καρτερᾶς μάχης γενομένης τούτων μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἡγεμόνες ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενοι παρέδωκαν
4 ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰ θηρία πάντα. προσλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τηλικαῦτα, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς λογισμοῖς χρώμενος, ἐπῆγε τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναπεπλησμένῃ ταραχῆς καὶ φόβου διὰ τὴν ἧτταν. ὅθεν ἐμβολῆς μὲν ἔσχοντο καὶ

undertakings, but he kept his brave spirit unconquered in the midst of his defeats; and men believed that in military experience, personal prowess, and daring, he was by far the first of the kings of his time, but that what he won by his exploits he lost by indulging in vain hopes, since through passionate desire for what he had not he always failed to establish securely what he had. For this reason Antigonus used to liken him to a player with dice who makes many fine throws but does not understand how to use them when they are made.

He returned to Epeirus[1] with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, and since he had no money he sought for a war by which he could maintain his army. Some Gauls joined him, and he thereupon made an incursion into Macedonia, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius was reigning, designing to strip and plunder the country. But after he had taken a great number of cities and two thousand Macedonian soldiers had come over to him, he began to hope for greater things, and set out to attack Antigonus, and falling upon him in a narrow pass, threw his whole army into confusion. The Gauls who formed the rearguard of Antigonus, a numerous body, made a sturdy resistance; but after a fierce battle most of these were cut to pieces, while those who had charge of the elephants were hemmed in and surrendered themselves and all their animals. Then Pyrrhus, thus greatly strengthened, and consulting his good fortune rather than his judgment, advanced upon the phalanx of the Macedonians, which was filled with confusion and fear because of their previous defeat. For this

[1] Late in the year 274 B.C.

μάχης πρὸς αὐτόν, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ταξιάρχους ἀνακαλούμενος, ἅπαντας ὁμαλῶς ἀπέστησε τοὺς πεζοὺς τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου.
5 κἀκεῖνος μὲν ὑποφεύγων ἅμα τῶν ἱππέων ὀλίγοις[1] τῶν παραλίων τινὰς πόλεων κατέσχεν, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἐν εὐτυχήμασι τοσούτοις μέγιστον αὐτῷ πρὸς δόξαν οἰόμενος διαπεπρᾶχθαι τὸ περὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα τῶν λαφύρων ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτωνίδος Ἀθηνᾶς, τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον ἐπιγράψας·

Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰτωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθάνᾳ
  Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,
πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν· οὐ μέγα
    θαῦμα·
  αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι.

6 μετὰ τὴν μάχην δὲ εὐθὺς ἀνελάμβανε τὰς πόλεις. τῶν δὲ Αἰγαίων κρατήσας τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ φρουρὰν Γαλατικὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέλιπε τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένων. οἱ δὲ Γαλάται γένος ἀπληστότατον χρημάτων ὄντες ἐπέθεντο τῶν βασιλέων αὐτόθι κεκηδευμένων τοὺς τάφους ὀρύττειν, καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα διήρπασαν, τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ πρὸς ὕβριν διέρ-
7 ριψαν. τοῦτο κούφως ἔδοξε καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐνεγκεῖν ὁ Πύρρος, ἢ δι' ἀσχολίας τινὰς ὑπερθέμενος ἢ παρεὶς ὅλως διὰ φόβον τὸ κολάσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· ὅθεν ἤκουσε κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων. οὔπω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ βεβαιότητα καὶ σύστασιν ἐχόντων μόνιμον, ᾐωρεῖτο τῇ γνώμῃ

[1] τῶν ἱππέων ὀλίγοις supplied by Blass, in conformity with the translation of Amyot: ἅμα τῶν παραλίων.

reason they refrained from engagement or battle with him, whereupon Pyrrhus, stretching out his right hand and calling upon the generals and captains, brought over to him all the infantry of Antigonus in a body. So Antigonus took to flight with a few of his horsemen, and occupied some of the seaboard cities; while Pyrrhus, thinking that amid so many successes his achievement against the Gauls conduced most to his glory, dedicated the most beautiful and splendid of the spoils in the temple of Athena Itonis, with the following elegiac inscription:

> "These shields, now suspended here as a gift to Athena Itonis, Pyrrhus the Molossian took from valiant Gauls, after defeating the entire army of Antigonus; which is no great wonder; for now, as well as in olden time, the Aeacidae are brave spearmen."

After the battle, however, he at once proceeded to occupy the cities. And after getting Aegae into his power, besides other severities exercised upon its inhabitants he left as a garrison in the city some of the Gauls who were making the campaign with him. But the Gauls, a race insatiable of wealth, set themselves to digging up the tombs of the kings who had been buried there; the treasure they plundered, the bones they insolently cast to the four winds. This outrage Pyrrhus treated with lightness and indifference, as it was thought; he either postponed punishment because he had some business on hand, or remitted it altogether because he was afraid to chastise the Barbarians; and on this account he was censured by the Macedonians. Moreover, before his affairs were securely and firmly established, his thoughts swung

παλιν πρὸς ἑτέρας ἐλπίδας. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀντίγο-
νον ἐφυβρίζων ἀναίσχυντον ἐκάλει μὴ λαμβάνοντα
θοἰμάτιον, ἀλλ' ἔτι τὴν πορφύραν φοροῦντα.
Κλεωνύμου δὲ τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου παραγενομένου καὶ
καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως
ὑπήκουσεν.

8 Ὁ δὲ Κλεώνυμος ἦν μὲν γένους βασιλικοῦ,
δοκῶν δὲ βίαιος εἶναι καὶ μοναρχικὸς οὔτ' εὔνοιαν
οὔτε πίστιν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' Ἄρευς ἐβασίλευε. καὶ
τοῦτο μὲν ἓν ἦν κοινὸν ἔγκλημα καὶ πρεσβύτερον
αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας· γυναῖκα δὲ καλὴν καὶ 401
γένους βασιλικοῦ Χιλωνίδα τὴν Λεωτυχίδου
πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἔγημεν ὁ Κλεώνυμος. ἡ δὲ
Ἀκροτάτῳ τῷ Ἄρεως ἐπιμανεῖσα, μειρακίῳ καθ'
ὥραν ἀκμάζοντι, λυπηρὸν ἐρῶντι τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ
καὶ ἄδοξον ὁμοῦ παρεῖχε τὸν γάμον· οὐδένα γὰρ
ἐλάνθανε Σπαρτιατῶν καταφρονούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς
9 γυναικός. οὕτω δὲ τῶν κατ' οἶκον ἀνιαρῶν τοῖς
πολιτικοῖς προσγενομένων ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ βαρυ-
θυμίας ἐπῆγε τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν Πύρρον, ἔχοντα
δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζούς, δισχιλίους
δ' ἱππεῖς, ἐλέφαντας δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρας, ὥστε τῷ
μεγέθει τῆς παρασκευῆς εὐθὺς εἶναι κατάδηλον
οὐ Κλεωνύμῳ τὴν Σπάρτην, ἀλλὰ τὴν Πελοπόν-
νησον ἑαυτῷ κτώμενον, ἐπεὶ τῷ γε λόγῳ καὶ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἔξαρνος ἦν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρεσβεύ-
10 σαντας εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν. ἔφη γὰρ ἐλευθερώσων
τὰς ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνῳ πόλεις ἀφῖχθαι, καὶ νὴ Δία

again towards new hopes. He railed at Antigonus and called him a shameless man for not laying aside the purple and wearing a common robe; and when Cleonymus the Spartan came and invited him to come to Lacedaemon, he readily listened to him.

Now, Cleonymus was of royal lineage, but because he was thought to be of a violent and arbitrary temper, he enjoyed neither goodwill nor confidence at home, but Areus was king there. This was one general ground of complaint which he had against his fellow citizens, and it was of long standing. Besides, Cleonymus in his later years had married Chilonis the daughter of Leotychides, a beautiful woman of royal lineage; but she had fallen desperately in love with Acrotatus the son of Areus, a young man in the flower of his age, and thus rendered his marriage distressing to Cleonymus, since he loved her, and at the same time disgraceful; for every Spartan was well aware that the husband was despised by his wife. Thus his domestic vexations added themselves to his political disappointment, and in indignation and wrath he brought Pyrrhus against Sparta.[1] Pyrrhus had twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand horse, besides twenty-four elephants, so that the magnitude of his preparations made it clear at once that he was not aiming to acquire Sparta for Cleonymus, but the Peloponnesus for himself. And yet his professions were all to the contrary, and particularly those which he made to the Lacedaemonian ambassadors themselves when they met him at Megalopolis. He told them he had come to set free the cities which were subject to Antigonus, yes, and that he was going to

[1] In 272 B.C.

τοὺς νεωτέρους παῖδας εἰς Σπάρτην, εἰ μή τι κωλύει, πέμψων ἐντραφησομένους τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἔθεσιν, ὡς τούτῳ πλέον ἔχοιεν ἤδη τῶν πάντων βασιλέων. ταῦτα πλαττόμενος καὶ παράγων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτῷ καθ' ὁδόν, ὡς πρῶτον ἥψατο τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἁρπαγὴν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ λεηλασιαν·
11 ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων, ὅτι μὴ καταγγείλας πόλεμον ἐξενήνοχε πρὸς αὐτούς, "Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑμᾶς," ἔφη, "τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἴσμεν ὅ τι ἂν μέλλητε ποιεῖν ἑτέροις προλέγοντας." εἷς δὲ τῶν παρόντων, ὄνομα Μανδροκλείδας, εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ λακωνίζων· "Αἰ μὲν ἐσσὶ τύ γε θεός, οὐδὲν μὴ πάθωμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικεῦμεν· αἰ δ' ἄνθρωπος, ἔσσεται καὶ τεῦ κάρρων ἄλλος."

XXVII. Ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα· καὶ τοῦ Κλεωνύμου κελεύοντος ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλεῖν φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πύρρος, ὡς λέγεται, μὴ διαρπάσωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν πόλιν ἐν νυκτὶ προσπεσόντες, ἐπέσχεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ταὐτὸ ποιήσουσι μεθ' ἡμέραν. αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἦσαν ὀλίγοι καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι διὰ τὸ αἰφνίδιον, ὅ τε Ἄρευς οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλ' ἐν Κρήτῃ Γορτυνίοις πολεμουμένοις βοηθῶν· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔσωσε δι' ἐρημίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν κατα-
2 φρονηθεῖσαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πύρρος οὐδένα μαχεῖσθαι νομίζων κατηυλίσατο, τοῦ δὲ Κλεωνύμου τὴν οἰκίαν οἵ τε φίλοι καὶ εἵλωτες οὕτως ἐκόσμησαν

send his younger sons to Sparta, if nothing prevented, to be brought up in the Lacedaemonian customs, that so they might presently have the advantage over all other princes. With these fictions he beguiled those who came to meet him on his march, but as soon as he reached Laconian territory he began to ravage and plunder it. And when the Spartan ambassadors upbraided him for making war upon them without previous declaration, he said: "Yet we know that you Spartans also do not tell others beforehand what you are going to do." Whereupon one of those who were present, Mandrocleidas by name, said to him in the broad Spartan dialect: "If thou art a god, we shall suffer no harm at thy hands; for we have done thee no wrong; but if a man, another will be found who is even stronger than thou."

XXVII. After this, he marched down against the city of Sparta. Cleonymus urged him to make the assault as soon as he arrived, but Pyrrhus was afraid, as we are told, that his soldiers would plunder the city if they fell upon it at night, and therefore restrained them, saying that they would accomplish just as much by day. For there were but few men in the city, and they were unprepared, owing to the suddenness of the peril; and Areus was not at home, but in Crete, whither he was bringing military aid for the Gortynians. And this, indeed, more than anything else, proved the salvation of the city, which its weakness and lack of defenders caused to be despised. For Pyrrhus, thinking that no one would give him battle, bivouacked for the night, and the friends and Helot slaves of Cleonymus adorned and furnished his house in the expectation

καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ὡς δειπνήσοντος τοῦ Πύρρου παρ' αὐτῷ.

Γενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐβουλεύσαντο τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς Κρήτην ἀποστέλλειν, αἱ δὲ ἀντέστησαν. Ἀρχιδαμία δὲ καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἦλθεν ἐγκαλοῦσα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ ζῆν αὐτὰς
3 ἀξιοῦσι τῆς Σπάρτης ἀπολομένης. ἔπειτα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων παράλληλον ἔγνωσαν ἐμβαλόντες τάφρον ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτῆς στῆσαι τὰς ἁμάξας, μέχρι τοῦ μέσου τῶν τροχῶν καταχώσαντες, ὅπως ἕδραν ἔχουσαι δυσεκβίαστον ἐμποδὼν ὦσι τοῖς θηρίοις. ἀρχομένοις δὲ ταῦτα πράττειν ἧκον αὐτοῖς τῶν παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν αἱ μὲν ἐν ἱματίοις, καταζωσάμεναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους, αἱ δὲ μονοχίτωνες, συνεργασόμεναι τοῖς
4 πρεσβυτέροις. τοὺς δὲ μάχεσθαι μέλλοντας ἐκέλευον ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ λαβοῦσαι μέτρον αὐταὶ καθ' αὑτὰς ἐξειργάσαντο τῆς τάφρου τὸ τρίτον μέρος. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος αὐτῆς πήχεων ἕξ, τὸ δὲ βάθος τεττάρων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀκτάπλεθρον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος, ὡς δ' Ἱερώνυμος, ἔλαττον.
5 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ κινουμένων τῶν πολεμίων τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς νέοις ὀρέγουσαι καὶ παραδιδοῦσαι τὴν τάφρον ἀμύνειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐκέλευον, ὡς ἡδὺ μὲν νικᾶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, εὐκλεὲς δὲ θνήσκειν ἐν χερσὶ μητέρων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀξίως 402
τῆς Σπάρτης πεσόντας. ἡ δὲ Χιλωνίς, ἐκποδὼν οὖσα καθ' ἑαυτήν, βρόχον εἶχεν ἐνημμένον, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ μὴ γένοιτο τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης.

that Pyrrhus would take supper there with its owner.

When night had come, the Lacedaemonians at first took counsel to send their women off to Crete, but the women were opposed to this; and Archidamia came with a sword in her hand to the senators and upbraided them in behalf of the women for thinking it meet that they should live after Sparta had perished. Next, it was decided to run a trench parallel with the camp of the enemy, and at either end of it to set their waggons, sinking them to the wheel-hubs in the ground, in order that, thus firmly planted, they might impede the advance of the elephants. When they began to carry out this project, there came to them the women and maidens, some of them in their robes, with tunics girt close, and others in their tunics only, to help the elderly men in the work. The men who were going to do the fighting the women ordered to keep quiet, and assuming their share of the task they completed with their own hands a third of the trench. The width of the trench was six cubits, its depth four, and its length eight hundred feet, according to Phylarchus; according to Hieronymus, less than this. When day came and the enemy were putting themselves in motion, these women handed the young men their armour, put the trench in their charge, and told them to guard and defend it, assured that it was sweet to conquer before the eyes of their fatherland, and glorious to die in the arms of their mothers and wives, after a fall that was worthy of Sparta. As for Chilonis, she withdrew from the rest, and kept a halter about her neck, that she might not come into the power of Cleonymus if the city were taken.

XXVIII. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Πύρρος ἐβιάζετο κατὰ στόμα τοῖς ὁπλίταις πρὸς ἀσπίδας πολλὰς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀντιπαρατεταγμένας, καὶ τάφρον οὐ περατὴν οὐδὲ βάσιν ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς μαχομένοις παρέχουσαν ὑπὸ χαυνότητος. ὁ δὲ παῖς Πτολεμαῖος, ἔχων δισχιλίους Γαλάτας καὶ Χαόνων λογάδας, ἐξελίξας τὴν τάφρον ἐπειρᾶτο κατὰ τὰς ἁμάξας ὑπερβαίνειν. αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ πυκνότητος οὐ μόνον τούτοις τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δύσεργον ἐποίουν τὴν βοήθειαν.
2 ἀνασπώντων δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν τοὺς τροχοὺς καὶ ὑποσυρόντων τὰς ἁμάξας εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, κατιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ νεανίας Ἀκρότατος καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαδραμὼν μετὰ τριακοσίων περιῆλθε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, οὐ συνορώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διά τινας συγκλινίας, ἕως προσέβαλε τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἠνάγκασε μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὠθουμένους ὑπ' ἀλλήλων εἴς τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ περὶ ταῖς ἁμάξαις πίπτοντας, ἄχρι οὗ φόνῳ πολ-
3 λῷ μόλις ἀνεκόπησαν. ἐθεῶντο δὲ οἵ τε πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀριστεύοντα τὸν Ἀκρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῄει πάλιν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ τάξιν, αἵματος κατάπλεως καὶ γαῦρος, ὑπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐπηρμένος, καὶ μείζων ἔδοξε γεγονέναι καὶ καλλίων ταῖς Λακαίναις, καὶ τὴν Χιλωνίδα τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐζήλουν. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τινὲς ἐπηκολούθουν βοῶντες· "Οἶχε, Ἀκρότατε, καὶ οἶφε τὰν Χιλωνίδα· μόνον παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς τᾷ Σπάρτᾳ ποίει."
4 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πύρρον αὐτὸν ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης συνεστώσης ἄλλοι τε λαμπρῶς ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ

XXVIII. Pyrrhus himself, then, with his men-at-arms, tried to force his way directly against the many shields of the Spartans which confronted him, and over a trench which was impassable and afforded his soldiers no firm footing owing to the freshly turned earth. But his son Ptolemy, with two thousand Gauls and picked Chaonians, went round the trench and tried to force a passage where the waggons were. These, however, being so deeply planted in the earth and so close together, made not only his onset, but also the counter-efforts of the Lacedaemonians, a difficult matter. The Gauls pulled the wheels up and were dragging the waggons down into the river; but the young Acrotatus saw the danger, and running through the city with three hundred men got round behind Ptolemy without being seen by him, owing to some depressions in the ground, and at last fell upon his rear ranks and forced them to turn about and fight with him. And now the Barbarians crowded one another into the trench and fell among the waggons, and finally, after great slaughter, were successfully driven back. The elderly men and the host of women watched the brilliant exploit of Acrotatus. And when he went back again through the city to his allotted post, covered with blood and triumphant, elated with his victory, the Spartan women thought that he had become taller and more beautiful than ever, and envied Chilonis her lover. Moreover, some of the elderly men accompanied him on his way, crying: "Go, Acrotatus, and take to thyself Chilonis; only, see that thou begettest brave sons for Sparta."

A fierce battle was also waged where Pyrrhus himself led, and many Spartans made a splendid

Φύλλιος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντισχὼν καὶ πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τῶν βιαζομένων, ὡς ᾔσθετο τραυμάτων πλήθει παραλυόμενον ἑαυτόν, ἐκστάς τινι τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῆς χώρας ἔπεσεν ἐντὸς τῶν ὅπλων, ὥστε μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις.

XXIX. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἡ μάχη διεκρίθη· καὶ κοιμώμενος ὁ Πύρρος ὄψιν εἶδε τοιαύτην. ἐδόκει βάλλεσθαι κεραυνοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ φλέγεσθαι πᾶσαν, αὐτὸν δὲ χαίρειν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς χαρᾶς ἐξεγρόμενος τούς τε ἡγεμόνας ἐκέλευεν ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις διηγεῖτο τὸν ὄνειρον ὡς ληψόμενος κατὰ κράτος
2 τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι θαυμασίως ἐπείθοντο, Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ οὐκ ἤρεσκεν ἡ ὄψις, ἀλλ' ἔφη δεδιέναι μή, καθάπερ τὰ βαλλόμενα τοῖς κεραυνοῖς ἀνέμβατα μένει χωρία, καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ προσημαίνῃ τὸ θεῖον ἀνείσοδον ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐστι πυλαϊκῆς ὀχλαγωγίας καὶ ἀσοφίαν ἔχοντα πολλήν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δεῖ τὰ ὅπλα διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντας ὑποβάλλειν ἑαυτοῖς,

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ Πύρρου,

ἐξανέστη καὶ προσῆγεν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν στρατόν.

3 Ἠμύνοντο δὲ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ παρὰ δύναμιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· καὶ παρῆσαν αἱ γυναῖκες ὀρέγ-

fight, but particularly Phyllius, who surpassed all in the tenacity of his resistance and the numbers of the on-rushing enemy whom he slew; and when he perceived that his powers were failing from the multitude of the wounds he had received, he made way for one of his comrades in the line, and fell inside the ranks, that his dead body might not come into the hands of the enemy.

XXIX. Night put an end to the battle; and Pyrrhus, as he slept, had the following vision. He dreamed that Sparta was smitten with thunderbolts from his hand and was all ablaze, and that he was filled with joy. His joy waked him from sleep, and he commanded his officers to get the army ready for action, and narrated his dream to his friends, convinced that he was going to take the city by storm. Most of them, then, were fully persuaded that he was right, but Lysimachus was not pleased with the vision; he said he was afraid lest, as places smitten by thunderbolts are kept free from the tread of men, the Deity might be indicating in advance to Pyrrhus also that the city was not to be entered by him. But Pyrrhus declared that this was nonsense intended for the crowd, and great folly, and calling upon his hearers to take their arms in their hands and act upon the belief that

"One is the best of all omens, to fight in defence of
Pyrrhus,"[1]

rose up, and at day-break led forth his army.

But the Lacedaemonians defended themselves with an alacrity and bravery beyond their strength; the

[1] An adaptation of *Iliad*, xii. 243, by substituting "Pyrrhus" for "one's country" (Πύρρου for πάτρης).

ουσαι βέλη, καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις
προσφέρουσαι, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσαι τοὺς τιτρω-
σκομένους. τήν τε τάφρον οἱ Μακεδόνες χοῦν
ἐπειρῶντο, πολλὴν συμφοροῦντες ὕλην, ὑφ᾽ ἧς
ὅπλα καὶ σώματα νεκρῶν ἐπιχεομένης ἀπεκρύ-
4 πτετο. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοη-
θούντων ὤφθη παρὰ τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας
ὁ Πύρρος ἵππῳ βιαζόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν. κραυγῆς
δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένων γενομένης καὶ
δρόμου καὶ ὀλολυγμοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἤδη διεξ-
ελαύνοντι τῷ Πύρρῳ καὶ προσκειμένῳ τοῖς κατὰ
πρόσωπον ἐξήλατο Κρητικῷ βέλει πληγεὶς ὁ
ἵππος ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ κατέβαλε δυσθανα-
τῶν τὸν Πύρρον εἰς τόπους ὀλισθηροὺς καὶ 403
5 κατάντεις. θορυβουμένων δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τῶν
ἑταίρων ἐπέδραμον οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται, καὶ χρώμενοι
τοῖς βέλεσιν ἐξέωσαν ἅπαντας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ
τὴν ἄλλην μάχην ἔπαυεν, οἰόμενος ἐνδώσειν τι
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους σχεδὸν ἁπάντων κατατε-
τρωμένων αὐτοῖς, πεπτωκότων δὲ πολλῶν. ἡ δ᾽
ἀγαθὴ τύχη τῆς πόλεως, εἴτε πεῖραν ἀρετῆς λαμ-
βάνουσα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἴθ᾽ ἑαυτῆς, ὅσην ἐν ἀπόροις
6 ἔχει δύναμιν, ἀπόδειξιν διδοῦσα, μοχθηρὰς ἤδη
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχόντων τὰς ἐλπίδας Ἀμειν-
ίαν τε Φωκέα, τῶν Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγῶν, ἐκ
Κορίνθου βοηθήσοντα παρεισήγαγε μετὰ ξένων,
καὶ τοῦτον ἄρτι δεδεγμένων ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς
Ἄρευς ἧκεν ἐκ Κρήτης δισχιλίους στρατιώτας
κομίζων. αἵ τε δὴ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας

women, too, were at hand, proffering missiles, distributing food and drink to those who needed them, and taking up the wounded. The Macedonians tried to fill up the trench, collecting and throwing into it great quantities of materials, beneath which the arms and dead bodies were hidden away. And when the Lacedaemonians tried to put a stop to this, Pyrrhus was seen forcing his way on horseback past the trench and the waggons into the city. But the men stationed at this point raised a shout, and there was a concourse and shrieking of the women, and just as Pyrrhus was riding through the waggons and attacking the men in front of him, his horse was wounded in the belly by a Cretan javelin and leaped to one side, and in his death agony threw Pyrrhus upon steep and slippery ground. His companions were thrown into confusion around him, and the Spartans, running upon them and making good use ot their missiles, drove them all off. After this, Pyrrhus brought the fighting to a stop at other points also, thinking that the Spartans would make some concessions, now that almost all of them were wounded and many had fallen. But now the good fortune of the city, either because she was satisfied with the bravery of its men, or because she would show forth the great power which she herself has in desperate crises, brought to their aid from Corinth, when the hopes of the Spartans were already sorry, Ameinias the Phocian, one of the generals of Antigonus, with mercenary troops; and no sooner had he been received into the city than Areus the Spartan king came from Crete, bringing with him two thousand soldiers. So the women at once dispersed to their

ἐσκεδάσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀξιοῦσαι τῶν πολεμικῶν, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης γενομένους ἀφέντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἔταξαν.

XXX. Τὸν δὲ Πύρρον ἔσχε μέν τις ἀλκὴ καὶ φιλοτιμία μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς προσγεγονότας κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, πληγὰς λαβὼν ἀπέστη καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει διανοούμενος αὐτόθι χειμάσαι. τὸ δὲ χρεὼν ἦν ἄφυκτον. ἐν γὰρ Ἄργει στάσις ἦν Ἀριστέου πρὸς Ἀρίστιππον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ἐδόκει χρῆσθαι φίλῳ τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ, φθάσας ὁ Ἀριστέας ἐκάλει τὸν
2 Πύρρον εἰς τὸ Ἄργος. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας ἐξ ἐλπίδων ἀεὶ κυλίνδων, καὶ ταῖς μὲν εὐτυχίαις ἐπ' ἄλλας χρώμενος ἀφορμαῖς, ἃ δὲ ἔπταιεν ἑτέροις βουλόμενος ἀναπληροῦν πράγμασιν, οὔτε ἧτταν οὔτε νίκην ὅρον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ταράττεσθαι καὶ ταράττειν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος. ὁ δὲ Ἄρευς ἐνέδρας τε πολλὰς ὑφεὶς καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῆς ὁδοῦ περιέκοπτε τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ τοὺς Μολοσσοὺς ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντας.
3 Τῷ δὲ Πύρρῳ προείρητο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀλόβων γενομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ μάντεως ἀποβολή τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων, παρὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τότε τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ τῷ κινήματι τὸν λογισμὸν ἐκκρουσθεὶς ἐκέλευσε τὸν υἱὸν Πτολεμαῖον λαβόντα τοὺς ἑταίρους παραβοηθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ θᾶττον ἐκ τῶν στενῶν
4 ἐφελκόμενος τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπῆγεν. ὀξείας δὲ περὶ

homes, since they no longer thought it meet to busy themselves with the work of war, and the men, after dismissing from their ranks those of unmilitary age whom necessity had brought there, arrayed themselves for battle.

XXX. Pyrrhus, too, was more than ever possessed by a fierce ambition to become master of the city, now that reinforcements had come to it; but since he could accomplish nothing, and met with fresh losses, he went away, and fell to ravaging the country, purposing to spend the winter there. But Fate was not to be escaped. For at Argos there was a feud between Aristeas and Aristippus; and since Aristippus was thought to enjoy the friendship of Antigonus, Aristeas hastened to invite Pyrrhus into Argos. Pyrrhus was always entertaining one hope after another, and since he made one success but the starting point for a new one, while he was determined to make good each disaster by a fresh undertaking, he suffered neither defeat nor victory to put a limit to his troubling himself and troubling others. At once, therefore, he broke camp and set out for Argos. But Areus, by setting frequent ambushes and occupying the most difficult points on the march, kept cutting off the Gauls and Molossians who brought up the rear for Pyrrhus.

Now, it had been foretold to Pyrrhus by his seer, in consequence of sacrifices where no liver could be found, that he was to lose one of his kindred; but here, unhappily, owing to the agitation and tumult among his rear-guard, he forgot himself, and ordered his son Ptolemy with his comrades to go to the rescue, while he himself drew his army more quickly out of the narrow pass and led them forward. A

τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μάχης γενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
λέκτων Λακεδαιμονίων, ὧν Εὔαλκος ἡγεῖτο, τοῖς
μαχομένοις πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπλεκομένων, ἀνὴρ
πλήκτης καὶ δραμεῖν ὀξύς, Ὄρυσσος ὄνομα, Κρὴς
Ἀπτεραῖος, ἐκ πλαγίου παραδραμὼν ἀγωνιζό-
μενον ἐκθύμως τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπάταξε καὶ κατέ-
5 βαλε. πεσόντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τροπῆς γενομένης
τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διώκοντες καὶ
κρατοῦντες ἔλαθον εἰς τὸ πεδίον συνεμβαλόντες
καὶ ἀποληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς ὁ
Πύρρος ἄρτι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ παιδὸς ἀκηκοὼς
καὶ περιπαθῶν ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς ἱππεῖς τῶν
Μολοσσῶν. καὶ πρῶτος εἰσελάσας ἐνεπίμπλατο
φόνου τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀεὶ μέν τις ἄμαχος καὶ
δεινὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις φαινόμενος, τότε δὲ ὑπερ-
βάλλων τόλμῃ καὶ βίᾳ τοὺς προτέρους ἀγῶνας.
6 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέβαλε τῷ Εὐάλκῳ τὸν ἵππον, ὁ μὲν ἐκ
πλαγίου παραστὰς μικρὸν ἐδέησε τῷ ξίφει τὴν
ἐπὶ τῆς ἡνίας χεῖρα διακόψαι τοῦ Πύρρου, τὴν δὲ
ἡνίαν πατάξας ἀπέκοψεν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἅμα τῇ
πληγῇ τοῦ δόρατος διελάσας ἐκεῖνον ἀπερρύη τοῦ
ἵππου, καὶ πεζὸς ἤδη πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐάλκῳ
μαχομένους ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς λογάδας. καὶ μέγα
τοῦτο τῇ Σπάρτῃ παρανάλωμα τοῦ πολέμου πέ-
ρας ἔχοντος ἐποίησεν ἡ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἀρχόντων.

XXXI. Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ὥσπερ ἐναγισμόν τινα
τῷ παιδὶ τελέσας καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγωνι-
σάμενος, καὶ πολὺ τῆς λύπης ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους ἀφεὶς θυμῷ, προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος.
καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἤδη πυνθανόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν 404
ἄκρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου καθῆσθαι, περὶ τὴν Ναυ-

fierce battle raged where Ptolemy was, and while a band of picked Spartans under the command of Evalcus engaged the soldiers who were fighting in front of him, a man of stout arm and swift foot, Oryssus by name, of Aptera in Crete, ran up on one side of the young prince as he was fighting spiritedly, smote him, and laid him low. Upon Ptolemy's fall and the rout of his company, the Spartans pursued, carrying all before them, and before they were aware of it had dashed out into the plain and were cut off by the infantry of Pyrrhus. Against this band of Spartans Pyrrhus, who had just heard of the death of his son and was in anguish, turned his Molossian horsemen. He himself charged at their head, and sated himself with Spartan blood. He had always shown himself invincible and terrible in arms, but now his daring and might surpassed all previous displays. When he set his horse upon Evalcus, the Spartan stepped aside and had almost cut off with his sword the bridle-hand of Pyrrhus; as it was he hit the rein and severed it. Pyrrhus transfixed the Spartan with a thrust of his spear, and at the same instant fell off his horse, and fighting on foot, at once proceeded to slay all the picked band which was fighting over the body of Evalcus. This great additional loss to Sparta when the war was already at an end was due to the ambition of the commanders.

XXXI. So Pyrrhus, after accomplishing as it were an expiation for his son and celebrating his obsequies with a brilliant contest, having also vented much of his grief in his fury against the enemy, led his army on towards Argos. And when he learned that Antigonus was already posted on the heights com-

πλίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσε. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ κήρυκα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἔπεμψε, λυμεῶνά τε καλῶν καὶ προκαλούμενος εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβάντα δια-
2 γωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν μὲν αὑτοῦ στρατηγίαν οὐχ ὅπλων μᾶλλον ἢ καιρῶν εἶναι, τῷ δὲ Πύρρῳ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς ἀνεῳγέναι πρὸς θάνατον, εἰ ζῆν μὴ σχολάζει. πρὸς δὲ ἀμφοτέρους πρέσβεις ἧκον ἐξ Ἄργους, ἀπαλλάττεσθαι δεόμενοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐὰν μηδετέρου γενομένην, εὔνουν δὲ οὖσαν ἀμφοτέροις. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίγονος ἐπείθετο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐδίδου τοῖς Ἀργείοις ὅμηρον, ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ὡμολόγει μὲν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι, μὴ παρέχων δὲ πίστιν ὑποπτότερος ἦν.

3 Γίνεται δὲ σημεῖον αὐτῷ τε τῷ Πύρρῳ μέγα, τῶν γὰρ βοῶν τεθυμένων αἱ κεφαλαὶ κείμεναι χωρὶς ἤδη τάς τε γλώττας ὤφθησαν προβάλλουσαι καὶ περιλιχμώμεναι τὸν ἑαυτῶν φόνον, ἔν τε τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἡ τοῦ Λυκείου προφῆτις Ἀπόλλωνος ἐξέδραμε βοῶσα νεκρῶν ὁρᾶν καὶ φόνου κατάπλεω τὴν πόλιν, τὸν δ' ἀετὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χωροῦντα, εἶτα φροῦδον εἶναι.

XXXII. Σκότους δὲ πολλοῦ προσμίξας ὁ Πύρρος τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ πύλην εὑρὼν ἣν Διαμπερὲς καλοῦσιν ἀνεῳγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστέου αὐτοῖς, ἄχρι μὲν τοῦ παρεισπεσεῖν τοὺς Γαλάτας τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καταλαβεῖν ἐλάνθανε· τῆς δὲ πύλης τοὺς ἐλέφαντας οὐ δεχομένης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς πύργους αὐτῶν ἀφαιρούντων, εἶτα πάλιν ἐν σκότει καὶ θορύβῳ περιτιθέντων καὶ γενομένης διατριβῆς, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι συναισθόμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ἀσπίδα καὶ τοὺς ὀχυροὺς τόπους

manding the plain, he pitched his camp near Nauplia. On the following day he sent a herald to Antigonus, calling him a robber, and challenging him to come down into the plain and fight with him for the kingdom. But Antigonus replied that in conducting a campaign he relied more upon opportunities than upon arms, and that many roads to death lay open to Pyrrhus if he was tired of life. And now to both kings came ambassadors from Argos, entreating them to go away and allow the city to be neutral, but well-disposed towards both. Antigonus, accordingly, consented, and gave his son to the Argives as a hostage; Pyrrhus also agreed to go away, but since he gave no pledge, he remained under suspicion.

Moreover, Pyrrhus himself had a significant portent; for the heads of his sacrificed cattle, though they already lay apart from the bodies, were seen to put out their tongues and lick up their own gore. And besides this, in the city of Argos the priestess of Apollo Lyceius ran forth from the temple crying that she saw the city full of corpses and slaughter, and that the eagle which visited the scene of combat presently vanished away.

XXXII. At dead of night Pyrrhus came up to the walls of the city, and finding that the gate called Diamperes had been thrown open for them by Aristeas, was undiscovered long enough for his Gauls to enter the city and take possession of the market-place. But the gate would not admit his elephants, and therefore the towers had to be taken off their backs and put on again when the animals were inside, in darkness and confusion. This caused delay, and the Argives, taking the alarm, ran up to the Aspis and other strong places of the city, and sending

ἀνέθεον, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐκάλουν πέμποντες.
2 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐγγὺς προσελάσας ἐφήδρευε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰσέπεμψε συχνὴν βοήθειαν ἄγοντας. ἧκε δὲ καὶ Ἄρευς ἔχων χιλίους Κρῆτας καὶ Σπαρτιάτας τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους. καὶ πάντες ἅμα τοῖς Γαλάταις προσβαλόντες εἰς πολὺν θόρυβον κατέστησαν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος εἰσιὼν μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βοῆς παρὰ τὴν Κυλάραβιν, ὡς οἱ Γαλάται τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀντηλάλαξαν οὐκ ἰταμὸν οὐδὲ θαρραλέον, εἴκασε ταραττομένων εἶναι τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πονούντων.
3 ἐπῆγεν οὖν θᾶττον, ὠθῶν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἱππέων δυσοδοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὀχετοῖς, ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ μεστή, καὶ κινδυνεύοντας. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀσάφεια πολλὴ τῶν δρωμένων καὶ παραγγελλομένων ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ, καὶ πλάναι καὶ διασπασμοὶ περὶ τοὺς στενωπούς, καὶ στρατηγίας οὐδὲν ἔργον ὑπὸ σκότους καὶ βοῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ στενότητος, ἀλλὰ διέτριβον ἄλλως περιμένοντες ἀμφότεροι τὴν ἡμέραν.
4 Ἤδη δὲ διαλάμποντος ἥ τε Ἀσπὶς ὅπλων περίπλεως πολεμίων ὀφθεῖσα τὸν Πύρρον διετάραξε, καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασι κατιδὼν λύκον χαλκοῦν καὶ ταῦρον οἷον εἰς μάχην ἀλλήλοις συνιόντας ἐξεπλάγη, χρησμόν τινα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκὼν παλαιόν, ὡς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ πεπρωμένον ὅταν λύκον ἴδῃ ταύρῳ μαχόμενον.
5 ταῦτα δὲ Ἀργεῖοι πάθους ὑπομνήματα παλαιοῦ

to Antigonus called upon him for help. Antigonus marched up close to the city, and lying in wait there himself, sent his generals and his son inside with a considerable relief-force. Areus also came, with a thousand Cretans and Spartans (the most lightly armed). All these troops united in an assault upon the Gauls and threw them into great confusion. And Pyrrhus, who now entered the city with shouts and cries by way of Cylarabis,[1] noticed that the Gauls did not answer his men with any vigour or courage, and therefore conjectured that their response was that of men confounded and in distress. Accordingly, he led on faster, pushing along the horsemen in front of him, who were making their way with difficulty among the water-conduits, of which the city is full, and were in peril of their lives from them. And now, in this night-battle, there was great uncertainty as to what commands were given and how the commands were carried out; men straggled and lost their way among the narrow streets, and generalship was of no avail owing to the darkness, confused shouting, and confined spaces; both parties therefore were unable to accomplish anything and waited for the day.

But when at last it began to grow light, the sight of the Aspis filled with armed enemies greatly disturbed Pyrrhus; moreover, among the numerous votive-offerings in the market-place he caught sight of a wolf and bull in bronze, represented as closing with one another in battle, and he was dumbfounded, for he called to mind an ancient oracle regarding himself which declared that it was fated for him to die when he saw a wolf fighting with a bull. Now, the Argives say that these figures were set up in

[1] A gymnasium just outside the city towards the East.

γενενῆσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι. Δαναῷ γάρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐπέβη τῆς χώρας κατὰ τὰ Πυράμια τῆς Θυρεάτιδος, εἰς Ἄργος πορευομένῳ λύκον φανῆναι ταύρῳ μαχόμενον· θέμενον δὲ τὸν Δαναὸν ὡς ὁ λύκος εἴη πρὸς αὐτοῦ (ξένον γὰρ ὄντα τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι καθάπερ αὐτόν), ἐφορᾶν τὴν μάχην, καὶ τοῦ λύκου κρατήσαντος Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκείῳ προσευξάμενον ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι, στάσει Γελάνορος, ὃς τότε τῶν Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευεν, ἐκπεσόντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα 405
τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν λόγον.

XXXIII. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ὁ Πύρρος ἅμα καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ὧν ἤλπιζε[1] προχωρεῖν ἀθυμῶν ἀναστρέφειν διενοεῖτο· τὰς δὲ πύλας στενὰς οὔσας φοβούμενος ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Ἕλενον μετὰ τῆς πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἔξω καταλελειμμένον, κελεύων τοῦ τείχους διασκάπτειν καὶ δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἐκπίπ-
2 τοντας, ἂν ἐνοχλῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ τοῦ πεμφθέντος οὐδὲν σαφὲς ἀπαγγέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαμαρτίας γενομένης, τῶν θηρίων τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους ὁ νεανίσκος εἴσω διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐχώρει τῷ πατρὶ βοηθήσων. ἔτυχε δὲ ὁ Πύρρος ἀναστρέφων ἤδη. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἡ ἀγορὰ παρεῖχεν ὑπεξάγοντι χώραν καὶ μαχομένῳ, ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἠμύνετο τοὺς ἐπιφερο-
3 μένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς τὸν στενωπὸν ἐξωσθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἀνήκοντα συνέπιπτε τοῖς ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας προσφερομένοις, οἱ

[1] ἤλπιζε Coraës, Bekker, and Blass, with the MSS.: ἤλπισε.

their market-place as memorials of an ancient event. Namely, when Danaüs first landed in the country, near Pyramia in the district of Thyreatis, and was on his way to Argos, he saw a wolf fighting with a bull; and conceiving that he himself was represented by the wolf (since both were strangers and were attacking the natives), he watched the battle to its end, and when the wolf had prevailed, paid his vows to Apollo Lyceiüs (the wolf-god), attacked the city, and was victorious, after Gelanor, who was at that time king of Argos, had been driven out by a faction. This, then, was the significance of the dedication.[1]

XXXIII. Dejected at this sight, as well as because none of his hopes were being realized, Pyrrhus purposed to retreat; but fearing the narrowness of the gates he sent to his son Helenus, who had been left outside the city with the greater part of the forces, ordering him to tear down part of the wall and succour those who rushed out through the breach, in case the enemy molested them. Owing to the haste and tumult, however, the messenger brought no clear orders, but actually made a mistake, and the young prince, taking the rest of the elephants and the best of his soldiers, marched through the gate into the city to help his father. But Pyrrhus was already on the retreat. And as long as the market-place afforded him room for withdrawing and fighting, he would turn and repel his assailants; but after he had been driven out of the market-place into the narrow street which led up to the gate, and encountered those who were rushing to his aid from the opposite direction, some of these could not hear

[1] Cf. Pausanias, ii. 19, 3.

μὲν οὐχ ὑπήκουον ὑποχωρεῖν βοῶντος αὐτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πάνυ προθύμους ὄντας εἶργον οἱ κατόπιν
4 ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης ἐπιχεόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μέγιστος ἐλέφας ἐν τῇ πύλῃ πλάγιος παραπεσὼν καὶ βρυχώμενος ἐμποδὼν ἔκειτο τοῖς ἀποτρεπομένοις, καὶ τῶν προεισεληλυθότων ἕτερος, ᾧ Νίκων ὄνομα ἦν, ἀπορρυέντα τὸν ἐπιστάτην ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ζητῶν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ φερόμενος πρὸς τοὐναντίον τοῖς ὑπεξάγουσιν, ἀνέμιξε φίλους ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμίους
5 ὠθουμένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ περιέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις, ἕως εὑρὼν νεκρὸν ἀνείλετο τῇ προβοσκίδι, καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις ὑπολαβὼν ἀνέστρεφε πάλιν ὥσπερ ἐμμανής, ἀνατρέπων καὶ διαφθείρων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οὕτω δὲ θλιβομένων καὶ συμπιλουμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ καθ' ἕνα χρῆσθαι δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἓν σῶμα συγγεγομφωμένον ἑαυτῷ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐλάμβανε πολλὰς ἀποκλίσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπ'
6 ἀμφότερα. καὶ μάχαι μὲν ἦσαν ὀλίγαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναπολαμβανομένους ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ προσκειμένους ὄπισθεν, πλεῖστα δὲ ἑαυτοὺς εἰργάζοντο κακά. σπασάμενον γὰρ τὸ ξίφος ἢ κλίναντα λόγχην οὐκ ἦν ἀναλαβεῖν οὐδὲ καταθέσθαι πάλιν, ἀλλ' ἐχώρει δι' ὧν ἔτυχε τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, καὶ περιπίπτοντες ἀλλήλοις ἔθνησκον.

XXXIV. Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἐφορῶν τὸν περιέχοντα χειμῶνα καὶ κλύδωνα, τὴν μὲν στεφάνην, ᾗ διάσημον ἦν τὸ κράνος, ἀφελὼν ἔδωκέ τινι τῶν ἑταίρων, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ πεποιθὼς εἰς τοὺς

him when he called out to them to withdraw, and those who did, even though they were very ready to obey him, were kept from doing so by those who were pouring in behind them from the gate. For the largest of the elephants had fallen athwart the gateway[1] and lay there roaring, in the way of those who would have turned back; and another elephant, one of those which had gone on into the city, Nicon by name, seeking to recover his rider, who had fallen from his back in consequence of wounds, and dashing in the face of those who were trying to get out, crowded friends and foes alike together in a promiscuous throng, until, having found the body of his master, he took it up with his proboscis, laid it across his two tusks, and turned back as if crazed, overthrowing and killing those who came in his way. Thus crushed and matted together not a man of them could act at all for himself, but the whole multitude, bolted together, as it were, into one body, kept rolling and swaying this way and that. Little fighting could be done against those of the enemy who were continually being caught up into their ranks or attacking them from the rear, and they wrought most harm to themselves. For when a man had drawn his sword or poised his spear, he could not recover or sheathe his weapon again, but it would pass through those who stood in its way, and so they died from one another's blows.

XXXIV. But Pyrrhus, seeing the stormy sea that surged about him, took off the coronal, with which his helmet was distinguished, and gave it to one of his companions; then, relying on his horse, he plunged in among the enemy who were pursuing

[1] "De travers tout au beau milieu de la porte" (Amyot).

ἑπομένους τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δόρατι πληγεὶς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος οὐ καιρίαν πληγὴν οὐδὲ μεγάλην ἐπέστρεψε κατὰ τοῦ πατάξαντος, ὃς ἦν Ἀργεῖος, οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ πενιχρᾶς καὶ
2 πρεσβυτέρας υἱὸς γυναικός. αὕτη τότε θεωμένη τὴν μάχην ὥσπερ αἱ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους, ὡς ἐπέγνω συνεστῶτα τῷ Πύρρῳ τὸν υἱόν, ἐκπαθὴς γενομένη πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἄρασα κεραμίδα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον. ἐμπεσούσης δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους, καὶ τῶν σφονδύλων πρὸς τὴν βάσιν τοῦ τραχήλου συντριβέντων, αἵ τε ὄψεις συνεχύθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προήκαντο τὰς ἡνίας αἱ χεῖρες. αὐτὸς δὲ κατενεχθεὶς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Λικυμνίου σηκὸν
3 ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοούμενος. Ζώπυρος δέ τις τῶν παρὰ Ἀντιγόνῳ στρατευομένων καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἕτεροι προσδραμόντες καὶ κατανοήσαντες εἴς τινα θυρῶνα παρείλκυσαν αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέρεσθαι. σπασαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ζωπύρου μάχαιραν Ἰλλυρικὴν ὡς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμοῦντος ἐνέβλεψε δεινόν, ὥστε τὸν Ζώπυρον περίφοβον γενόμενον, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρέμοντα ταῖς χερσί, τὰ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντα, θορύβου δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς μεστὸν ὄντα, μὴ κατ' ὀρθόν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὸ γένειον ἀποτέμνοντα βρα- 406
4 δέως καὶ μόλις ἀποσπάσαι τὴν κεφαλήν. ἤδη δὲ σύνδηλον ἦν τὸ γεγονὸς πλείοσι, καὶ προσδραμὼν ὁ Ἀλκυονεὺς ᾔτησε τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἂν κατανοήσων. λαβὼν δὲ ἀφίππευσε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ καθεζομένῳ μετὰ τῶν φίλων προσέβαλε. θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ γνοὺς ὁ Ἀντίγονος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν

him. Here he was wounded by a spear which pierced his breastplate—not a mortal, nor even a severe wound—and turned upon the man who had struck him, who was an Argive, not of illustrious birth, but the son of a poor old woman. His mother, like the rest of the women, was at this moment watching the battle from the house-top, and when she saw that her son was engaged in conflict with Pyrrhus, she was filled with distress in view of the danger to him, and lifting up a tile with both her hands threw it at Pyrrhus. It fell upon his head below his helmet and crushed the vertebrae at the base of his neck, so that his sight was blurred and his hands dropped the reins. Then he sank down from his horse and fell near the tomb of Licymnius,[1] unrecognised by most who saw him. But a certain Zopyrus, who was serving under Antigonus, and two or three others, ran up to him, saw who he was, and dragged him into a door-way just as he was beginning to recover from the blow. And when Zopyrus drew an Illyrian short-sword with which to cut off his head, Pyrrhus gave him a terrible look, so that Zopyrus was frightened; his hands trembled, and yet he essayed the deed; but being full of alarm and confusion his blow did not fall true, but along the mouth and chin, so that it was only slowly and with difficulty that he severed the head. Presently what had happened was known to many, and Alcyoneus, running to the spot, asked for the head as if he would see whose it was. But when he had got it he rode away to his father, and cast it down before him as he sat among his friends. Antigonus, however, when he saw and recognised the head, drove his son

[1] Cf. Pausanias, ii. 22, 8.

ἀπήλασε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ παίων καὶ καλῶν ἐναγῆ καὶ βάρβαρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα προθέμενος τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐδάκρυσεν, Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ πάππου μνησθεὶς καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ πατρός, οἰκείων παραδειγμάτων εἰς τύχης μεταβολήν.

5 Τὴν μὲν οὖν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Πύρρου κοσμήσας ἔκαυσεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀλκυονεὺς τῷ Ἑλένῳ περιτυχὼν ταπεινῷ καὶ χλαμύδιον λιτὸν ἀμπεχομένῳ φιλανθρώπως ἐνέτυχε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ προσήγαγεν, ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος "Βελτίονα μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων,[1] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν ὀρθῶς τῷ μὴ περιελεῖν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην, ἣ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς καταισχύνει τοὺς κρατεῖν δοκοῦντας."
6 ἐκ τούτου φιλοφρονησάμενος καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν Ἕλενον ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἤπειρον, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ Πύρρου πρᾴως ἐνετύγχανε τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως πάσης κύριος γενόμενος.

[1] προτέρων Bekker adopts the πρότερον of Muretus.

away, smiting him with his staff and calling him impious and barbarous; then, covering his face with his cloak he burst into tears, calling to mind Antigonus his grandfather and Demetrius his father, who were examples in his own family of a reversal of fortune.

The head and body of Pyrrhus, then, Antigonus caused to be adorned for burial and burned; and when Alcyoneus found Helenus in an abject state and wearing a paltry cloak, and spoke to him kindly and brought him into the presence of his father, Antigonus was pleased with his conduct, and said: "This is better, my son, than what thou didst before; but not even now hast thou done well in allowing this clothing to remain, which is a disgrace the rather to us who are held to be the victors." Then, after showing kindness to Helenus and adorning his person, he sent him back to Epeirus, and he dealt mildly with the friends of Pyrrhus when he became master of their camp and of their whole force.

CAIUS MARIUS

ΓΑΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΟΣ

I. Γαΐου Μαρίου τρίτον οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν ὄνομα, καθάπερ οὐδὲ Κοΐντου Σερτωρίου τοῦ κατασχόντος Ἰβηρίαν, οὐδὲ Λευκίου Μομμίου τοῦ Κόρινθον ἑλόντος· ὁ γὰρ Ἀχαϊκὸς τούτῳ γε τῆς πράξεως ἐπώνυμον γέγονεν, ὡς ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς
2 Σκηπίωνι καὶ ὁ Μακεδονικὸς Μετέλλῳ. ἐξ οὗ καὶ μάλιστα Ποσειδώνιος ἐλέγχειν οἴεται τοὺς τὸ τρίτον ὄνομα Ῥωμαίοις κύριον εἶναι νομίζοντας, οἷον τὸν Κάμιλλον καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα· γίνεσθαι γὰρ ἂν ἀνωνύμους[1] τοὺς ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν δυεῖν προσαγορευομένους. λανθάνει δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὅτι τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἀνωνύμους ποιεῖ[2] τὰς γυναῖκας· οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ γυναικὶ τίθεται τῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ πρῶτον, ὅπερ οἴεται κυρίως ὄνομα Ῥωμαίοις ὑπάρχειν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος.
3 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ἀπὸ συγγενείας, τοὺς Πομπηΐους καὶ τοὺς Μαλλίους καὶ τοὺς Κορνηλίους (ὥσπερ ἂν Ἡρακλείδας τις εἴποι καὶ Πελοπίδας), τοῦτο δὲ προσηγορικὸν ἐξ ἐπιθέτου πρὸς τὰς φύσεις ἢ τὰς πράξεις ἢ τὰ τοῦ σώματος εἴδη καὶ πάθη τίθεσθαι, τὸν Μακρῖνον καὶ τὸν Τουρκουᾶτον καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν (οἷόν ἐστιν ὁ Μνήμων ἢ ὁ Γρυπὸς ἢ ὁ Καλλίνικος). εἰς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα

[1] ἂν ἀνωνύμους Ziegler, after Schaefer: ἀνωνύμους.
[2] ποιεῖ Bekker and Ziegler, after Coraës: ποιεῖται.

CAIUS MARIUS

I. Of a third name for Caius Marius we are ignorant, as we are in the case of Quintus Sertorius the subduer of Spain, and of Lucius Mummius the captor of Corinth; for Mummius received the surname of Achaïcus from his great exploit, as Scipio received that of Africanus, and Metellus that of Macedonicus. From this circumstance particularly Poseidonius thinks to confute those who hold that the third name is the Roman proper name, as, for instance, Camillus, Marcellus, or Cato; for if that were so, he says, then those with only two names would have had no proper name at all. But it escapes his notice that his own line of reasoning, if extended to women, robs them of their proper names; for no woman is given the first name, which Poseidonius thinks was the proper name among the Romans. Moreover, of the other two names, one was common to the whole family, as in the case of the Pompeii, the Manlii, or the Cornelii (just as a Greek might speak of the Heracleidae or the Pelopidae), and the other was a cognomen or epithet, given with reference to their natures or their actions, or to their bodily appearances or defects, Macrinus, for example, or Torquatus, or Sulla (like the Greek Mnemon, Grypus, or Callinicus).[1] However,

[1] The full name of a Roman citizen consisted of a *praenomen* (the "given," or "proper" name), a *nomen* designating his family or *gens*, and a *cognomen*, which was also hereditary. Women rarely had a *praenomen*, or "proper" name, but bore the family name only.

πολλὰς δίδωσιν ἐπιχειρήσεις ἡ τῆς συνηθείας
ἀνωμαλία.

II. Τῆς δὲ ὄψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθίνην εἰκόνα
κειμένην ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμεθα
πάνυ τῇ λεγομένῃ περὶ τὸ ἦθος στρυφνότητι καὶ
πικρίᾳ πρέπουσαν. ἀνδρώδης γὰρ φύσει καὶ
πολεμικὸς γενόμενος, καὶ στρατιωτικῆς μᾶλλον ἢ
πολιτικῆς παιδείας μεταλαβών, ἄκρατον ἐν ταῖς
2 ἐξουσίαις τὸν θυμὸν ἔσχε. λέγεται δὲ μήτε γράμ-
ματα μαθεῖν Ἑλληνικὰ μήτε γλώττῃ πρὸς μηδὲν
Ἑλληνίδι χρῆσθαι τῶν σπουδῆς ἐχομένων, ὡς
γελοῖον γράμματα μανθάνειν ὧν οἱ διδάσκαλοι
δουλεύοιεν ἑτέροις· μετὰ δὲ τὸν δεύτερον θρίαμ-
βον ἐπὶ ναοῦ τινος καθιερώσει θέας Ἑλληνικὰς
παρέχων, εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐλθὼν καὶ μόνον καθίσας 407
3 εὐθὺς ἀπαλλαγῆναι. ὥσπερ οὖν Ξενοκράτει τῷ
φιλοσόφῳ σκυθρωποτέρῳ δοκοῦντι τὸ ἦθος εἶναι
πολλάκις εἰώθει λέγειν ὁ Πλάτων, "Ὦ μακάριε
Ξενόκρατες, θῦε ταῖς Χάρισιν," οὕτως εἴ τις ἔπεισε
Μάριον θύειν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς Μούσαις καὶ
Χάρισιν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκπρεπεστάταις στρατηγίαις καὶ
πολιτείαις ἀμορφοτάτην ἐπέθηκε κορωνίδα, ὑπὸ
θυμοῦ καὶ φιλαρχίας ἀώρου καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἀπα-
ρηγορήτων εἰς ὠμότατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον γῆρας
ἐξοκείλας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν
εὐθὺς θεωρείσθω.

III. Γενόμενος δὲ γονέων παντάπασιν ἀδόξων,
αὐτουργῶν δὲ καὶ πενήτων, πατρὸς μὲν ὁμωνύμου,
μητρὸς δὲ Φουλκινίας, ὀψέ ποτε πόλιν εἶδε καὶ

in these matters the irregularity of custom furnishes many topics for discussion.

II. As for the personal appearance of Marius, we have seen a marble statue of him at Ravenna in Gaul, and it very well portrays the harshness and bitterness of character which are ascribed to him. For since he was naturally virile and fond of war, and since he received a training in military rather than in civil life, his temper was fierce when he came to exercise authority. Moreover, we are told that he never studied Greek literature, and never used the Greek language for any matter of real importance, thinking it ridiculous to study a literature the teachers of which were the subjects of another people; and when, after his second triumph and at the consecration of some temple, he furnished the public with Greek spectacles, though he came into the theatre, he merely sat down, and at once went away. Accordingly, just as Plato was wont to say often to Xenocrates the philosopher, who had the reputation of being rather morose in his disposition, "My good Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces," so if Marius could have been persuaded to sacrifice to the Greek Muses and Graces, he would not have put the ugliest possible crown upon a most illustrious career in field and forum, nor have been driven by the blasts of passion, ill-timed ambition, and insatiable greed upon the shore of a most cruel and savage old age. However, his actual career shall at once bring this into clear view.

III. Born of parents who were altogether obscure —poor people who lived by the labour of their own hands (Marius was his father's name, Fulcinia that of his mother), it was not till late that he saw the city

τῶν ἐν πόλει διατριβῶν ἐγεύσατο, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν κώμῃ Κιρραιάτωνι τῆς Ἀρπίνης δίαιταν εἶχε, πρὸς μὲν ἀστεῖον καὶ γλαφυρὸν βίον ἀγροικοτέραν, σώφρονα δὲ καὶ ταῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίων
2 τροφαῖς ἐοικυῖαν. πρώτην δὲ στρατείαν στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Κελτίβηρας, ὅτε Σκηπίων Ἀφρικανὸς Νομαντίαν ἐπολιόρκει, τὸν στρατηγὸν οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν ἀνδρείᾳ τῶν ἄλλων νέων διαφέρων καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς διαίτης, ἣν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας διεφθαρμένοις ἐπῆγε τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὁ Σκηπίων, εὐκολώτατα προσδεχόμενος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολέμιον ἄνδρα συστὰς κατα-
3 βαλεῖν ἐν ὄψει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. διὸ ταῖς τε ἄλλαις προήγετο τιμαῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καί ποτε λόγου μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐμπεσόντος ὑπὲρ στρατηγῶν, καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἑνὸς εἴτε ἀληθῶς διαπορήσαντος εἴτε πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐρομένου τὸν Σκηπίωνα τίνα δὴ τοιοῦτον ἕξει μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ προστάτην ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὑπερκατακειμένου τοῦ Μαρίου τῇ χειρὶ τὸν ὦμον ἠρέμα πατάξας ὁ Σκηπίων, "Τάχα δὲ τοῦτον," εἶπεν. οὕτως εὐφυὴς ἦν ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειρακίου φανῆναι μέγας, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ τέλος νοῆσαι.

IV. Τὸν δ' οὖν Μάριον ὑπὸ ταύτης λέγεται μάλιστα τῆς φωνῆς, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θείας κληδόνος, ἐπαρθέντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τυχεῖν δημαρχίας Κεκιλίου Μετέλλου

or got a taste of city ways. In the meantime he lived at Cirrhaeaton,[1] a village in the territory of Arpinum, in a manner that was quite rude when compared with the polished life of a city, but temperate, and in harmony with the rearing which the ancient Romans gave their children. His first service as a soldier was in a campaign against the Celtiberians, when Scipio Africanus was besieging Numantia,[2] and he attracted the notice of his general by excelling the other young men in bravery, and by his very cheerful acceptance of the changed regimen which Scipio introduced into his army when it was spoiled by luxury and extravagance. It is said, too, that he encountered and laid low an enemy in the sight of his general. Therefore he was advanced by his commander to many honours; and once, when the talk after supper had to do with generals, and one of the company (either because he really wished to know or merely sought to please) asked Scipio where the Roman people would find any such chieftain and leader to follow him, Scipio, gently tapping Marius on the shoulder as he reclined next him, said: "Here, perhaps." So gifted by nature were both men; the one in showing himself great while still a young man, and the other in discerning the end from the beginning.

IV. So, then, Marius, filled with high hopes, we are told, by this speech of Scipio in particular, as if it were a divine utterance in prophecy, set out upon a political career, and was made tribune of the people[3] with the assistance of Caecilius Metellus, of

[1] Probably a corruption for Cereatae.
[2] 134–133 B.C.
[3] In 119 B.C., at the age of thirty-eight.

σπουδάσαντος, οὗ τὸν οἶκον ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ πατρό-
2 θεν ἐθεράπευεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ νόμον τινὰ
περὶ ψηφοφορίας γράφοντος αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντα τῶν
δυνατῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἰσχύν,
ἐνιστάμενος Κόττας ὁ ὕπατος συνέπεισε τὴν βου-
λὴν τῷ μὲν νόμῳ μάχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Μάριον καλεῖν
λόγον ὑφέξοντα. καὶ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου γρα-
φέντος εἰσελθὼν ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔπαθε νέου πάθος ἀπὸ
μηδενὸς λαμπροῦ προεληλυθότος ἄρτι πρὸς τὴν
πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς ἤδη φρονεῖν ἡλίκον
αἱ μετέπειτα πράξεις ἔδωκαν, ἠπείλησε τὸν Κότ-
ταν ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, εἰ μὴ διαγράψειε
3 τὸ δόγμα. τοῦ δὲ πρὸς Μέτελλον τραπομένου καὶ
γνώμην ἐρωτῶντος, Μέτελλος μὲν ἀναστὰς συν-
ηγόρει τῷ ὑπάτῳ, Μάριος δὲ τὸν ὑπηρέτην μετα-
πεμψάμενος ἔξωθεν ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν τὸν
Μέτελλον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς
ἄλλους ἐπικαλουμένου δημάρχους ἐβοήθει μὲν
οὐδείς, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος εἴξασα προήκατο τὸ δόγμα.
καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐξελάσας ὁ Μάριος εἰς τὸ πλῆθος
ἐκύρωσε τὸν νόμον, δόξας ἄκαμπτος μὲν εἶναι
πρὸς φόβον, ἄτρεπτος δὲ ὑπ' αἰδοῦς, δεινὸς δὲ
κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνίστασθαι χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν
4 δημαγωγῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν ταχέως
μετέστησεν ἑτέρῳ πολιτεύματι τὴν δόξαν. νόμου
γὰρ εἰσφερομένου περὶ σίτου διανομῆς τοῖς πολί-
ταις ἐναντιωθεὶς ἐρρωμενέστατα καὶ κρατήσας,
εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἑαυτὸν κατέστησε τῇ τιμῇ πρὸς 408
ἀμφοτέρους ὡς μηδετέροις παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον
χαριζόμενος.

V. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀγορανομίαν τὴν
μείζονα παρήγγειλε. δύο γάρ εἰσι τάξεις ἀγο-

whose house he had always been an hereditary adherent. While serving as tribune he introduced a law concerning the mode of voting, which, as it was thought, would lessen the power of the nobles in judicial cases; whereupon Cotta the consul opposed him and persuaded the senate to contest the law, and to summon Marius before it to explain his procedure. The senate voted to do this, and Marius appeared before it. He did not, however, behave like a young man who had just entered political life without any brilliant services behind him, but assumed at once the assurance which his subsequent achievements gave him, and threatened to hale Cotta off to prison unless he had the vote rescinded. Cotta then turned to Metellus and asked him to express his opinion, and Metellus, rising in his place, concurred with the consul; but Marius called in the officer and ordered him to conduct Metellus himself to prison. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but none of them came to his support, so the senate gave way and rescinded its vote. Marius therefore came forth in triumph to the people and got them to ratify his law. Men now thought him superior to fear, unmoved by respect of persons, and a formidable champion of the people in opposition to the senate. However, this opinion was quickly modified by another political procedure of his. For when a law was introduced providing for the distribution of grain to the citizens, he opposed it most strenuously and carried the day, thereby winning for himself an equal place in the esteem of both parties as a man who favoured neither at the expense of the general good.

V. After his tribuneship, he became a candidate for the higher aedileship. For there are two classes

ρανομιῶν, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων τῶν ἀγκυλοπόδων, ἐφ' ὧν καθεζόμενοι χρηματίζουσιν, ἔχουσα τοὔνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὴν δ' ὑποδεεστέραν δημοτικὴν καλοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ τοὺς ἐντιμοτέρους ἕλωνται περὶ τῶν ἑτέρων πάλιν τὴν ψῆφον λαμ-
2 βάνουσιν. ὡς οὖν ὁ Μάριος φανερὸς ἦν λειπόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ, ταχὺ μεταστὰς αὖθις ᾔτει τὴν ἑτέραν. δόξας δὲ θρασὺς εἶναι καὶ αὐθάδης ἀπέτυχε· καὶ δυσὶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ περιπεσὼν ἀποτεύξεσιν, ὃ μηδεὶς ἔπαθεν ἄλλος, οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑφήκατο τοῦ φρονήματος, ὕστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ στρατηγίαν μετελθὼν ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἐκπεσεῖν, ἔσχατος δὲ πάντων ἀναγορευθεὶς δίκην ἔσχε δεκασμοῦ.

3 Μάλιστα δὲ ὑποψίαν παρέσχε Κασσίου Σαβάκωνος οἰκέτης ὀφθεὶς ἐντὸς τῶν δρυφάκτων ἀναμεμιγμένος τοῖς φέρουσι τὰς ψήφους· ὁ γὰρ Σαβάκων ἦν ἑταῖρος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Μαρίου. κληθεὶς οὖν οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἔφη διὰ τὸ καῦμα διψήσας ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν αἰτῆσαι καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἔχοντα ποτήριον εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν,
4 εἶτ' εὐθὺς οἴχεσθαι πιόντος. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι παθεῖν τοῦτο δόξας ἢ διὰ τὴν ψευδομαρτυρίαν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μάριον καὶ Γάϊος Ἑρέννιος μάρτυς εἰσαχθεὶς οὐκ ἔφη πάτριον εἶναι καταμαρτυρεῖν πελατῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νόμον ἀφιέναι ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης τοὺς πάτρωνας (οὕτως γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς προστάτας

of aediles, one taking its name of "curule" from the chairs with curving feet on which the magistrates sit in the exercise of their functions, the other, and the inferior, being called "plebeian." When the superior aediles have been elected, the people cast a second vote for the others. Accordingly, when it was clear that Marius was losing his election to the higher office, he immediately changed his tactics and applied for the other. But men thought him bold and obstinate, and he was defeated; nevertheless, although he had met with two failures in one day, a thing which had never happened to any candidate before, he did not lower his assurance in the least, but not long afterwards became a candidate for the praetorship[1] and narrowly missed defeat; he was returned last of all, and was prosecuted for bribery.

Suspicion was chiefly aroused by the sight of a servant of Cassius Sabaco inside the palings among the voters; for Sabaco was an especial friend of Marius. Sabaco was therefore summoned before the court, and testified that the heat had made him so thirsty that he had called for cold water, and that his servant had come in to him with a cup, and had then at once gone away after his master had drunk. Sabaco, however, was expelled from the senate by the censors of the next year, and it was thought that he deserved this punishment, either because he had given false testimony, or because of his intemperance. But Caius Herennius also was brought in as a witness against Marius, and pleaded that it was contrary to established usage for patrons (the Roman term for our representatives at law) to bear witness against clients, and that the law relieved them of this necessity; and

[1] In 115 B.C.

*καλοῦσι), τοῦ δ' Ἑρεννίων οἴκου τοὺς Μαρίου
γονεῖς καὶ Μάριον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγονέναι
5 πελάτας. ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τὴν ἀπόρρησιν τῆς
μαρτυρίας τῶν δικαστῶν αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Μάριος
πρὸς τὸν Ἑρέννιον ὡς, ὅτε πρῶτον ἄρχων ἀνη-
γορεύθη, τὸν πελάτην ἐκβεβηκώς· ὅπερ ἦν οὐ
παντάπασιν ἀληθές. ἀρχὴ γὰρ οὐ πᾶσα τοῦ
νέμειν προστάτην ἀπαλλάσσει τοὺς τυχόντας
αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος, ἀλλ' ᾗ τὸν ἀγκυλόποδα δίφρον
ὁ νόμος δίδωσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέ-
ραις ἐν τῇ δίκῃ κακῶς πράττων ὁ Μάριος καὶ
χαλεποῖς χρώμενος τοῖς δικασταῖς, τῇ τελευταίᾳ
παραλόγως ἀπέφυγεν ἴσων τῶν ψήφων γενο-
μένων.*

VI. Ἐν *μὲν οὖν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μετρίως ἐπαι-
νούμενον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατη-
γίαν κλήρῳ λαβὼν τὴν ἐκτὸς Ἰβηρίαν λέγεται
καθᾶραι λῃστηρίων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀνήμερον οὖσαν
ἔτι τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς καὶ θηριώδη, καὶ τὸ λῃστεύειν
οὔπω τότε τῶν Ἰβήρων οὐχὶ κάλλιστον ἡγου-
μένων. ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ γενόμενος οὐκ εἶχεν
οὔτε πλοῦτον οὔτε λόγον, οἷς ἦγον οἱ τότε μάλιστα
2 τιμώμενοι τὸν δῆμον. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἀνάτασιν τοῦ
φρονήματος καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς πόνους ἐνδελεχὲς
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν τῆς διαίτης ἔν τινι σπουδῇ
τιθεμένων τῶν πολιτῶν ηὐξάνετο τῇ τιμῇ πρὸς
δύναμιν, ὥστε καὶ γάμον γῆμαι λαμπρὸν οἰκίας
ἐπιφανοῦς τῆς Καισάρων Ἰουλίαν, ἧς ἦν ἀδελ-
φιδοῦς Καῖσαρ ὁ χρόνοις ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων μέγι-
στος γενόμενος καί τι κατ' οἰκειότητα ζηλώσας
Μάριον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.*

not only the parents of Marius but Marius himself had originally been clients of the house of the Herennii. The jurors accepted this plea in avoidance of testimony, but Marius himself contradicted Herennius, declaring that as soon as he had been elected to his magistracy he had ceased to be a client; which was not altogether true. For it is not every magistracy that frees its occupants (as well as their posterity) from their relations to a patron, but only that to which the law assigns the curule chair. However, although during the first days of the trial Marius fared badly and found the jurors severe towards him, on the last day, contrary to all expectation, there was a tie vote and he was acquitted.

VI. Well, then, for his praetorship Marius got only moderate commendation. After his praetorship, however, the province of Farther Spain was allotted to him, and here he is said to have cleared away the robbers, although the province was still uncivilized in its customs and in a savage state, and robbery was at that time still considered a most honourable occupation by the Spaniards. But when he returned to political life, he had neither wealth nor eloquence, with which the magnates of the time used to influence the people. Still, the very intensity of his assurance, his indefatigable labours, and his plain and simple way of living, won him a certain popularity among his fellow citizens, and his honours brought him increasing influence, so that he married into the illustrious family of the Caesars and became the husband of Julia, who was the aunt of that Caesar who in after times became greatest among the Romans, and in some degree, because of his relationship, made Marius his example, as I have stated in his Life.[1]

[1] See the *Caesar*, v. 1 f.

3 Τῷ δὲ Μαρίῳ καὶ σωφροσύνην μαρτυροῦσι καὶ καρτερίαν, ἧς δεῖγμα καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν χειρουργίαν ἐστίν. ἰξιῶν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, μεγάλων ἀνάπλεως ἄμφω τὰ σκέλη γεγονὼς καὶ τὴν ἀμορφίαν δυσχεραίνων ἔγνω παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἰατρῷ· καὶ παρέσχεν ἄδετος θάτερον σκέλος, οὐδὲν κινηθεὶς οὐδὲ στενάξας, ἀλλὰ καθεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ μετὰ σιωπῆς ὑπερβολάς τινας ἀλγηδόνων ἐν ταῖς τομαῖς ἀνασχόμενος. τοῦ δ' ἰατροῦ μετιόντος ἐπὶ θάτερον οὐκέτι παρέσχε, φήσας ὁρᾶν τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα τῆς ἀλγηδόνος οὐκ ἄξιον.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κεκίλιος Μέτελλος ἀποδειχθεὶς 409
ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Ἰουγούρθα πόλεμον ὕπατος στρατηγὸς εἰς Λιβύην ἐπηγάγετο πρεσβευτὴν Μάριον, ἐνταῦθα πράξεων μεγάλων καὶ λαμπρῶν ἀγώνων ἐπιλαβόμενος τὸ μὲν αὔξειν τὸν Μέτελλον, ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποί, καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εἴασε χαίρειν· ἀξιῶν δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ Μετέλλου κεκλῆσθαι πρεσβευτής, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τύχης εἰς εὐφυέστατον καιρὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγιστον εἰσάγεσθαι πράξεων
2 θέατρον, ἐπεδείκνυτο πᾶσαν ἀνδραγαθίαν. καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου δυσχερῆ φέροντος οὔτε τῶν μεγάλων τινὰ πόνων ὑποτρέσας οὔτε τῶν μικρῶν ἀπαξιώσας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὁμοτίμους εὐβουλίᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑπερβαλλόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ εὐτελείας καὶ καρτερίας διαμιλλώμενος εὔνοιαν ἔσχε πολλὴν
3 παρ' αὐτοῖς. ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τοῦ κάμνειν

There is testimony both to the temperance of Marius, and also to his fortitude, of which his behaviour under a surgical operation is a proof. He was afflicted in both legs, as it would appear, with varicose veins, and as he disliked the deformity, he resolved to put himself into the physician's hands. Refusing to be bound, he presented to him one leg, and then, without a motion or a groan, but with a steadfast countenance and in silence, endured incredible pain under the knife. When, however, the physician was proceeding to treat the other leg, Marius would suffer him no further, declaring that he saw the cure to be not worth the pain.

VII. When Caecilius Metellus the consul was appointed commander-in-chief for the war against Jugurtha,[1] he took Marius with him to Africa in the capacity of legate. Here, in essaying great exploits and brilliant struggles, Marius was not careful, like the rest, to enhance the glory of Metellus and conduct himself in his interests; and deeming that he had not so much been called by Metellus to the office of legate as he was being introduced by Fortune into a most favourable opportunity as well as a most spacious theatre for exploits, he made a display of every sort of bravery. And though the war brought many hardships, he neither shunned any great labour, nor disdained any that were small, but surpassed the officers of his own rank in giving good counsel and foreseeing what was advantageous, and vied with the common soldiers in frugality and endurance, thereby winning much goodwill among them. For as a general thing it would seem that every man finds

[1] In 109 B.C.

ἑκάστῳ παραμυθία τὸ συγκάμνον ἑκουσίως εἶναι· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖν τὴν ἀνάγκην· ἥδιστον δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ θέαμα στρατιώτῃ στρατηγὸς ἐσθίων ἐν ὄψει κοινὸν ἄρτον ἢ κατακείμενος ἐπὶ στιβάδος εὐτελοῦς ἢ περὶ ταφρείαν τινὰ καὶ χαράκωσιν ἔργου συνεφαπτόμενος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως τοὺς τιμῆς καὶ χρημάτων μεταδιδόντας ὡς τοὺς πόνου καὶ κινδύνου μεταλαμβάνοντας ἡγεμόνας θαυμάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσι τῶν ῥᾳθυμεῖν ἐπιτρεπόντων τοὺς συμπονεῖν ἐθέλοντας,

4 Ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ὁ Μάριος καὶ διὰ τούτων τοὺς στρατιώτας δημαγωγῶν ταχὺ μὲν ἐνέπλησε τὴν Λιβύην, ταχὺ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην, ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης, τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τοῖς οἴκοι γραφόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστι πέρας οὐδὲ ἀπαλλαγὴ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμου μὴ Γάϊον Μάριον ἑλομένοις ὕπατον.

VIII. Ἐφ' οἷς δῆλος ἦν ὁ Μέτελλος ἀχθόμενος. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἠνίασε τὸ περὶ Τουρπίλλιον. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν μὲν ἐκ πατέρων ξένος τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ τότε τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τεκτόνων ἔχων ἀρχὴν συνεστράτευε· φρουρῶν δὲ Βάγαν, πόλιν μεγάλην, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ πρᾴως καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς προσφέρεσθαι πιστεύων, ἔλαθεν ὑποχείριος τοῖς πολεμίοις γενόμενος. παρεδέξαντο γὰρ τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν, τὸν δὲ Τουρπίλλιον οὐδὲν ἠδίκησαν, ἀλλὰ σῷον
2 ἐξαιτησάμενοι διῆκαν. ἔσχεν οὖν αἰτίαν προδοσίας· καὶ παρὼν ὁ Μάριος τῇ κρίσει σύμβουλος

solace for his labours in seeing another voluntarily share those labours; this seems to take away the element of compulsion; and it is a most agreeable spectacle for a Roman soldier when he sees a general eating common bread in public, or sleeping on a simple pallet, or taking a hand in the construction of some trench or palisade. For they have not so much admiration for those leaders who share honour and riches with them as for those who take part in their toils and dangers, but have more affection for those who are willing to join in their toils than for those who permit them to lead an easy life.

By doing all these things and thereby winning the hearts of the soldiers, Marius soon filled Africa, and soon filled Rome, with his name and fame, and men in the camp wrote to those at home that there would be no end or cessation of the war against the Barbarian unless they chose Caius Marius consul.

VIII. At all this Metellus was evidently displeased. But it was the affair of Turpillius that most vexed him. This Turpillius was an hereditary guest-friend of Metellus, and at this time was serving in his army as chief of engineers. But he was put in charge of Vaga, a large city, and because he relied for safety on his doing the inhabitants no wrong, but rather treating them with kindness and humanity, he unawares came into the power of the enemy; for they admitted Jugurtha into their city. Still, they did Turpillius no harm, but obtained his release and sent him away safe and sound. Accordingly, a charge of treachery was brought against him; and Marius, who was a member of the council which tried the case,

αὐτός τέ οἱ πικρὸς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρώξυνε
τοὺς πλείστους, ὥστε ἄκοντα τὸν Μέτελλον
ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ καταψηφίσασθαι θάνατον τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς αἰτίας ψευδοῦς
φανείσης, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνήχθοντο τῷ Μετέλλῳ
βαρέως φέροντι, Μάριος δὲ χαίρων καὶ ποιούμενος
ἴδιον τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο λέγειν περιϊὼν ὡς
αὐτὸς εἴη προστετριμμένος ἀλάστορα τῷ Μετέλλῳ
ξενοκτόνον.
3 Ἐκ τούτου φανερῶς ἀπηχθάνοντο· καὶ λέγεταί
ποτε τοῦ Μαρίου παρόντος οἷον ἐφυβρίζων ὁ
Μέτελλος εἰπεῖν, "Σὺ δὴ καταλιπὼν ἡμᾶς, ὦ
γενναῖε, πλεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου διανοῇ καὶ παραγγέλ-
λειν ὑπατείαν; οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπήσεις, ἂν τῷ ἐμῷ παιδὶ
τούτῳ συνυπατεύσῃς;" ἦν δὲ ὁ παῖς τότε τοῦ
4 Μετέλλου παντάπασι μειράκιον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
τοῦ Μαρίου σπουδάζοντος ἀφεθῆναι, πολλὰς
ἀναβολὰς ποιησάμενος, ἔτι δώδεκα λειπομένων
ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνάδειξιν, ἀφῆκεν
αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πολλὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τὴν ἐπὶ
θάλασσαν εἰς Ἰτύκην ὁδὸν ἡμέραις δυσὶ καὶ μιᾷ
νυκτὶ συνελὼν ἔθυε πρὸ τοῦ πλοῦ. καὶ λέγεται
τὸν μάντιν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀπίστους τινὰς τὸ μέγεθος
καὶ κρείττονας ἐλπίδος ἁπάσης εὐπραξίας προ-
5 φαίνοι τῷ Μαρίῳ τὸ δαιμόνιον. ὁ δὲ τούτοις
ἐπαρθεὶς ἀνήχθη. καὶ τὸ πέλαγος τεταρταῖος 410
οὐρίῳ πνεύματι περάσας αὐτίκα τε τῷ δήμῳ πο-
θεινὸς ὤφθη, καὶ προαχθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν δημάρ-
χων εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ πολλαῖς κατὰ τοῦ Μετέλ-
λου διαβολαῖς ᾐτεῖτο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὑπισχνούμενος
ἢ κτενεῖν ἢ ζῶντα λήψεσθαι τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν.

was himself bitter, and exasperated most of the others against the accused, so that Metellus was reluctantly forced to pass sentence of death upon him. After a short time, however, the charge was found to be false, and almost everybody sympathized with Metellus in his grief; but Marius, full of joy and claiming the condemnation as his own work, was not ashamed to go about saying that he had fastened upon the path of Metellus a daemon who would avenge the murder of a guest-friend.

In consequence of this there was open enmity between the two men; and we are told that on one occasion when Marius was present Metellus said to him as if in mockery: "Dost thou purpose to leave us, my good Sir, and sail for home, and stand for the consulship? Pray will it not satisfy thee to be fellow-consul with this my son?" Now the son of Metellus was at this time a mere stripling. However, Marius was eager to be dismissed, and so, after making many postponements, and when only twelve days remained before the election of consuls, Metellus dismissed him. Marius accomplished the long journey from the camp to Utica and the sea in two days and one night, and offered sacrifice before he sailed. And the seer is said to have told him that the Deity revealed for Marius successes that were of incredible magnitude and beyond his every expectation. Elated by this prophecy he put to sea. In three days he crossed the sea with a favouring wind, and was at once welcomed gladly by the populace, and after being introduced to the assembly by one of the tribunes, he first made many slanderous charges against Metellus, and then asked for the consulship, promising that he would either kill Jugurtha or take him alive.

IX. Ἀναγορευθεὶς δὲ λαμπρῶς εὐθὺς ἐστρατολόγει, παρὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν πολὺν τὸν ἄπορον καὶ φαῦλον[1] καταγραφών, τῶν πρόσθεν ἡγεμόνων οὐ προσδεχομένων τοὺς τοιούτους, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν καλῶν, τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ τιμῆς τοῖς ἀξίοις νεμόντων, ἐνέχυρον τὴν οὐσίαν
2 ἑκάστου τιθέναι δοκοῦντος. οὐ μὴν ταῦτά γε μάλιστα διέβαλε τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ' οἱ λόγοι θρασεῖς ὄντες ὑπεροψίᾳ καὶ ὕβρει τοὺς πρώτους ἐλύπουν, σκῦλόν τε βοῶντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπατείαν φέρεσθαι τῆς τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ πλουσίων μαλακίας, καὶ τραύμασιν οἰκείοις πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, οὐ μνήμασι νεκρῶν οὐδὲ ἀλλοτρίαις εἰκόσι νεανιεύεσθαι.
3 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀτυχήσαντας ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγούς, τοῦτο μὲν Βηστίαν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀλβῖνον, ἀνθρώπους οἴκων μὲν ἐπιφανῶν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τύχῃ σφαλέντας, ἀπολέμους καὶ δι' ἀπειρίαν πταίσαντας ὀνομάζων, ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν παρόντων εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων οἴονται προγόνους αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἂν εὔξασθαι παραπλησίους ἐκγόνους ἀπολιπεῖν, ἅτε δὴ μηδὲ αὐτοὺς δι' εὐγένειαν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐνδόξους γενομένους.
4 ταῦτα δὲ οὐ κενῶς οὐδὲ ἀλαζονικῶς ἔλεγεν οὐδὲ μάτην ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς δυνατοῖς βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος αὐτόν, ἡδόμενός τε τῇ βουλῇ προπηλακιζομένῃ καὶ λόγου κόμπῳ μετρῶν ἀεὶ φρονήματος μέγεθος, ἐξεκούφιζε, καὶ συνεξώρμα μὴ

[1] φαῦλον van Herwerden: δοῦλον.

IX. He was triumphantly elected,[1] and at once began to levy troops. Contrary to law and custom he enlisted many a poor and insignificant man, although former commanders had not accepted such persons, but bestowed arms, just as they would any other honour, only on those whose property assessment made them worthy to receive these, each soldier being supposed to put his substance in pledge to the state. It was not this, however, that brought most odium upon Marius, but the boldly insolent and arrogant speeches with which he vexed the nobles, crying out that he had carried off the consulship as spoil from the effeminacy of the rich and well-born, and that he had wounds upon his own person with which to vaunt himself before the people, not monuments of the dead nor likenesses of other men. Often, too, he would mention by name the generals in Africa who had been unsuccessful, now Bestia, and now Albinus, men of illustrious houses indeed, but unfortunate themselves, and unwarlike, who had met with disaster through lack of experience; and he would ask his audience if they did not think that the ancestors of these men would have much preferred to leave descendants like himself, since they themselves had been made illustrious, not by their noble birth, but by their valour and noble deeds. Such talk was not mere empty boasting, nor was his desire to make himself hated by the nobility without purpose; indeed the people, who were delighted to have the senate insulted and always measured the greatness of a man's spirit by the boastfulness of his speech, encouraged him, and incited him not to spare

[1] For the year 107 B.C., at the age of fifty.

φείδεσθαι τῶν ἀξιολόγων, χαριζόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς.

X. Ὡς δὲ διέπλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην, Μέτελλος μὲν ἥττων τοῦ φθόνου γενόμενος, καὶ περιπαθῶν ὅτι, κατειργασμένου τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἢ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰουγούρθα λαβεῖν ἔχοντος, ἥκει Μάριος ἐπὶ τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀχαριστίας ηὐξημένος, οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξεχώρησε, Ῥουτίλιος δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Μαρίῳ παρέδωκε, πρεσβευτὴς γεγονὼς
2 τοῦ Μετέλλου. καὶ περιῆλθέ τις νέμεσις ἐν τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων Μάριον· ἀφῃρέθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα τὴν τοῦ κατορθώματος δόξαν, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου Μέτελλος· ὃν τρόπον δέ, ἀφηγήσομαι βραχέως, ἐπεὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σύλλα γέγραπται.

Βόκχος ὁ τῶν ἄνω βαρβάρων βασιλεὺς ἦν πενθερὸς Ἰουγούρθα, καὶ πολεμοῦντι μὲν οὐ πάνυ τι συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόκει, προβαλλόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν
3 ἀπιστίαν, καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν δεδοικώς· ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγων καὶ πλανώμενος ἐκεῖνον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἔθετο τῶν ἐλπίδων τελευταῖον καὶ κατῆρε πρὸς αὐτόν, αἰσχύνῃ μᾶλλον ὡς ἱκέτην ἢ δι' εὔνοιαν ὑποδεξάμενος διὰ χειρὸς εἶχε, φανερῶς μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παραιτούμενος Μάριον καὶ γράφων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκδῴη καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος, κρύφα δὲ βουλεύων προδοσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος Λεύκιον Σύλλαν, ταμίαν μὲν ὄντα Μαρίου, χρήσιμον δὲ τῷ Βόκχῳ γεγενημένον ἐπὶ στρατείας.
4 ὡς δὲ πιστεύσας ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας,

men of high repute if he wished to please the multitude.

X. When he had crossed to Africa, Metellus, now become a victim of jealousy, and vexed because, after he had brought the war to an end and had nothing further to do except to seize the person of Jugurtha, Marius was coming to enjoy the crown and the triumph,—a man whose ingratitude towards his benefactor had raised him to power,—would not consent to meet him, but privately left the country while Rutilius, who had become his legate, handed over the army to Marius. And in the end a retribution fell upon Marius; for Sulla robbed him of the glory of his success, as Marius had robbed Metellus. How this came to pass, I will narrate briefly, since the details are given more at length in my Life of Sulla.[1]

Bocchus, the king of the Barbarians in the interior, was a son-in-law of Jugurtha, and apparently gave him little or no assistance in his war, alleging his faithlessness as an excuse, and fearing the growth of his power. But when Jugurtha in his flight and wandering felt compelled to make him his last hope and sought haven with him, Bocchus received him, more out of regard for his position as a suppliant than from goodwill, and kept him in his hands. So far as his open acts were concerned, Bocchus entreated Marius in behalf of his father-in-law, writing that he would not give him up and assuming a bold tone; but secretly he planned to betray him, and sent for Lucius Sulla, who was quaestor for Marius and had been of some service to Bocchus during the campaign. But when Sulla had come to him in all confidence,

[1] Chapter iii.

ἔσχε μέν τις τροπὴ γνώμης καὶ μετάνοια τὸν
βάρβαρον, ἡμέρας τε συχνὰς διηνέχθη τῷ λογισμῷ,
βουλευόμενος ἢ παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν ἢ
μηδὲ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀφεῖναι· τέλος δὲ τὴν προτέραν
κυρώσας προδοσίαν, ἐνεχείρισε τῷ Σύλλᾳ ζῶντα
τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν.

5 Καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς σπέρμα τῆς
ἀνηκέστου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἐκείνης στάσεως, ἣ μικ-
ρὸν ἐδέησεν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην. πολλοὶ γὰρ
ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ ἔργον εἶναι τῷ Μαρίῳ 411
φθονοῦντες, αὐτός τε Σύλλας σφραγῖδα ποιησά-
μενος ἐφόρει γλυφὴν ἔχουσαν ἐγχειριζόμενον ὑπὸ
6 τοῦ Βόκχου τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ ταύτῃ
χρώμενος ἀεὶ διετέλει φιλότιμον ἄνδρα καὶ πρὸς
κοινωνίαν δόξης ἀγνώμονα καὶ δύσεριν ἐρεθίζων
τὸν Μάριον, ἐναγόντων μάλιστα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν
ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
μέγιστα τῷ Μετέλλῳ, τὰ δ' ἔσχατα καὶ τὸ πέρας
αὐτοῦ Σύλλᾳ προστιθέντων, ὡς παύσαιτο θαυ-
μάζων καὶ προσέχων ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα πάντων ὁ
δῆμος.

XI. Ταχὺ μέντοι τὸν φθόνον τοῦτον καὶ τὰ
μίση καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπεσκέδασε τοῦ Μαρίου
καὶ μετέστησεν ὁ κατασχὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς
ἑσπέρας κίνδυνος, ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν χρείᾳ μεγάλου
στρατηγοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ περισκέψασθαι τὴν πόλιν
ᾧ χρωμένη κυβερνήτῃ διαφεύξεται κλύδωνα πολέ-
μου τοσοῦτον, οὐδενὸς ἀνασχόμενου τῶν ἀπὸ
γένους μεγάλων ἢ πλουσίων οἴκων ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπα-
τικὰς κατιόντων ἀρχαιρεσίας, ἀλλ' ἀπόντα τὸν
2 Μάριον ἀναγορευσάντων. ἄρτι γὰρ ἀπηγγελμένης
αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἰουγούρθα συλλήψεως αἱ περὶ Τευ-

the Barbarian experienced a change of heart and felt repentant, and for many days wavered in his plans, deliberating whether to surrender Jugurtha or to hold Sulla also a prisoner. Finally however, he decided upon his first plan of treachery, and put Jugurtha alive into the hands of Sulla.

This was the first seed of that bitter and incurable hatred between Marius and Sulla, which nearly brought Rome to ruin. For many wished Sulla to have the glory of the affair because they hated Marius, and Sulla himself had a seal-ring made, which he used to wear, on which was engraved the surrender of Jugurtha to him by Bocchus. By constantly using this ring Sulla provoked Marius, who was an ambitious man, loath to share his glory with another, and quarrelsome. And the enemies of Marius gave Sulla most encouragement, by attributing the first and greatest successes of the war to Metellus, but the last, and the termination of it, to Sulla, that so the people might cease admiring Marius and giving him their chief allegiance.

XI. Soon, however, all this envy and hatred and slander of Marius was removed and dissipated by the peril which threatened Italy from the west, as soon as the state felt the need of a great general and looked about for a helmsman whom she might employ to save her from so great a deluge of war. Then the people would have nothing to do with anyone of high birth or of a wealthy house who offered himself at the consular elections, but proclaimed Marius consul[1] in spite of his absence from the city. For no sooner had word been brought to the people of the capture of Jugurtha than the

[1] For the year 104 B.C.

τόνων καὶ Κίμβρων φῆμαι προσέπιπτον, ἀπιστίαν μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ παρασχοῦσαι πλήθους τε καὶ ῥώμης τῶν ἐπερχομένων στρατῶν, ὕστερον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποδεέστεραι φανεῖσαι. μυριάδες μὲν γὰρ αἱ μάχιμοι τριάκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ἐχώρουν, ὄχλοι δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐλέγοντο πολλῷ πλείους συμπεριάγεσθαι, γῆς χρῄζοντες ἣ θρέψει τοσοῦτον πλῆθος, καὶ πόλεων ἐν αἷς ἱδρυθέντες βιώσονται, καθάπερ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπυνθάνοντο Κελτοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν ἀρίστην κατασχεῖν Τυρρηνῶν
3 ἀφελομένους. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀμιξίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἑτέρους, μήκει τε χώρας ἣν ἐπῆλθον, ἠγνοοῦντο, τίνες ὄντες ἀνθρώπων ἢ πόθεν ὁρμηθέντες ὥσπερ νέφος ἐμπέσοιεν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ. καὶ μάλιστα μὲν εἰκάζοντο Γερμανικὰ γένη τῶν καθηκόντων ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν εἶναι τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῇ χαροπότητι τῶν ὀμμάτων, καὶ ὅτι Κίμβρους ἐπονομάζουσι Γερμανοὶ τοὺς λῃστάς.

4 Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τὴν Κελτικὴν διὰ βάθος χώρας καὶ μέγεθος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν ὑπαρκτίων κλιμάτων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα κατὰ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ἐπιστρέφουσαν ἅπτεσθαι τῆς Ποντικῆς Σκυθίας λέγουσι, κἀκεῖθεν τὰ γένη μεμῖχθαι. τούτους ἐξαναστάντας οὐκ ἐκ μιᾶς ὁρμῆς οὐδὲ συνεχῶς, ἀλλὰ ἔτους ὥρᾳ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἀεὶ χωροῦντας πολέμῳ χρόνοις
5 πολλοῖς ἐπελθεῖν τὴν ἤπειρον. διὸ καὶ πολλὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐπικλήσεις ἐχόντων κοινῇ Κελτοσκύθας τὸν στρατὸν ὠνόμαζον.

reports about the Teutones and Cimbri fell upon their ears. What these reports said about the numbers and strength of the invading hosts was disbelieved at first, but afterwards it was found to be short of the truth. For three hundred thousand armed fighting men were advancing, and much larger hordes of women and children were said to accompany them, in quest of land to support so vast a multitude, and of cities in which to settle and live, just as the Gauls before them, as they learned, had wrested the best part of Italy from the Tyrrhenians and now occupied it. They themselves, indeed, had not had intercourse with other peoples, and had traversed a great stretch of country, so that it could not be ascertained what people it was nor whence they had set out, thus to descend upon Gaul and Italy like a cloud. The most prevalent conjecture was that they were some of the German peoples which extended as far as the northern ocean, a conjecture based on their great stature, their light-blue eyes, and the fact that the Germans call robbers Cimbri.

But there are some who say that Gaul was wide and large enough to reach from the outer sea and the subarctic regions to the Maeotic Lake on the east, where it bordered on Pontic Scythia, and that from that point on Gauls and Scythians were mingled. These mixed Gauls and Scythians had left their homes and moved westward, not in a single march, nor even continuously, but with each recurring spring they had gone forward, fighting their way, and in the course of time had crossed the continent. Therefore, while they had many names for different detachments, they called their whole army by the general name of Galloscythians.

Ἄλλοι δέ φασι Κιμμερίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων τῶν πάλαι γνωσθὲν οὐ μέγα γενέσθαι τοῦ παντὸς μόριον, ἀλλὰ φυγὴν ἢ στάσιν τινὰ βιασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μαιώτιδος διαπερᾶσαι Λυγδάμιος ἡγουμένου, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν καὶ μαχιμώτατον ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦν παρὰ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν γῆν μὲν νέμεσθαι σύσκιον καὶ ὑλώδη καὶ δυσήλιον πάντη διὰ βάθος
6 καὶ πυκνότητα δρυμῶν, οὓς μέχρι τῶν Ἑρκυνίων εἴσω διήκειν, οὐρανοῦ δὲ εἰληχέναι καθ' ὃ δοκεῖ μέγα λαμβάνων ὁ πόλος ἔξαρμα διὰ τὴν ἔγκλισιν τῶν παραλλήλων ὀλίγον ἀπολείπειν τοῦ κατὰ κορυφὴν ἱσταμένου σημείου πρὸς τὴν οἴκησιν, αἵ τε ἡμέραι βραχύτητι καὶ μήκει πρὸς τὰς νύκτας ἴσαι κατανέμεσθαι τὸν χρόνον· διὸ καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ μυθεύματος Ὁμήρῳ γενέσθαι πρὸς
7 τὴν νεκυίαν. ἔνθεν οὖν τὴν ἔφοδον εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Κιμμερίων μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ Κίμβρων οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου προσαγορευομένων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰκασμῷ μᾶλλον 412
ἢ κατὰ βέβαιον ἱστορίαν λέγεται.

8 Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ἔλαττον, ἀλλὰ πλέον εἶναι τοῦ λεχθέντος ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἱστόρηται. θυμὸν δὲ καὶ τόλμαν ἀνυπόστατοι καὶ χειρῶν ἔργα παρὰ τὰς μάχας ὀξύτητι καὶ βίᾳ πυρὸς ἐοικότες ἐπῄεσαν, οὐδενὸς ἀντέχοντος αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντων μέν, ὅσους ἐπῆλθον, ἐν λόγῳ λείας ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ στρατηγῶν, ὅσοι προεκάθηντο τῆς ἐκτὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίας, ἀνηρ-
9 πασμένων ἀκλεῶς· οἳ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν φορὰν

Others, however, say that the Cimmerians who were first known to the ancient Greeks were not a large part of the entire people, but merely a body of exiles or a faction which was driven away by the Scythians and passed from the Maeotic Lake into Asia under the lead of Lygdamis; whereas the largest and most warlike part of the people dwelt at the confines of the earth along the outer sea, occupying a land that is shaded, wooded, and wholly sunless by reason of the height and thickness of the trees, which reach inland as far as the Hercynii; and as regards the heavens, they are under that portion of them where the pole gets a great elevation by reason of the declination of the parallels, and appears to have a position not far removed from the spectator's zenith, and a day and a night divide the year into two equal parts; which was of advantage to Homer in his story of Odysseus consulting the shades of the dead.[1] From these regions, then, these Barbarians sallied forth against Italy, being called at first Cimmerians, and then, not inappropriately, Cimbri. But all this is based on conjecture rather than on sure historical evidence.

Their numbers, however, are given by many writers as not less, but more, than the figure mentioned above. Moreover, their courage and daring made them irresistible, and when they engaged in battle they came on with the swiftness and force of fire, so that no one could withstand their onset, but all who came in their way became their prey and booty, and even many large Roman armies, with their commanders, who had been stationed to protect Transalpine Gaul, were destroyed ingloriously; indeed,

[1] *Odyssey*, Book XI. See vv. 14 ff., describing the Cimmerians.

αὐτῶν κακῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπεσπάσαντο. νικήσαντες γὰρ οἷς ἐνέτυχον, καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν κρατήσαντες, ἔγνωσαν μηδαμοῦ γῆς ἑαυτοὺς ἱδρύειν, πρὶν ἀνατρέψωσι τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ διαπορθήσωσι τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

XII. Ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι πολλαχόθεν, ἐκάλουν Μάριον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν. καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὕπατος ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ μὲν νόμου κωλύοντος ἀπόντα καὶ μὴ διαλιπόντα χρόνον ὡρισμένον αὖθις αἱρεῖσθαι, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐκβαλόντος. ἡγοῦντο γὰρ οὔτε νῦν πρῶτον εἴξειν τῷ συμφέροντι τὸν νόμον, οὔτε ἀλογωτέραν εἶναι τὴν παροῦσαν αἰτίαν ἐκείνης δι' ἣν τὸν Σκηπίωνα παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ὕπατον ἀπέδειξαν, οὐ φοβούμενοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀνελεῖν.
2 ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ Μάριος ἐκ Λιβύης μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος διακομισθεὶς αὐταῖς Καλάνδαις Ἰανουαρίαις, ἣν ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τήν τε ὑπατείαν ἀνέλαβε καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον εἰσήλασεν, ἄπιστον ἐπιδειξάμενος θέαμα Ῥωμαίοις Ἰουγούρθαν αἰχμάλωτον, οὗ ζῶντος οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἤλπισε πολεμίων κρατῆσαι· οὕτω τις ἦν ποικίλος ἀνὴρ τύχαις ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ πανουργίᾳ πολλῇ
3 μεμιγμένον ἔχων τὸ θυμοειδές. ἀλλ' ἐξέστη γε

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[1] See chapter xi. 1. Marius was still in Africa.

by their feeble resistance they were mainly instrumental in drawing the on-rushing Barbarians down upon Rome. For when the invaders had conquered those who opposed them, and had got abundance of booty, they determined not to settle themselves anywhere until they had destroyed Rome and ravaged Italy.

XII. Learning of these things from many quarters, the Romans summoned Marius to the command. And he was appointed consul for the second time,[1] although the law forbade that a man in his absence and before the lapse of a specified time should be elected again; still, the people would not listen to those who opposed the election. For they considered that this would not be the first time that the law had given way before the demands of the general good, and that the present occasion demanded it no less imperatively than when they had made Scipio consul contrary to the laws,[2] although at that time they were not fearful of losing their own city, but desirous of destroying that of the Carthaginians. This course was adopted, Marius came across the sea from Africa with his army, and on the very Calends of January, which with the Romans is the first day of the year, assumed the consulship and celebrated his triumph, exhibiting to the Romans Jugurtha in chains. This was a sight which they had despaired of beholding, nor could any one have expected, while Jugurtha was alive, to conquer the enemy; so versatile was he in adapting himself to the turns of fortune, and so great craft did he combine with his courage. But we are told that when he had

[2] In 147 B.C., when Scipio had not reached the age required by law.

πομπευθείς, ὡς λέγουσι, τότε τοῦ φρονεῖν· καὶ μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμπεσών, ὡς οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ βίᾳ περιέρρηξαν τὸν χιτωνίσκον, οἱ δὲ σπεύδοντες ἀφελέσθαι βίᾳ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐλλόβιον ἅμα τὸν λοβὸν συναπέρρηξαν, ὠσθεὶς δὲ γυμνὸς εἰς τὸ βάραθρον κατεβλήθη, μεστὸς ὢν ταραχῆς καὶ διασεσηρώς, "Ἡράκλεις," εἶπεν,
4 "ὡς ψυχρὸν ὑμῶν τὸ βαλανεῖον." ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἓξ ἡμέραις ζυγομαχήσαντα τῷ λιμῷ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ὥρας ἐκκρεμασθέντα τῆς τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμίας εἶχεν ἀξία δίκη τῶν ἀσεβημάτων.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ θριάμβῳ κομισθῆναι λέγουσι χρυσοῦ μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τρισχιλίας λίτρας, ἀργύρου δὲ ἀσήμου πεντακισχιλίας ἑπτακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, νομίσματος δὲ δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας ἐπὶ μυριάσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πομπὴν ὁ Μάριος σύγκλητον ἤθροισεν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ· καὶ παρῆλθε μὲν εἴτε λαθὼν αὑτὸν εἴτε τῇ τύχῃ χρώμενος ἀγροικότερον ἐν τῇ θριαμβικῇ κατασκευῇ, ταχὺ δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἀχθεσθεῖσαν αἰσθόμενος ἐξανέστη καὶ μεταλαβὼν τὴν περιπόρφυρον αὖθις ἦλθεν.

XIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ τὴν δύναμιν διεπόνει καθ' ὁδὸν ἐξασκῶν δρόμοις τε παντοδαποῖς καὶ μακραῖς ὁδοιπορίαις, ἑαυτῷ δὲ ἀχθοφορεῖν ἀναγκάζων καὶ αὐτουργεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν, ὥστε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς φιλοπόνους καὶ σιωπῇ μετ' εὐκολίας τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιοῦντας ἡμιόνους Μαριανοὺς καλεῖσθαι. καίτοι τινὲς αἰτίαν ἑτέραν
2 τοῦ λόγου τούτου νομίζουσι. Σκηπίωνος γάρ, ὅτε Νομαντίαν ἐπολιόρκει, βουληθέντος ἐπιδεῖν μὴ

been led in triumph he lost his reason; and that when, after the triumph, he was cast into prison, where some tore his tunic from his body, and others were so eager to snatch away his golden ear-ring that they tore off with it the lobe of his ear, and when he had been thrust down naked into the dungeon pit, in utter bewilderment and with a grin on his lips he said: "Hercules! How cold this Roman bath is!" But the wretch, after struggling with hunger for six days and up to the last moment clinging to the desire of life, paid the penalty which his crimes deserved.

In the triumphal procession there were carried, we are told, three thousand and seven pounds of gold, of uncoined silver five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and in coined money two hundred and eighty-seven thousand drachmas.

After the procession was over, Marius called the senate into session on the Capitol, and made his entry, either through inadvertence or with a vulgar display of his good fortune, in his triumphal robes; but perceiving quickly that the senators were offended at this, he rose and went out, changed to the usual robe with purple border, and then came back.

XIII. Setting out on the expedition, he laboured to perfect his army as it went along, practising the men in all kinds of running and in long marches, and compelling them to carry their own baggage and to prepare their own food. Hence, in after times, men who were fond of toil and did whatever was enjoined upon them contentedly and without a murmur, were called Marian mules. Some, however, think that this name had a different origin. Namely, when Scipio was besieging Numantia,[1] he wished to inspect

[1] Cf. chapter iii. 2.

μόνον τὰ ὅπλα μηδὲ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
ὀρεῖς καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας, ὅπως ἑκάστοις ἐξησκημένα
καὶ παρεσκευασμένα τυγχάνοι, προαγαγεῖν τὸν
Μάριον ἵππον τε κάλλιστα τεθραμμένον ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμίονον εὐεξίᾳ καὶ πρᾳότητι καὶ
ῥώμῃ διαφέροντα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων· ἡσθέντος
οὖν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς τοῦ Μαρίου θρέμμασι 413
καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνησθέντος, οὕτως ἄρα
τοὺς σκώπτοντας ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τὸν ἐνδελεχῆ καὶ
τλήμονα καὶ φιλόπονον Μαριανὸν ἡμίονον προσα-
γορεύειν.

XIV. Εὐτύχημα δὲ δοκεῖ τῷ Μαρίῳ μέγα
γενέσθαι. τῶν γὰρ βαρβάρων ὥσπερ τινὰ παλίρ-
ροιαν τῆς ὁρμῆς λαβόντων καὶ ῥυέντων πρότερον
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, χρόνον ἔσχε καὶ τὰ σώματα
γυμνάσαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα πρὸς τὸ
θαρρεῖν ἀναρρῶσαι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτὸς οἷος ἦν
2 κατανοηθῆναι. τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ σκυθρωπὸν αὐτοῦ
καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας δυσμείλικτον ἐθισθεῖσι
μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ἀπειθεῖν ἅμα τῷ δικαίῳ
σωτήριον ἐφαίνετο, τήν τε τοῦ θυμοῦ σφοδρότητα
καὶ τὸ τραχὺ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἀγριωπὸν τοῦ προ-
σώπου συντρεφόμενον κατὰ μικρὸν οὐχ αὐτοῖς
ἐνόμιζον εἶναι φοβερόν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις.
3 μάλιστα δὲ ἡ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὀρθότης αὐτοῦ
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἤρεσκεν· ἧς καὶ τοιόνδε τι δεῖγμα
λέγεται.

Γάϊος Λούσιος ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένος
ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας ἐστρατεύετο, τἆλλα μὲν ἀνὴρ οὐ
δοκῶν εἶναι πονηρός, ἥττων δὲ μειρακίων καλῶν.
οὗτος ἤρα νεανίσκου τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ στρατευομένων,

not only the arms and the horses, but also the mules and the waggons, that every man might have them in readiness and good order. Marius, accordingly, brought out for inspection both a horse that had been most excellently taken care of by him, and a mule that for health, docility, and strength far surpassed all the rest. The commanding officer was naturally well pleased with the beasts of Marius and often spoke about them, so that in time those who wanted to bestow facetious praise on a persevering, patient, laborious man would call him a Marian mule.

XIV. And now, as it would seem, a great piece of good fortune befell Marius. For the Barbarians had a reflux, as it were, in their course, and streamed first into Spain. This gave Marius time to exercise the bodies of his men, to raise their spirits to a sturdier courage, and, what was most important of all, to let them find out what sort of a man he was. For his sternness in the exercise of authority and his inflexibility in the infliction of punishment appeared to them, when they became accustomed to obedience and good behaviour, salutary as well as just, and they regarded the fierceness of his temper, the harshness of his voice, and that ferocity of his countenance which gradually became familiar, as fearful to their enemies rather than to themselves. But it was above all things the uprightness of his judicial decisions that pleased the soldiers; and of this the following illustration is given.

Caius Lusius, a nephew of his, had a command under him in the army. In other respects he was a man of good reputation, but he had a weakness for beautiful youths. This officer was enamoured of one of the young men who served under him, by name

ὄνομα Τρεβωνίου, καὶ πολλάκις πειρῶν οὐκ
4 ἐτύγχανε· τέλος δὲ νύκτωρ ὑπηρέτην ἀποστείλας
μετεπέμπετο τὸν Τρεβώνιον· ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἧκε
μέν, ἀντειπεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξῆν καλούμενον, εἰσαχ-
θεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα
βιάζεσθαι σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀπέκτεινε. ταῦτα
ἐπράχθη τοῦ Μαρίου μὴ παρόντος· ἐπανελθὼν
5 δὲ προὔθηκε τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ κρίσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν
κατηγορούντων, οὐδενὸς δὲ συνηγοροῦντος, αὐτὸς
εὐθαρσῶς καταστὰς διηγήσατο τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ
μάρτυρας ἔσχεν ὅτι πειρῶντι πολλάκις ἀντεῖπε
τῷ Λουσίῳ καὶ μεγάλων διδομένων ἐπ' οὐδενὶ
προήκατο τὸ σῶμα, θαυμάσας ὁ Μάριος καὶ
ἡσθεὶς ἐκέλευσε τὸν πάτριον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀριστείαις
στέφανον κομισθῆναι, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐστεφά-
νωσε τὸν Τρεβώνιον ὡς κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐν καιρῷ
παραδειγμάτων δεομένῳ καλῶν ἀποδεδειγμένον.
6 Τοῦτο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα
τῷ Μαρίῳ συνέπραξε τὴν τρίτην ὑπατείαν· ἅμα
δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτους ὥρᾳ προσδοκίμων
ὄντων ἐβούλοντο μετὰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου στρατηγοῦ
κινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτούς. οὐ μὴν ἧκον ὡς προσ-
εδοκῶντο ταχέως, ἀλλὰ πάλιν διῆλθε τῷ Μαρίῳ
7 ὁ τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνος. ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρ-
χαιρεσιῶν καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος αὐτοῦ τελευτή-
σαντος, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων Μάνιον
Ἀκύλλιον αὐτὸς ἧκεν εἰς Ῥώμην. μετιόντων δὲ
πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὴν ὑπατείαν, Λούκιος

Trebonius, and had often made unsuccessful attempts to seduce him. But finally, at night, he sent a servant with a summons for Trebonius. The young man came, since he could not refuse to obey a summons, but when he had been introduced into the tent and Caius attempted violence upon him, he drew his sword and slew him. Marius was not with the army when this happened; but on his return he brought Trebonius to trial. Here there were many accusers, but not a single advocate, wherefore Trebonius himself courageously took the stand and told all about the matter, bringing witnesses to show that he had often refused the solicitations of Lusius and that in spite of large offers he had never prostituted himself to anyone. Then Marius, filled with delight and admiration, ordered the customary crown for brave exploits to be brought, and with his own hands placed it on the head of Trebonius, declaring that at a time which called for noble examples he had displayed most noble conduct.

Tidings of this were brought to Rome and helped in no small degree to secure for Marius his third consulship;[1] at the same time, too, the Barbarians were expected in the spring, and the Romans were unwilling to risk battle with them under any other general. However, the Barbarians did not come as soon as they were expected, and once more the period of Marius's consulship expired. As the consular elections were at hand, and as his colleague in the office had died, Marius left Manius Aquillius in charge of the forces and came himself to Rome. Here many men of great merit were candidates for the consulship, but Lucius Saturninus, who had more

[1] For the year 103 B.C.

Σατορνῖνος ὁ μάλιστα τῶν δημάρχων ἄγων τὸ
πλῆθος, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρίου τεθεραπευμένος ἐδη-
μηγόρει, κελεύων ἐκεῖνον ὕπατον αἱρεῖσθαι.
θρυπτομένου δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι
τὴν ἀρχὴν φάσκοντος ὡς δὴ μὴ δεομένου, προ-
δότην αὐτὸν ὁ Σατορνῖνος ἀπεκάλει τῆς πατρίδος
8 ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσούτῳ φεύγοντα τὸ στρατηγεῖν. καὶ
φανερὸς μὲν ἦν ἀπιθάνως συνυποκρινόμενος τὸ
προσποίημα τῷ Μαρίῳ, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ὁρῶντες οἱ
πολλοὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δεινότητος ἅμα καὶ τύχης
δεόμενον ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν τετάρτην ὑπατείαν, καὶ
συνάρχοντα Κάτλον αὐτῷ Λουτάτιον κατέστησαν,
ἄνδρα καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τοῖς
πολλοῖς οὐκ ἐπαχθῆ.

XV. Πυνθανόμενος δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Μάριος
ἐγγὺς εἶναι διὰ ταχέων ὑπερέβαλε τὰς Ἄλπεις·
καὶ τειχίσας στρατόπεδον παρὰ τῷ Ῥοδανῷ
ποταμῷ συνῆγεν εἰς αὐτὸ χορηγίαν ἄφθονον, ὡς
μηδέποτε παρὰ τὸν τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμὸν
ἐκβιασθείη δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς μάχην
2 καταστῆναι. τὴν δὲ κομιδὴν ὧν ἔδει[1] τῷ στρα- 414
τεύματι μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ πρότερον οὖσαν
πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτὸς εἰργάσατο ῥᾳδίαν καὶ
ταχεῖαν. τὰ γὰρ στόματα τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, πρὸς τὰς
ἀνακοπὰς τῆς θαλάττης, ἰλύν τε πολλὴν λαμ-
βάνοντα καὶ θῖνα πηλῷ βαθεῖ συμπεπιλημένην
ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος, χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐπίπονον καὶ
βραδύπορον τοῖς σιταγωγοῖς ἐποίει τὸν εἴσπλουν.
3 ὁ δὲ τρέψας ἐνταῦθα τὸν στρατὸν σχολάζοντα
τάφρον μεγάλην ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταύτῃ πολὺ μέρος
τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεταστήσας περιήγαγεν εἰς ἐπιτή-

[1] ἔδει Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Reiske; ἐδεῖτο.

influence with the people than any other tribune, was won over by the flattering attentions of Marius, and in his harangues urged the people to elect Marius consul. Marius affected to decline the office and declared that he did not want it, but Saturninus called him a traitor to his country for refusing to command her armies at a time of so great peril. Now, it was clear that Saturninus was playing his part at the instigation of Marius, and playing it badly, too, but the multitude, seeing that the occasion required the ability as well as the good fortune of Marius, voted for his fourth consulship,[1] and made Catulus Lutatius his colleague, a man who was esteemed by the nobility and not disliked by the common people.

XV. Learning that the enemy were near, Marius rapidly crossed the Alps, and built a fortified camp along the river Rhone. Into this he brought together an abundance of stores, that he might never be forced by lack of provisions to give battle contrary to his better judgment. The conveyance of what was needful for his army, which had previously been a long and costly process where it was by sea, he rendered easy and speedy. That is, the mouths of the Rhone, encountering the sea, took up great quantities of mud and sand packed close with clay by the action of the billows, and made the entrance of the river difficult, laborious, and slow for vessels carrying supplies. So Marius brought his army to the place, since the men had nothing else to do, and ran a great canal. Into this he diverted a great part of the river and brought it round to a suitable place

[1] 102 B.C.

δειον αἰγιαλόν, βαθὺ μὲν καὶ ναυσὶ μεγάλαις ἔποχον, λεῖον δὲ καὶ ἄκλυστον στόμα λαβοῦσαν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἔτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν φυλάττει.

4 Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων διελόντων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς δίχα Κίμβροι μὲν ἔλαχον διὰ Νωρικῶν ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ Κάτλον χωρεῖν καὶ τὴν πάροδον ἐκείνην βιάζεσθαι, Τεύτονες δὲ καὶ Ἄμβρωνες διὰ Λιγύων ἐπὶ
5 Μάριον παρὰ θάλατταν. καὶ Κίμβροις μὲν ἐγίνετο πλείων ἡ διατριβὴ καὶ μέλλησις, Τεύτονες δὲ καὶ Ἄμβρωνες ἄραντες εὐθὺς καὶ διελθόντες τὴν ἐν μέσῳ χώραν ἐφαίνοντο πλήθει τε ἄπειροι καὶ δυσπρόσοπτοι τὰ εἴδη, φθόγγον τε καὶ θόρυβον οὐχ ἑτέροις ὅμοιοι. περιβαλόμενοι δὲ τοῦ πεδίου μέγα μέρος[1] καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντες προὐκαλοῦντο τὸν Μάριον εἰς μάχην.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ χάρακι τοὺς στρατιώτας συνεῖχε, καὶ καθήπτετο πικρῶς τῶν θρασυνομένων, καὶ τοὺς προπίπτοντας ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ μάχεσθαι βουλομένους προδότας ἀπεκάλει τῆς πατρίδος. οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ θριάμβων τὴν φιλοτιμίαν εἶναι καὶ τροπαίων, ἀλλ' ὅπως νέφος τοσοῦτον πολέμου καὶ σκηπτὸν
2 ὠσάμενοι διασώσουσι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς ὁμοτίμους ἔλεγε, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ χάρακος ἱστὰς ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ θεᾶσθαι κελεύων εἴθιζε τὴν μορφὴν ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὑπομένειν

[1] μέγα μέρος Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: μέγα.

on the coast, a deep bay where large ships could float, and where the water could flow out smoothly and without waves to the sea. This canal, indeed, still bears the name of Marius.[1]

The Barbarians divided themselves into two bands, and it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to proceed through Noricum in the interior of the country against Catulus, and force a passage there, while the Teutones and Ambrones were to march through Liguria along the sea-coast against Marius. On the part of the Cimbri there was considerable delay and loss of time, but the Teutones and Ambrones set out at once, passed through the intervening country, and made their appearance before Marius. Their numbers were limitless, they were hideous in their aspect, and their speech and cries were unlike those of other peoples. They covered a large part of the plain, and after pitching their camp challenged Marius to battle.

XVI. Marius, however, paid no heed to them, but kept his soldiers inside their fortifications, bitterly rebuking those who would have made a display of their courage, and calling those whose high spirit made them wish to rush forth and give battle traitors to their country. For it was not, he said, triumphs or trophies that should now be the object of their ambition, but how they might ward off so great a cloud and thunder-bolt of war and secure the safety of Italy. This was his language in private to his officers and equals; but he would station his soldiers on the fortifications by detachments, bidding them to observe the enemy, and in this way accustomed them not to fear their shape or dread their cries,

[1] Cf. Strabo, iv. 8 (p. 183).

*ὅλως οὖσαν ἀλλόκοτον καὶ θηριώδη, σκευήν τε καὶ
κίνησιν αὐτῶν καταμανθάνειν, ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ
φαινόμενα δεινὰ ποιουμένους τῇ διανοίᾳ χειροήθη
διὰ τῆς ὄψεως· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιψεύ-
δεσθαι τῶν οὐ προσόντων τὴν καινότητα τοῖς
φοβεροῖς, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνηθείᾳ καὶ τὰ τῇ φύσει δεινὰ
3 τὴν ἔκπληξιν ἀποβάλλειν. τῶν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἡ
καθ' ἡμέραν ὄψις ἀφῄρει τι τοῦ θάμβους, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλὰς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν
κόμπον οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ὄντα θυμὸς αὐτοῖς παριστά-
μενος ἐξεθέρμαινε καὶ διέφλεγε τὰς ψυχάς, οὐ
μόνον ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων τὰ πέριξ ἅπαντα
τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χάρακι ποιουμένων
προσβολὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύ-
τητος, ὥστε φωνὰς καὶ διαγανακτήσεις τῶν
4 στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον ἐκφέρεσθαι. "Τίνα
δὴ καταγνοὺς ἀνανδρίαν ἡμῶν Μάριος εἴργει
μάχης ὥσπερ γυναῖκας ὑπὸ κλεισὶ καὶ θυρωροῖς;
φέρε, παθόντες ἀνδρῶν πάθος ἐλευθέρων ἐρώμεθα
πότερον ἄλλους ἀναμένει μαχουμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς
Ἰταλίας, ἡμῖν δὲ λειτουργοῖς χρήσεται διὰ παν-
τός, ὅταν δέηται τάφρους ὀρύσσειν καὶ πηλὸν
5 ἐκκαθαίρειν καὶ ποταμούς τινας παρατρέπειν; ἐπὶ
ταῦτα γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤσκει τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις
ἡμᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ὑπατειῶν ἀποδειξάμενος
ἔργα τοῖς πολίταις ἐπάνεισιν. ἢ τὰ Κάρβωνος
αὐτὸν φοβεῖ καὶ Καιπίωνος, οὓς ἐνίκησαν οἱ
πολέμιοι, πολὺ μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς Μαρίου δόξης καὶ*

which were altogether strange and ferocious; and to make themselves acquainted with their equipment and movements, thus in course of time rendering what was only apparently formidable familiar to their minds from observation. For he considered that their novelty falsely imparts to terrifying objects many qualities which they do not possess, but that with familiarity even those things which are really dreadful lose their power to affright. And so in the case of his soldiers, not only did the daily sight of the enemy lessen somewhat their amazement at them, but also, when they heard the threats and the intolerable boasting of the Barbarians, their anger rose and warmed and set on fire their spirits; for the enemy were ravaging and plundering all the country round, and besides, often attacked the Roman fortifications with great temerity and shamelessness, so that indignant speeches of his soldiers reached the ears of Marius. "What cowardice, pray, has Marius discovered in us that he keeps us out of battle like women under lock and key? Come, let us act like freemen and ask him if he is waiting for other soldiers to fight in defence of Italy, and will use us as workmen all the time, whenever there is need of digging ditches and clearing out mud and diverting a river or two. For it was to this end, as it would seem, that he exercised us in those many toils,[1] and these are the achievements of his consulships which he will exhibit to his fellow-citizens on his return to Rome. Or does he fear the fate of Carbo and Caepio, whom the enemy defeated?[2] But they were far behind Marius in reputation and excellence, and

[1] Cf. chapter xiii. 1.
[2] Carbo in 113 B.C., Caepio in 105 B.C. See the Dictionary of Proper Names.

ἀρετῆς ἀποδέοντας, πολὺ δὲ χείρονα στρατὸν
ἄγοντας; ἀλλὰ καὶ παθεῖν τι δρῶντας, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι,
κάλλιον ἢ καθῆσθαι πορθουμένων τῶν συμμάχων
θεατάς."

XVII. Ταῦτ' ἀκούων ὁ Μάριος ἥδετο, καὶ κατε-
πράϋνεν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνοις ἀπιστῶν, ἀλλ' ἔκ
τινων λογίων τὸν τῆς νίκης ἅμα καιρὸν καὶ τόπον
ἐκδεχόμενος. καὶ γάρ τινα Σύραν γυναῖκα, Μάρ- 415
θαν ὄνομα, μαντεύεσθαι λεγομένην ἐν φορείῳ
κατακειμένην σεμνῶς περιήγετο, καὶ θυσίας ἔθυεν
ἐκείνης κελευούσης. ἣν πρότερον μὲν ἀπήλασεν
ἡ σύγκλητος ἐντυχεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτων βουλομένην
2 καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προθεσπίζουσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς
τὰς γυναῖκας εἰσιοῦσα διάπειραν ἐδίδου καὶ μάλι-
στα τῇ Μαρίου παρακαθίζουσα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας
τῶν μονομάχων ἐπιτυχῶς προηγόρευε τὸν μέλ-
λοντα νικᾶν, ἀναπεμφθεῖσα πρὸς Μάριον ὑπ'
ἐκείνης ἐθαυμάζετο. καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν φορείῳ
παρεκομίζετο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς θυσίας κατῄει φοι-
νικίδα διπλῆν ἐμπεπορπημένη καὶ λόγχην ἀναδε-
3 δεμένην ταινίαις καὶ στεφανώμασι φέρουσα. τοῦτο
μὲν οὖν τὸ δρᾶμα πολλοῖς ἀμφισβήτησιν παρεῖχεν,
εἴτε πεπεισμένος ὡς ἀληθῶς εἴτε πλαττόμενος καὶ
συνυποκρινόμενος ἐπιδείκνυται τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

Τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς γῦπας θαύματος ἄξιον Ἀλέ-
ξανδρος ὁ Μύνδιος ἱστόρηκε. δύο γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο
πρὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἀεὶ περὶ τὰς στρατείας

led an army that was far inferior to his. Surely it is better to do something, even if we perish as they did, rather than to sit here and enjoy the spectacle of our allies being plundered."

XVII. Marius was delighted to hear of such expressions, and tried to calm the soldiers down by telling them that he did not distrust them, but in consequence of certain oracles was awaiting a fit time and place for his victory. And indeed he used to carry about ceremoniously in a litter a certain Syrian woman, named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy, and he would make sacrifices at her bidding. She had previously been rejected by the senate when she wished to appear before them with reference to these matters and predicted future events. Then she got audience of the women and gave them proofs of her skill, and particularly the wife of Marius, at whose feet she sat when some gladiators were fighting and successfully foretold which one was going to be victorious. In consequence of this she was sent to Marius by his wife, and was admired by him. As a general thing she was carried along with the army in a litter, but she attended the sacrifices clothed in a double purple robe that was fastened with a clasp, and carrying a spear that was wreathed with fillets and chaplets. Such a performance as this caused many to doubt whether Marius, in exhibiting the woman, really believed in her, or was pretending to do so and merely acted a part with her.

The affair of the vultures, however, which Alexander of Myndus relates, is certainly wonderful. Two vultures were always seen hovering about the armies of Marius before their victories, and accompanied

καὶ παρηκολούθουν γνωριζόμενοι χαλκοῖς περιδεραίοις· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται συλλαβόντες αὐτοὺς περιῆψαν, εἶτα ἀφῆκαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γνωρίζοντες ἠσπάζοντο αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται[1] καὶ φανέντων ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξόδοις ἔχαιρον ὡς ἀγαθόν τι πράξοντες.

4 Πολλῶν δὲ σημείων προφαινομένων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαρακτῆρα κοινὸν εἶχεν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀμερίας καὶ Τουδέρτου, πόλεων Ἰταλικῶν, ἀπηγγέλθη νυκτὸς ὦφθαι κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν αἰχμάς τε φλογοειδεῖς καὶ θυρεοὺς διαφερομένους τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα συμπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ σχήματα καὶ κινήματα λαμβάνοντας οἷα γίνεται μαχομένων ἀνδρῶν, τέλος δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐνδιδόντων, τῶν δ' ἐπιφερομένων,
5 πάντας ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ῥυῆναι. περὶ τοῦτον δέ πως τὸν χρόνον ἀφίκετο καὶ Βατάκης ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος ὁ τῆς μεγάλης μητρὸς ἱερεύς, ἀπαγγέλλων ὡς ἡ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐφθέγξατο αὐτῷ νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ὑπάρχειν. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου προσεμένης καὶ τῇ θεῷ ναὸν ἐπινίκιον ἱδρύσασθαι ψηφισαμένης, τὸν Βατάκην εἰς τὸν δῆμον προελθόντα καὶ ταῦτα βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐκώλυσε δημαρχῶν Αὖλος Πομπήϊος, ἀγύρτην ἀποκαλῶν καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπελαύνων τοῦ βήματος.
6 ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πίστιν παρέσχεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας λυθείσης ὁ Αὖλος εἰς οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ πυρετὸς ἐξήνθησεν αὐτῷ τοσοῦτος ὥστε πᾶσι καταφανῆ γενόμενον καὶ περιβόητον ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας ἀποθανεῖν.

[1] *αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται* with Reiske: *τοὺς στρατιώτας*, which Bekker and Ziegler bracket.

them on their journeys, being recognized by bronze rings on their necks; for the soldiers had caught them, put these rings on, and let them go again; and after this, on recognizing the birds, the soldiers greeted them, and they were glad to see them when they set out upon a march, feeling sure in such cases that they would be successful.

Many signs also appeared, most of which were of the ordinary kind; but from Ameria and Tuder, cities of Italy, it was reported that at night there had been seen in the heavens flaming spears, and shields which at first moved in different directions, and then clashed together, assuming the formations and movements of men in battle, and finally some of them would give way, while others pressed on in pursuit, and all streamed away to the westward. Moreover, about this time Bataces, the priest of the Great Mother,[1] came from Pessinus announcing that the goddess had declared to him from her shrine that the Romans were to be victorious and triumphant in war. The senate gave credence to the story and voted that a temple should be built for the goddess in commemoration of the victory; but when Bataces came before the assembly and desired to tell the story, Aulus Pompeius, a tribune of the people, prevented him, calling him an impostor, and driving him with insults from the rostra. And lo, this did more than anything else to gain credence for the man's story. For hardly had Aulus gone back to his house after the assembly was dissolved, when he broke out with so violent a fever that he died within a week, and everybody knew and talked about it.

[1] Cybelé, Mother of the Gods.

XVIII. Οἱ δὲ Τεύτονες ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν
ἡσυχάζοντος τοῦ Μαρίου πολιορκεῖν τὸ στρατό-
πεδον, βέλεσι δὲ πολλοῖς ἐντυχόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
χάρακος φερομένοις καί τινας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπο-
βαλόντες ἔγνωσαν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν χωρεῖν ὡς
ὑπερβαλοῦντες ἀδεῶς τὰς Ἄλπεις· καὶ συσκευ-
ασάμενοι παρήμειβον τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων, τότε δὴ μάλιστα παμπληθεῖς μήκει καὶ
χρόνῳ τῆς παρόδου φανέντες· ἡμέραις γὰρ ἓξ
λέγονται τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Μαρίου παραμείψα-
2 σθαι συνεχῶς ὁδεύοντες. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐγγύς,
πυνθανόμενοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ γέλωτος εἴ τι
πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιστέλλοιεν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ
ἔσεσθαι ταχέως παρ' αὐταῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλαξαν
οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ προήεσαν, ἄρας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπη-
κολούθει σχέδην, ἐγγὺς μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς
ἐκείνους ἱδρυόμενος, ὀχυραῖς δὲ χρώμενος στρατο-
πεδείαις καὶ χωρία καρτερὰ προβαλλόμενος, ὥστε
3 ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ νυκτερεύειν. οὕτω δὴ προϊόντες
ἐγένοντο πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις ὕδασι Σεξτίοις,
ὅθεν ἔδει πορευθέντας οὐ πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ταῖς
Ἄλπεσιν εἶναι. διὸ δὴ καὶ Μάριος ἐνταῦθα
παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι, καὶ κατέλαβε τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ τόπον ἰσχυρὸν μέν, ὕδωρ δὲ ἄφθονον
οὐκ ἔχοντα, βουλόμενος, ὥς φασι, καὶ τούτῳ 416
4 παροξῦναι τοὺς στρατιώτας. πολλῶν γέ τοι
δυσχεραινόντων καὶ διψήσειν λεγόντων, δείξας τῇ
χειρὶ ποταμόν τινα ῥέοντα πλησίον τοῦ βαρ-
βαρικοῦ χάρακος, ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς ἔφησεν εἶναι

XVIII. But the Teutones, since Marius kept quiet, attempted to take his camp by storm; many missiles, however, were hurled against them from the fortifications, and they lost some of their men. They therefore decided to march forward, expecting to cross the Alps without molestation. So they packed up their baggage and began to march past the camp of the Romans. Then, indeed, the immensity of their numbers was made specially evident by the length of their line and the time required for their passage; for it is said they were six days in passing the fortifications of Marius, although they moved continuously. And they marched close to the camp, inquiring with laughter whether the Romans had any messages for their wives; "for," said they, "we shall soon be with them." But when the Barbarians had passed by and were going on their way, Marius also broke camp and followed close upon them, always halting near by and at their very side, but strongly fortifying his camps and keeping strong positions in his front, so that he could pass the night in safety. Thus the two armies went on until they came to the place called Aquae Sextiae, from which they had to march only a short distance and they would be in the Alps. For this reason, indeed, Marius made preparations to give battle here, and he occupied for his camp a position that was strong, but poorly supplied with water, wishing, as they say, by this circumstance also to incite his soldiers to fight. At any rate, when many of them were dissatisfied and said they would be thirsty there, he pointed to a river that ran near the barbarian fortifications, and told them they could get water there, but the

ποτὸν ὤνιον αἵματος. "Τί οὖν," ἔφασαν, "οὐκ εὐθὺς ἡμᾶς ἄγεις ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἕως ὑγρὸν τὸ αἷμα ἔχομεν;" κἀκεῖνος ἠρέμα τῇ φωνῇ, "Πρότερον," εἶπεν, "ὀχυρωτέον ἡμῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον."

XIX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται καίπερ ἀσχάλλοντες ἐπείθοντο· τῆς δὲ θεραπείας τὸ πλῆθος οὔτ' αὐτοὶ ποτὸν οὔθ' ὑποζυγίοις ἔχοντες ἀθρόοι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, οἱ μὲν ἀξίνας, οἱ δὲ πελέκεις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἅμα τοῖς ὑδρίοις ἀναλαβόντες, ὡς καὶ διὰ μάχης ὑδρευσόμενοι. τούτοις τὸ πρῶτον ὀλίγοι προσεμάχοντο τῶν πολεμίων· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἀριστῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ
2 μετὰ λουτρόν, οἱ δὲ ἐλούοντο. ῥήγνυσι γὰρ αὐτόθι ναμάτων θερμῶν πηγὰς ὁ χῶρος· καὶ μέρος τι περὶ ταῦτα τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐπαθοῦντας καὶ πανηγυρίζοντας ἡδονῇ καὶ θαύματι τοῦ τόπου κατέλαβον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. πρὸς δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν πλειόνων συντρεχόντων τῷ τε Μαρίῳ χαλεπὸν ἦν ἔτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπισχεῖν περὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν δεδιότας, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ μαχιμώτατον μέρος, ὑφ' οὗ προήττηντο Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ Μαλλίου καὶ Καιπίωνος πρότερον (Ἄμβρωνες ὠνομάζοντο καὶ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἦσαν), ἀναΐξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς πανοπλίας
3 ἐχώρουν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σώματα πλησμονῇ βεβαρημένοι, τοῖς δὲ φρονήμασι γαῦροι καὶ διακεχυμένοι πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον, οὐκ ἀτάκτοις οὐδὲ μανιώδεσι φερόμενοι δρόμοις οὐδὲ ἄναρθρον ἀλαλαγμὸν ἱέντες, ἀλλὰ κρούοντες ῥυθμῷ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ συναλ-

price of it was blood. "Why, then," they said, "dost thou not lead us at once against the enemy, while our blood is still moist?" To which Marius calmly replied: "We must first make our camp strong."

XIX. His soldiers, accordingly, though reluctant, obeyed; but the throng of camp-servants, who had no water either for themselves or their beasts, went down in a body to the river, some taking hatchets, some axes, and some also swords and lances along with their water-jars, determined to get water even if they had to fight for it. With these only a few of the enemy at first engaged, since the main body were taking their meal after bathing, and some were still bathing. For streams of warm water burst from the ground in this place, and at these the Romans surprised a number of the Barbarians, who were enjoying themselves and making merry in this wonderfully pleasant place. Their cries brought more of the Barbarians to the spot, and Marius had difficulty in longer restraining his soldiers, since they had fears now for their servants. Besides, the most warlike division of the enemy, by whom at an earlier time the Romans under Manlius and Caepio had been defeated[1] (they were called Ambrones and of themselves numbered more than thirty thousand), had sprung up from their meal and were running to get their arms. However, though their bodies were surfeited and weighed down with food and their spirits excited and disordered with strong wine, they did not rush on in a disorderly or frantic course, nor raise an inarticulate battle-cry, but rhythmically clashing their arms and leaping to the sound they

[1] Cf. chapter xvi. 5.

λόμενοι πάντες ἅμα τὴν αὐτῶν ἐφθέγγοντο
πολλάκις προσηγορίαν Ἄμβρωνες, εἴτε ἀνα-
καλούμενοι σφᾶς αὐτούς, εἴτε τοὺς πολεμίους τῇ
4 προδηλώσει προεκφοβοῦντες. τῶν δὲ Ἰταλικῶν
πρῶτοι καταβαίνοντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Λίγυες, ὡς
ἤκουσαν βοώντων καὶ συνῆκαν, ἀντεφώνουν καὶ
αὐτοὶ τὴν πάτριον ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῶν εἶναι· σφᾶς
γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὕτως κατὰ γένος ὀνομάζουσι Λίγυες.
πυκνὸν οὖν καὶ παράλληλον ἀντήχει πρὶν εἰς
χεῖρας συνελθεῖν τὸ ἀναφώνημα· καὶ τῶν στρατῶν
ἑκατέροις ἀνὰ μέρος συναναφθεγγομένων καὶ
φιλοτιμουμένων πρῶτον ἀλλήλους τῷ μεγέθει
τῆς βοῆς ὑπερβαλέσθαι, παρώξυνε καὶ διηρέθιζε
τὸν θυμὸν ἡ κραυγή.

5 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἄμβρωνας διέσπασε τὸ ῥεῖθρον·
οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν εἰς τάξιν καταστῆναι διαβάντες,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις εὐθὺς μετὰ δρόμου τῶν Λι-
γύων προσπεσόντων ἐν χερσὶν ἦν ἡ μάχη· τοῖς
δὲ Λίγυσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβοηθούντων καὶ
φερομένων ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους βιασθέν-
6 τες ἐτράποντο. καὶ πλεῖστοι μὲν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ
ῥεῖθρον ὠθούμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐπαίοντο καὶ
κατεπίμπλασαν φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμόν,
τοὺς δὲ διαβάντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ τολμῶντας ἀνα-
στρέφειν ἔκτεινον ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῶν
7 ἁμαξῶν φεύγοντας. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπ-
αντῶσαι μετὰ ξιφῶν καὶ πελέκεων δεινὸν τετρι-
γυῖαι καὶ περίθυμον ἠμύνοντο τοὺς φεύγοντας
ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς διώκοντας, τοὺς μὲν ὡς προδότας,
τοὺς δὲ ὡς πολεμίους, ἀναπεφυρμέναι μαχομένοις
καὶ χερσὶ γυμναῖς τούς τε θυρεοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων

would frequently shout out all together their tribal name Ambrones, either to encourage one another, or to terrify their enemies in advance by the declaration. The first of the Italians to go down against them were the Ligurians, and when they heard and understood what the Barbarians were shouting, they themselves shouted back the word, claiming it as their own ancestral appellation; for the Ligurians call themselves Ambrones by descent. Often, then, did the shout echo and reecho from either side before they came to close quarters; and since the hosts back of each party took up the cry by turns and strove each to outdo the other first in the magnitude of their shout, their cries roused and fired the spirit of the combatants.

Well, then, the Ambrones became separated by the stream; for they did not all succeed in getting across and forming an array, but upon the foremost of them the Ligurians at once fell with a rush, and the fighting was hand-to-hand. Then the Romans came to the aid of the Ligurians, and charging down from the heights upon the Barbarians overwhelmed and turned them back. Most of the Ambrones were cut down there in the stream where they were all crowded together, and the river was filled with their blood and their dead bodies; the rest, after the Romans had crossed, did not dare to face about, and the Romans kept slaying them until they came in their flight to their camp and waggons. Here the women met them, swords and axes in their hands, and with hideous shrieks of rage tried to drive back fugitives and pursuers alike, the fugitives as traitors, and the pursuers as foes; they mixed themselves up with the combatants, with bare hands tore

ἀποσπῶσαι καὶ τῶν ξιφῶν ἐπιλαμβανόμεναι, καὶ τραύματα καὶ διακοπὰς σωμάτων ὑπομένουσαι, μέχρι τελευτῆς ἀήττητοι τοῖς θυμοῖς. τὴν μὲν οὖν παραποτάμιον μάχην οὕτω κατὰ τύχην μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.

XX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀμβρώνων· οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαφθείραντες ἀνεχώρησαν ὀπίσω καὶ σκότος ἐπέσχεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπ' εὐτυχήματι τοσούτῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδέξαντο παιᾶνες ἐπινίκιοι καὶ πότοι κατὰ σκηνὰς καὶ φιλοφροσύναι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ τὸ πάντων ἥδιστον ἀνδράσιν εὐτυχῶς 417
μεμαχημένοις, ὕπνος ἤπιος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην μάλιστα
2 τὴν νύκτα φοβερὰν καὶ ταραχώδη διήγαγον. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀχαράκωτον τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀτείχιστον, ἀπελείποντο[1] δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀήττητοι, καὶ συμμεμιγμένων τούτοις ὅσοι διαπεφεύγεσαν τῶν Ἀμβρώνων, ὀδυρμὸς ἦν διὰ νυκτός, οὐ κλαυθμοῖς οὐδὲ στεναγμοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐοικώς, ἀλλὰ θηρομιγής τις ὠρυγὴ καὶ βρύχημα μεμιγμένον ἀπειλαῖς καὶ θρήνοις ἀναπεμπόμενον ἐκ πλήθους τοσούτου τά τε πέριξ
3 ὄρη καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιεφώνει. καὶ κατεῖχε φρικώδης ἦχος τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους δέος, αὐτόν τε τὸν Μάριον ἔκπληξις ἄκοσμόν τινα καὶ ταραχώδη νυκτομαχίαν προσδεχόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἐπῆλθον οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ συντάττοντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι διετέλουν.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μάριος, ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκ κεφαλῆς τῶν βαρβάρων νάπαι περικλινεῖς καὶ κατάσκιοι

[1] ἀπελείποντο, Bekker adopts Coraës' correction to ὑπελείποντο.

away the shields of the Romans or grasped their swords, and endured wounds and mutilations, their fierce spirits unvanquished to the end. So, then, as we are told, the battle at the river was brought on by accident rather than by the intention of the commander.

XX. After destroying many of the Ambrones the Romans withdrew and night came on; but in spite of so great a success the army did not indulge in paeans of victory, or drinking in the tents, or friendly converse over suppers, or that sweetest of all delights for men who have fought and won a battle, gentle sleep, but that night more than any other was spent in fears and commotions. For their camp was still without palisade or wall, and there were still left many myriads of the Barbarians who had met with no defeat. These had been joined by all the Ambrones who survived the battle, and there was lamentation among them all night long, not like the wailings and groans of men, but howlings and bellowings with a strain of the wild beast in them, mingled with threats and cries of grief, went up from this vast multitude and echoed among the surrounding hills and over the river valley. The whole plain was filled with an awful din, the Romans with fear, and even Marius himself with consternation as he awaited some disorderly and confused night-battle. However, the Barbarians made no attack either during that night or the following day, but spent the time in marshalling their forces and making preparations.

Meanwhile, since the position of the Barbarians was commanded by sloping glens and ravines that were

δρυμοῖς αὐλῶνες, ἐνταῦθα Κλαύδιον Μάρκελλον
ἐκπέμπει μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν, ἐνεδρεῦσαι
κελεύσας κρύφα καὶ μαχομένοις ἐξόπισθεν ἐπι-
φανῆναι. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους δειπνήσαντας ἐν ὥρᾳ
καὶ κοιμηθέντας ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ συνέταττε πρὸ τοῦ
χάρακος ἀγαγών, καὶ προεξέπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας
5 εἰς τὸ πεδίον. θεασάμενοι δὲ οἱ Τεύτονες οὐκ
ἠνέσχοντο καταβαίνοντας αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἴσου δια-
γωνίζεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ σὺν τάχει καὶ
δι' ὀργῆς ὁπλισάμενοι τῷ λόφῳ προσέβαλον. ὁ
δὲ Μάριος ἑκασταχοῦ διαπέμπων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας
ἑστάναι καὶ καρτερεῖν παρεκάλει, πελασάντων δὲ
εἰς ἐφικτὸν ἐξακοντίσαι τοὺς ὑσσούς, εἶτα χρῆ-
σθαι ταῖς μαχαίραις καὶ τοῖς θυρεοῖς ἀντερείσαν-
6 τας βιάζεσθαι· τῶν γὰρ τόπων ἐπισφαλῶν ὄντων
ἐκείνοις οὔτε τόνον ἕξειν τὰς πληγὰς οὔτε ῥώμην
τὸν συνασπισμόν, ἐν περιτροπῇ καὶ σάλῳ τῶν
σωμάτων ὄντων διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. ταῦτα ἅμα
παρῄνει καὶ δρῶν ἑωρᾶτο πρῶτος· οὐδενὸς γὰρ
ἤσκητο χεῖρον τὸ σῶμα, καὶ πάντας πολὺ τῇ
τόλμῃ παρήλλαττεν.

XXI. Ὡς οὖν ἀντιστάντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
καὶ συμπεσόντες ἔσχον ἄνω φερομένους, ἐκθλι-
βόμενοι κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ πεδίον·
καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἤδη καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν ἐν
τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις βοὴ καὶ διασπασμὸς ἦν περὶ τοὺς
ὄπισθεν. ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Μάρκελλον,
ἀλλὰ τῆς κραυγῆς ὑπὲρ τοὺς λόφους ἄνω φερο-
μένης ἀναστήσας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ καὶ

shaded by trees, Marius sent Claudius Marcellus thither with three thousand men-at-arms, under orders to lie concealed in ambush until the battle was on, and then to show themselves in the enemy's rear. The rest of his soldiers, who had taken supper in good season and then got a night's sleep, he led out at day-break and drew up in front of the camp, and sent out his cavalry into the plain. The Teutones, seeing this, could not wait for the Romans to come down and fight with them on equal terms, but quickly and wrathfully armed themselves and charged up the hill. But Marius, sending his officers to all parts of the line, exhorted the soldiers to stand firmly in their lines, and when the enemy had got within reach to hurl their javelins, then take to their swords and crowd the Barbarians back with their shields; for since the enemy were on precarious ground their blows would have no force and the locking of their shields no strength, but the unevenness of the ground would keep them turning and tossing about. This was the advice he gave his men, and they saw that he was first to act accordingly; for he was in better training than any of them, and in daring far surpassed them all.

XXI. Accordingly, the Romans awaited the enemy's onset, then closed with them and checked their upward rush, and at last, crowding them back little by little, forced them into the plain. Here, while the Barbarians in front were at last forming in line on level ground, there was shouting and commotion in their rear. For Marcellus had watched his opportunity, and when the cries of battle were borne up over the hills he put his men upon the run and

ἀλαλαγμῷ προσέπιπτε κατὰ νώτου, κτείνων τοὺς
2 ἐσχάτους. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρὸ αὑτῶν ἐπισπώμενοι
ταχὺ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ταραχῆς ἐνέπλησαν, οὐ
πολύν τε χρόνον ἠνέσχοντο παιόμενοι διχόθεν,
ἀλλὰ τὴν τάξιν λύσαντες ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι
διώκοντες αὐτῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας ἢ ζῶντας
εἷλον ἢ κατέβαλον, σκηνῶν δὲ καὶ ἁμαξῶν καὶ
χρημάτων κρατήσαντες, ὅσα μὴ διεκλάπη, Μάριον
λαβεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ δωρεᾶς ταύτης λαμπρο-
τάτης τυχὼν οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἔχειν ὧν ἐστρα-
τήγησεν ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος.
3 Ἕτεροι δὲ περὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῶν λαφύρων οὐχ
ὁμολογοῦσιν, οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πεσόν-
των. Μασσαλιήτας μέντοι λέγουσι τοῖς ὀστέοις
περιθριγκῶσαι τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας, τὴν δὲ γῆν, τῶν
νεκρῶν καταναλωθέντων ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος
ὄμβρων ἐπιπεσόντων, οὕτως ἐκλιπανθῆναι καὶ
γενέσθαι διὰ βάθους περίπλεω τῆς σηπεδόνος
ἐνδύσης ὥστε καρπῶν ὑπερβάλλον εἰς ὥρας
πλῆθος ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ 418
λέγοντι πιαίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ τοιούτου τὰς ἀρούρας.
4 ἐπιεικῶς δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις μάχαις ἐξαισίους
ὑετοὺς ἐπικαταρρήγνυσθαι λέγουσιν, εἴτε δαι-
μονίου τινὸς τὴν γῆν καθαροῖς καὶ διϊπετέσιν
ἁγνίζοντος ὕδασι καὶ κατακλύζοντος, εἴτε τοῦ
φόνου καὶ τῆς σηπεδόνος ἐξανιείσης ὑγρὰν καὶ
βαρεῖαν ἀναθυμίασιν, ἣ τὸν ἀέρα συνίστησιν
εὔτρεπτον ὄντα καὶ ῥᾴδιον μεταβάλλειν ἀπὸ
σμικροτάτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρχῆς.

fell with loud shouts upon the enemy's rear, where he cut down the hindmost of them. Those in the rear forced along those who were in front of them, and quickly plunged the whole army into confusion, and under this double attack they could not hold out long, but broke ranks and fled. The Romans pursued them and either slew or took alive over a hundred thousand of them, besides making themselves masters of their tents, waggons, and property, all of which, with the exception of what was pilfered, was given to Marius by vote of the soldiers. And though the gift that he received was so splendid, it was thought to be wholly unworthy of his services in the campaign, where the danger that threatened had been so great.

There are some writers, however, who give a different account of the division of the spoils, and also of the number of the slain. Nevertheless, it is said that the people of Massalia fenced their vineyards round with the bones of the fallen, and that the soil, after the bodies had wasted away in it and the rains had fallen all winter upon it, grew so rich and became so full to its depths of the putrefied matter that sank into it, that it produced an exceeding great harvest in after years, and confirmed the saying of Archilochus[1] that "fields are fattened" by such a process. And it is said that extraordinary rains generally dash down after great battles, whether it is that some divine power drenches and hallows the ground with purifying waters from Heaven, or that the blood and putrefying matter send up a moist and heavy vapour which condenses the air, this being easily moved and readily changed to the highest degree by the slightest cause.

[1] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, ii.[4] pp. 428 f.

XXII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Μάριος τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ὅπλων καὶ λαφύρων τὰ μὲν ἐκπρεπῆ καὶ ὁλόκληρα καὶ πομπικὴν ὄψιν τῷ θριάμβῳ δυνάμενα παρασχεῖν ἐπέλεξε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπὶ πυρᾶς μεγάλης κατασωρεύσας τὸ πλῆθος ἔθυσε
2 θυσίαν μεγαλοπρεπῆ. καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρεστῶτος ἐν ὅπλοις ἐστεφανωμένου περιζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν περιπόρφυρον καὶ λαβὼν δᾷδα καιομένην καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν ἀνασχὼν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλεν ὑφήσειν τῇ πυρᾷ· καὶ προσελαύνοντες ἵπποις ἑωρῶντο φίλοι σὺν τάχει πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε πολλὴν γενέσθαι σιωπὴν καὶ προσδοκίαν
3 ἁπάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἀποπηδήσαντες ἐδεξιοῦντο τὸν Μάριον, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸ πέμπτον αὐτὸν ὕπατον ᾑρῆσθαι, καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων ἀπέδοσαν. μεγάλης οὖν χαρᾶς τοῖς ἐπινικίοις προσγενομένης ὅ τε στρατὸς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐνοπλίῳ τινὶ κρότῳ καὶ πατάγῳ συνηλάλαξαν, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὸν Μάριον αὖθις ἀναδούντων δάφνης στεφάνοις ἐνῆψε τὴν πυρὰν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετελείωσεν.

XXIII. Ἡ δὲ μηθὲν ἐῶσα τῶν μεγάλων εὐτυχημάτων ἄκρατον εἰς ἡδονὴν καὶ καθαρόν, ἀλλὰ μίξει κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ποικίλλουσα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἢ τύχη τις ἢ νέμεσις ἢ πραγμάτων ἀναγκαία φύσις οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπήγαγε τῷ Μαρίῳ τὴν περὶ Κάτλου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀγγελίαν, ὥσπερ ἐν εὐδίᾳ καὶ γαλήνῃ νέφος, αὖθις ἕτερον φόβον καὶ χειμῶνα τῇ Ῥώμῃ
2 περιστήσασα. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Κάτλος ἀντικαθήμενος τοῖς Κίμβροις τὰς μὲν ὑπερβολὰς τῶν Ἄλπεων

XXII. After the battle, Marius collected such of the arms and spoils of the Barbarians as were handsome, entire, and fitted to make a show in his triumphal procession; all the rest he heaped up on a huge pyre and set on foot a magnificent sacrifice. The soldiers had taken their stand about the pyre in arms, with chaplets on their heads, and Marius himself, having put on his purple-bordered robe and girt it about him, as the custom was, had taken a lighted torch, held it up towards heaven with both hands, and was just about to set fire to the pyre, when some friends were seen riding swiftly towards him, and there was deep silence and expectancy on the part of all. But when the horsemen were near, they leaped to the ground and greeted Marius, bringing him the glad news that he had been elected consul for the fifth time,[1] and giving him letters to that effect. This great cause for rejoicing having been added to the celebration of their victory, the soldiers, transported with delight, sent forth a universal shout, accompanied by the clash and clatter of their arms, and after his officers had crowned Marius afresh with wreaths of bay, he set fire to the pyre and completed the sacrifice.

XXIII. However, that power which permits no great successes to bring a pure and unmixed enjoyment, but diversifies human life with a blending of evil and of good—be it Fortune, or Nemesis, or Inevitable Necessity, within a few days brought to Marius tidings of his colleague Catulus, which, like a cloud in a calm and serene sky, involved Rome in another tempest of fear. For Catulus, who was facing the Cimbri, gave up trying to guard the passes of the

[1] For the year 101 B.C.

ἀπέγνω φυλάσσειν, μὴ κατὰ πολλὰ τὴν δύναμιν
μέρη διαιρεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀσθενὴς γένοιτο,
καταβὰς δ' εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀτι-
σῶνα ποταμὸν λαβὼν πρὸ αὑτοῦ καὶ φραξάμενος
πρὸς τὰς διαβάσεις ἑκατέρωθεν ἰσχυροῖς χαρα-
κώμασιν, ἔζευξε τὸν πόρον, ὡς ἐπιβοηθεῖν εἴη τοῖς
πέραν, εἰ πρὸς τὰ φρούρια βιάζοιντο διὰ τῶν
3 στενῶν οἱ βάρβαροι. τοῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον περιῆν
ὑπεροψίας καὶ θράσους κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥστε
ῥώμην καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ πράτ-
τοντές τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων γυμνοὶ μὲν ἠνείχοντο
νιφόμενοι καὶ διὰ πάγων καὶ χιόνος βαθείας τοῖς
ἄκροις προσέβαινον, ἄνωθεν δὲ τοὺς θυρεοὺς
πλατεῖς ὑποτιθέντες τοῖς σώμασιν, εἶτα ἀφιέντες
αὑτοὺς ὑπεφέροντο κατὰ κρημνῶν ὀλισθήματα
4 καὶ λισσάδας ἀχανεῖς ἐχόντων. ὡς δὲ παρα-
στρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐγγὺς καὶ κατασκεψάμενοι
τὸν πόρον ἤρξαντο χοῦν, καὶ τοὺς πέριξ λόφους
ἀναρρηγνύντες, ὥσπερ οἱ γίγαντες, ἅμα δένδρα
πρόρριζα καὶ κρημνῶν σπαράγματα καὶ γῆς
κολωνοὺς ἐφόρουν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἐκθλίβοντες
τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ τοῖς ἐρείδουσι τὰ ζεύγματα βάθροις
ἐφιέντες βάρη μεγάλα συρόμενα κατὰ ῥοῦν καὶ
τινάττοντα ταῖς πληγαῖς τὴν γέφυραν, ἀποδει-
λιάσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέλιπον
τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀνεχώρουν.
5 Ἔνθα δὴ Κάτλος ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ χρὴ
τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τέλειον ἄρχοντα, τὴν αὑτοῦ δόξαν
ἐν ὑστέρῳ τῶν πολιτῶν τιθέμενον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ
ἔπειθε τοὺς στρατιώτας μένειν, ἀλλ' ἑώρα περι-
δεῶς ἀναζευγνύντας, ἄρασθαι κελεύσας τὸν ἀετὸν 419

Alps, lest he should be weakened by the necessity of dividing his forces into many parts, and at once descended into the plains of Italy. Here he put the river Atiso between himself and the enemy, built strong fortifications on both banks of it to prevent their crossing, and threw a bridge across the stream, that he might be able to go to the help of the people on the other side in case the Barbarians made their way through the passes and attacked the fortresses. But these Barbarians were so contemptuous and bold in following their enemies that, more by way of displaying their strength and daring than because it was necessary at all, they endured the snow-storms without any clothing, made their way through ice and deep snow to the summits, and from there, putting their broad shields under them and then letting themselves go, slid down the smooth and deeply fissured cliffs. After they had encamped near the stream and examined the passage, they began to dam it up, tearing away the neigbouring hills, like the giants of old, carrying into the river whole trees with their roots, fragments of cliffs, and mounds of earth, and crowding the current out of its course; they also sent whirling down the stream against the piles of the bridge heavy masses which made the bridge quiver with their blows, until at last the greater part of the Roman soldiers played the coward, abandoned their main camp, and began to retreat.

And now Catulus, like a consummately good commander, showed that he had less regard for his own reputation than for that of his countrymen. For finding that he could not persuade his soldiers to remain, and seeing that they were making off in terror, he ordered his standard to be taken up, ran to the

εἰς τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀπερχομένων ὥρμησε δρόμῳ καὶ πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο, βουλόμενος αὑτοῦ τὸ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς πατρίδος γενέσθαι, καὶ δοκεῖν μὴ φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἑπομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ ποιεῖ-
6 σθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ἀτισῶνος φρούριον ἐπελθόντες ἔλαβον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι Ῥωμαίους ἀνδρῶν κρατίστους γενομένους καὶ προκινδυνεύσαντας ἀξίως τῆς πατρίδος θαυμάσαντες ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν, ὀμόσαντες τὸν χαλκοῦν ταῦρον, ὃν ὕστερον ἁλόντα μετὰ τὴν μάχην εἰς τὴν Κάτλου φασὶν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἀκροθίνιον τῆς νίκης κομισθῆναι. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔρημον βοηθείας ἐπιχυθέντες ἐπόρθουν.

XXIV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκαλεῖτο Μάριος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην· καὶ παραγενόμενος, πάντων αὐτὸν οἰομένων θριαμβεύσειν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς προθύμως ψηφισαμένης, οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, εἴτε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἀποστερῆσαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας μὴ βουλόμενος, εἴτε πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θαρρύνων τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τῇ τύχῃ τῆς πόλεως παρακατατιθέμενος τὴν τῶν πρώτων κατορθωμάτων δόξαν ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις λαμπροτέραν ἀποδοθησομένην.
2 διαλεχθεὶς δὲ τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάτλον ἐξορμήσας, τοῦτόν τε παρεθάρρυνε καὶ τοὺς αὑτοῦ μετεπέμπετο στρατιώτας ἐκ Γαλατίας. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, διαβὰς τὸν Ἠριδανὸν εἴργειν ἐπειρᾶτο τῆς ἐντὸς Ἰταλίας τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ τοὺς Τεύτονας ἐκδέχεσθαι καὶ

foremost of the retiring troops, and put himself at their head, wishing that the disgrace should attach to himself and not to his country, and that his soldiers, in making their retreat, should not appear to be running away, but following their general. The Barbarians attacked and captured the fortress on the further side of the Atiso, and they so much admired the Romans there, who showed themselves bravest of men and fought worthily of their country, that they let them go on parole, making them take oath upon the bronze bull. This was subsequently captured, after the battle, and was carried, we are told, to the house of Catulus as the chief prize of the victory. But the country was now destitute of defenders, and the Barbarians inundated and ravaged it.

XXIV. In view of these things Marius was summoned to Rome. When he had arrived there, it was the general expectation that he would celebrate the triumph which the senate had readily voted him. But he refused to do so, either because he did not wish to deprive his soldiers and comrades-in-arms of their due honours, or because he would encourage the multitude in view of the present crisis by entrusting the glory of his first success to the fortune of the state, in the hope that it would be returned to him enhanced by a second. Having said what was suitable to the occasion, he set out to join Catulus, whom he tried to encourage, while at the same time he summoned his own soldiers from Gaul. When these had come, he crossed the Po and tried to keep the Barbarians out of the part of Italy lying this side of the river. But the Barbarians declined battle, alleging that they were waiting for

θαυμάζειν ὡς βραδυνόντων φάσκοντες ἀνεβάλλοντο τὴν μάχην, εἴτε ἀγνοοῦντες ὄντως τὴν ἐκείνων φθοράν, εἴτε βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν.
3 καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγγέλλοντας ᾐκίζοντο δεινῶς, καὶ τὸν Μάριον ᾔτουν πέμψαντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χώραν καὶ πόλεις ἱκανὰς ἐνοικεῖν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου τοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, κἀκείνων ὀνομασάντων τοὺς Τεύτονας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐγέλασαν, ὁ δὲ Μάριος ἔσκωψεν εἰπών· "Ἐᾶτε τοίνυν τοὺς ἀδελφούς· ἔχουσι γὰρ γῆν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἕξουσι παρ' ἡμῶν
4 λαβόντες." οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τὴν εἰρωνείαν συνέντες ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν ὡς δίκην ὑφέξοντα, Κίμβροις μὲν αὐτίκα, Τεύτοσι δὲ ὅταν παραγένωνται. "Καὶ μὴν πάρεισιν," ἔφη ὁ Μάριος, "καὶ οὐχ ἕξει καλῶς ὑμῖν ἀπαλλαγῆναι πρότερον ἢ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀσπάσασθαι." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Τευτόνων προαχθῆναι δεδεμένους· ἑάλωσαν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Ἄλπεσι φεύγοντες ὑπὸ Σηκουανῶν.

XXV. Ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα τοῖς Κίμβροις, αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάριον ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ διαφυλάττοντα τὸ στρατόπεδον. λέγεται δὲ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην πρῶτον ὑπὸ Μαρίου καινοτομηθῆναι τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὑσσούς. τὸ γὰρ εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἔμβλημα τοῦ ξύλου πρότερον μὲν ἦν δυσὶ περόναις κατειλημμένον σιδηραῖς, τότε δὲ ὁ Μάριος τὴν μέν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, εἴασε, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἐξελὼν ξύλινον ἧλον εὔθραυστον ἀντ' αὐτῆς

their brethren the Teutones and wondered why they were so long in coming; this was either because they were really ignorant of their destruction, or because they wished to have the appearance of disbelieving it. For they terribly mishandled those who brought tidings of it, and sent to Marius demanding territory for themselves and their brethren and enough cities for them to dwell in. When Marius asked their ambassadors whom they meant by their brethren, they said they meant the Teutones. At this, all the other Romans who heard them burst out laughing, and Marius scoffingly said: "Then don't trouble yourselves about your brethren, for they have land, and they will have it forever— land which we have given them." The ambassadors understood his sarcasm and fell to abusing him, declaring that he should be punished for it, by the Cimbri at once, and by the Teutones when they came. "Verily," said Marius, "they are here, and it will not be right for you to go away before you have embraced your brethren." Saying this, he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be produced in fetters; for they had been captured among the Alps, where they were fugitives, by the Sequani.

XXV. When these things had been reported to the Cimbri, they once more advanced against Marius, who kept quiet and carefully guarded his camp. And it is said that it was in preparation for this battle that Marius introduced an innovation in the structure of the javelin. Up to this time, it seems, that part of the shaft which was let into the iron head was fastened there by two iron nails; but now, leaving one of these as it was, Marius removed the other, and put in its place a wooden pin that could easily

2 ἐνέβαλε, τεχνάζων προσπεσόντα τὸν ὑσσὸν τῷ
θυρεῷ τοῦ πολεμίου μὴ μένειν ὀρθόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
ξυλίνου κλασθέντος ἥλου καμπὴν γίνεσθαι περὶ
τὸν σίδηρον καὶ παρέλκεσθαι τὸ δόρυ, διὰ τὴν
στρεβλότητα τῆς αἰχμῆς ἐνεχόμενον.

Βοιῶριξ δὲ ὁ τῶν Κίμβρων βασιλεὺς ὀλιγοστὸς
προσιππεύσας τῷ στρατοπέδῳ προὐκαλεῖτο τὸν
Μάριον, ἡμέραν ὁρίσαντα καὶ τόπον, προελθεῖν
3 καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας. τοῦ δὲ
Μαρίου φήσαντος οὐδέποτε Ῥωμαίους συμβού-
λοις κεχρῆσθαι περὶ μάχης τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καὶ χαριεῖσθαι τοῦτο Κίμβροις, ἡμέραν μὲν
ἔθεντο τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τρίτην, χώραν δὲ τὸ πε-
δίον τὸ περὶ Βερκέλλας, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐπιτήδειον
ἐνιππάσασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἀνάχυσιν τῷ πλήθει
παρασχεῖν.

4 Τηρήσαντες οὖν τὸν ὡρισμένον χρόνον ἀντι-
παρετάσσοντο, Κάτλος μὲν ἔχων δισμυρίους καὶ 420
τριακοσίους στρατιώτας, οἱ δὲ Μαρίου δισχίλιοι
μὲν ἐπὶ τρισμυρίοις ἐγένοντο, περιέσχον δὲ τὸν
Κάτλον ἐν μέσῳ νεμηθέντες εἰς ἑκάτερον κέρας,
ὡς Σύλλας, ἠγωνισμένος ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην,
5 γέγραφε. καί φησι τὸν Μάριον ἐλπίσαντα τοῖς
ἄκροις μάλιστα καὶ κατὰ κέρας συμπεσεῖν τὰς
φάλαγγας, ὅπως ἴδιος ἡ νίκη τῶν ἐκείνου στρα-
τιωτῶν γένοιτο καὶ μὴ μετάσχοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὁ
Κάτλος μηδὲ προσμίξειε τοῖς πολεμίοις, κόλπωμα
τῶν μέσων, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις μετώποις,
λαμβανόντων, οὕτω διαστῆσαι τὰς δυνάμεις.

be broken. His design was that the javelin, after striking the enemy's shield, should not stand straight out, but that the wooden peg should break, thus allowing the shaft to bend in the iron head and trail along the ground, being held fast by the twist at the point of the weapon.

And now Boeorix the king of the Cimbri, with a small retinue, rode up towards the camp and challenged Marius to set a day and a place and come out and fight for the ownership of the country. Marius replied that the Romans never allowed their enemies to give them advice about fighting, but that he would nevertheless gratify the Cimbri in this matter. Accordingly, they decided that the day should be the third following, and the place the plain of Vercellae, which was suitable for the operations of the Roman cavalry, and would give the Cimbri room to deploy their numbers.

When, therefore, the appointed time had come, the Romans drew up their forces for battle. Catulus had twenty thousand three hundred soldiers, while those of Marius amounted to thirty-two thousand, which were divided between both wings and had Catulus between them in the centre, as Sulla, who fought in this battle, has stated.[1] He says also that Marius hoped that the two lines would engage at their extremities chiefly and on the wings, in order that his soldiers might have the whole credit for the victory and that Catulus might not participate in the struggle nor even engage the enemy (since the centre, as is usual in battle-fronts of great extent, would be folded back); and therefore arranged the

[1] In his *Memoirs*; cf. the *Sulla*, iv. 3.

ὅμοια δὲ καὶ τὸν Κάτλον αὐτὸν ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι, πολλὴν κατηγοροῦντα τοῦ Μαρίου κακοήθειαν πρὸς αὐτόν.

Τοῖς δὲ Κίμβροις τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμάτων καθ' ἡσυχίαν προῄει, βάθος ἴσον τῷ μετώπῳ ποιούμενον. ἑκάστη γὰρ ἐπέσχε πλευρὰ σταδίους
7 τριάκοντα τῆς παρατάξεως· οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ἐξήλασαν λαμπροί, κράνη μὲν εἰκασμένα θηρίων φοβερῶν χάσμασι καὶ προτομαῖς ἰδιομόρφοις ἔχοντες, ἃς ἐπαιρόμενοι λόφοις πτερωτοῖς εἰς ὕψος ἐφαίνοντο μείζους, θώραξι δὲ κεκοσμημένοι σιδηροῖς, θυρεοῖς δὲ λευκοῖς στίλβοντες. ἀκόντισμα δὲ ἦν ἑκάστῳ διβολία· συμπεσόντες δὲ μεγάλαις ἐχρῶντο καὶ βαρείαις μαχαίραις.

XXVI. Τότε δὲ οὐχὶ κατὰ στόμα προσεφέροντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' ἐκκλίνοντες ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ὑπῆγον αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρόν, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς παρατεταγμένων. καὶ συνεῖδον μὲν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ τὸν δόλον, ἐπισχεῖν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ ἔφθησαν, ἀλλ' ἑνὸς ἐκβοήσαντος ὅτι φεύγου-
2 σιν οἱ πολέμιοι, πάντες ὥρμησαν διώκειν. καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπῄει καθάπερ πέλαγος ἀχανὲς κινούμενον. ἐνταῦθα νιψάμενος ὁ Μάριος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχὼν εὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς κατὰ ἑκατόμβης. εὔξατο δὲ καὶ Κάτλος ὁμοίως ἀνασχὼν τὰς χεῖρας καθιερώσειν τὴν τύχην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης. τὸν δὲ Μάριον καὶ θύσαντα λέγεται τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτῷ δειχθέντων μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν· "Ἐμὴ ἡ νίκη."

forces in this manner. And we are told that Catulus himself also made a similar statement in defence of his conduct in the battle, and accused Marius of great malice in his treatment of him.

As for the Cimbri, their foot-soldiers advanced slowly from their defences, with a depth equal to their front, for each side of their formation had an extent of thirty furlongs; and their horsemen, fifteen thousand strong, rode out in splendid style, with helmets made to resemble the maws of frightful wild beasts or the heads of strange animals, which, with their towering crests of feathers, made their wearers appear taller than they really were; they were also equipped with breastplates of iron, and carried gleaming white shields. For hurling, each man had two lances; and at close quarters they used large, heavy swords.

XXVI. At this time, however, they did not charge directly upon the Romans, but swerved to the right and tried to draw them along gradually until they got them between themselves and their infantry, which was drawn up on their left. The Roman commanders perceived the crafty design, but did not succeed in holding their soldiers back; for one of them shouted that the enemy was taking to flight, and then all set out to pursue them. Meanwhile the infantry of the Barbarians came on to the attack like a vast sea in motion. Then Marius, after washing his hands, lifted them to heaven and vowed a hecatomb to the gods; Catulus also in like manner lifted his hands and vowed that he would consecrate the fortune of that day. It is said, too, that Marius offered sacrifice, and that when the victims had been shown to him, he cried with a loud voice: "Mine is the victory."

3 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου πρᾶγμα νεμεσητὸν παθεῖν τὸν Μάριον οἱ περὶ Σύλλαν ἱστοροῦσι. κονιορτοῦ γὰρ ἀρθέντος, οἷον εἰκός, ἀπλέτου καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀποκεκρυμμένων, ἐκεῖνον μέν, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπισπασάμενον τὴν δύναμιν ἀστοχῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρενεχθέντα τῆς φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ διαφέρεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον, τῷ δὲ Κάτλῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τύχης συρραγῆναι, καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα κατ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου μάλιστα στρατιώτας, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας τετάχθαι
4 φησί· συναγωνίσασθαι δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ καῦμα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀντιλάμποντα τοῖς Κίμβροις. δεινοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ὑπομεῖναι κρύη, καὶ τόποις ἐντεθραμμένοι σκιεροῖς, ὡς λέλεκται, καὶ ψυχροῖς, ἀνετρέποντο πρὸς τὸ θάλπος, ἱδρῶτά τε μετὰ ἄσθματος πολὺν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἀφιέντες καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς προβαλλόμενοι πρὸ τῶν προσώπων, ἅτε δὴ καὶ μετὰ τροπὰς θέρους τῆς μάχης γενομένης, ἃς ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς νουμηνίας τοῦ νῦν μὲν Αὐγούστου, τότε δὲ
5 Σεξτιλίου μηνός. ὤνησε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν ὁ κονιορτὸς ἀποκρύψας τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ γὰρ κατεῖδον ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι προσμίξαντες ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως μὴ προεκφοβηθέντες. οὕτω δ' ἦσαν διάπονοι τὰ σώματα καὶ κατηθληκότες ὡς μήτε ἱδροῦντά τινα μήτε ἀσθμαίνοντα Ῥωμαίων ὀφθῆναι διὰ πνίγους τοσούτου καὶ μετὰ δρόμου

After the attack had begun, however, an experience befell Marius which signified the divine displeasure, according to Sulla. For an immense cloud of dust was raised, as was to be expected, and the two armies were hidden from one another by it, so that Marius, when he first led his forces to the attack, missed the enemy, passed by their lines of battle, and moved aimlessly up and down the plain for some time. Meanwhile, as chance would have it, the Barbarians engaged fiercely with Catulus, and he and his soldiers, among whom Sulla says he himself was posted, bore the brunt of the struggle. The Romans were favoured in the struggle, Sulla says, by the heat, and by the sun, which shone in the faces of the Cimbri. For the Barbarians were well able to endure cold, and had been brought up in shady and chilly regions, as I have said.[1] They were therefore undone by the heat; they sweated profusely, breathed with difficulty, and were forced to hold their shields before their faces. For the battle was fought after the summer solstice, which falls, by Roman reckoning, three days before the new moon of the month now called August,[2] but then Sextilis. Moreover, the dust, by hiding the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For they could not see from afar the great numbers of the foe, but each one of them fell at a run upon the man just over against him, and fought him hand to hand, without having been terrified by the sight of the rest of the host. And their bodies were so inured to toil and so thoroughly trained that not a Roman was observed to sweat or pant, in spite of the great heat and the run with which they

[1] Chapter xi. 5 f.
[2] a.d. III. Kalendas Augusti.

τῆς συρράξεως γενομένης, ὡς τὸν Κάτλον αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν λέγουσι μεγαλύνοντα τοὺς στρατιώτας. 421

XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον μέρος καὶ μαχιμώτατον τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ κατεκόπη· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διασπᾶσθαι τὴν τάξιν οἱ πρόμαχοι μακραῖς ἁλύσεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνεχόμενοι διὰ τῶν ζωστήρων ἀναδεδεμέναις· τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας ὤσαντες πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα τραγικω-
2 τάτοις ἐνετύγχανον πάθεσιν. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν μελανείμονες ἐφεστῶσαι τούς τε φεύγοντας ἔκτεινον, αἱ μὲν ἄνδρας, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφούς, αἱ δὲ πατέρας, καὶ τὰ νήπια τῶν τέκνων ἀπάγχουσαι ταῖς χερσὶν ἐρρίπτουν ὑπὸ τοὺς τροχοὺς καὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ὑποζυγίων, αὐτὰς δὲ ἀπέσφαττον. μίαν δέ φασιν ἐξ ἄκρου ῥυμοῦ κρεμαμένην τὰ παιδία τῶν αὐτῆς σφυρῶν ἀφημμένα βρόχοις
3 ἑκατέρωθεν ἠρτῆσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἀπορίᾳ δένδρων τοῖς κέρασι τῶν βοῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς σκέλεσι προσδεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν τραχήλους, εἶτα κέντρα προσφέροντας ἐξαλλομένων τῶν βοῶν ἐφελκομένους καὶ πατουμένους ἀπόλλυσθαι. πλὴν καίπερ οὕτως αὐτῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἑάλωσαν ὑπὲρ ἓξ μυριάδας· αἱ δὲ τῶν πεσόντων ἐλέγοντο δὶς τοσαῦται γενέσθαι.

4 Τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα διήρπασαν οἱ Μαρίου στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα καὶ τὰς σημαίας καὶ τὰς σάλπιγγας εἰς τὸ Κάτλου στρατόπεδον ἀνενεχθῆναι λέγουσιν· ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα τεκμηρίῳ χρῆσθαι τὸν Κάτλον ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἡ νίκη γένοιτο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμπεσούσης ἔριδος, ᾑρέθησαν οἷον διαιτηταὶ πρέσβεις

came to the encounter. This is what Catulus himself is said to have written[1] in extolling his soldiers.

XXVII. The greatest number and the best fighters of the enemy were cut to pieces on the spot; for to prevent their ranks from being broken, those who fought in front were bound fast to one another with long chains which were passed through their belts. The fugitives, however, were driven back to their entrenchments, where the Romans beheld a most tragic spectacle. The women, in black garments, stood at the waggons and slew the fugitives—their husbands or brothers or fathers, then strangled their little children and cast them beneath the wheels of the waggons or the feet of the cattle, and then cut their own throats. It is said that one woman hung dangling from the tip of a waggon-pole, with her children tied to either ankle; while the men, for lack of trees, fastened themselves by the neck to the horns of the cattle, or to their legs, then plied the goad, and were dragged or trampled to death as the cattle dashed away. Nevertheless, in spite of such self-destruction, more than sixty thousand were taken prisoners; and those who fell were said to have been twice that number.

Now, the enemy's property became the booty of the soldiers of Marius, but the spoils of battle, the standards, and the trumpets, were brought, we are told, to the camp of Catulus; and Catulus relied chiefly upon this as a proof that the victory was won by his men. Furthermore, a dispute for the honour of the victory arose among the soldiers, as was natural, and the members of an embassy from Parma were

[1] Catulus wrote a history of his consulship, of which Cicero speaks in terms of high praise (*Brutus*, 35, 132 ff.).

Παρμιτῶν παρόντες, οὓς οἱ Κάτλου διὰ τῶν πολεμίων νεκρῶν ἄγοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὑσσοῖς διαπεπαρμένους· γνώριμοι δ' ἦσαν ὑπὸ γραμμάτων, τοὔνομα τοῦ Κάτλου παρὰ τὸ ξύλον
5 αὐτῶν ἐγχαράξαντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ Μαρίῳ προσετίθετο σύμπαν τὸ ἔργον ἥ τε προτέρα νίκη καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἀρχῆς. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ κτίστην τε Ῥώμης τρίτον ἐκεῖνον ἀνηγόρευον, ὡς οὐχ ἧττονα τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τοῦτον ἀπεωσμένον τὸν κίνδυνον, εὐθυμούμενοί τε μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἕκαστοι κατ' οἶκον ἅμα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Μαρίῳ δείπνου καὶ λοιβῆς ἀπήρχοντο, καὶ θριαμβεύειν μόνον ἠξίουν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς θριάμ-
6 βους. οὐ μὴν ἐθριάμβευσεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Κάτλου, μέτριον ἐπὶ τηλικαύταις εὐτυχίαις βουλόμενος παρέχειν ἑαυτόν· ἔστι δὲ ὅ τι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φοβηθεὶς παρατεταγμένους, εἰ Κάτλος ἀπείργοιτο τῆς τιμῆς, μηδὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐᾶν θριαμβεύειν.

XXVIII. Πέμπτην μὲν οὖν ὑπατείαν διεῖπε· τῆς δὲ ἕκτης ὡς οὐδὲ εἷς πρώτης ὠρέγετο, θεραπείαις τὸν δῆμον ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ πρὸς χάριν ἐνδιδοὺς τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐ μόνον παρὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ φύσιν ὑγρός τις εἶναι βουλόμενος καὶ
2 δημοτικός, ἥκιστα τοιοῦτος πεφυκώς. ἀλλ' ἦν, ὡς λέγουσι, πρὸς πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὄχλοις

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[1] Marius was consul still, while Catulus had not been re-elected, and was only pro-consul.

chosen to act as arbitrators. These men the soldiers of Catulus conducted among the dead bodies of the enemy, which were clearly seen to have been pierced by their javelins; for these could be known by the name of Catulus which had been cut into the shaft. However, the entire success was attributed to Marius, both on account of his former victory and of his superior rank.[1] Above all, the people hailed him as the third founder of Rome,[2] on the ground that the peril which he had averted from the city was not less than that of the Gallic invasion; and all of them, as they made merry at home with their wives and children, would bring ceremonial offerings of food and libations of wine to Marius as well as to the gods, and they were insistent that he alone should celebrate both triumphs. Marius, however, would not do this, but celebrated his triumph with Catulus, wishing to show himself a man of moderation after a course of so great good fortune. Perhaps, too, he was afraid of the soldiers, who were drawn up and ready, in case Catulus were deprived of his honour, to prevent Marius also from celebrating a triumph.

XXVIII. Thus, then, his fifth consulship was coming to an end; but he was as eager for a sixth as another would have been for his first. He tried to win over the people by obsequious attentions, and yielded to the multitude in order to gain its favour, thus doing violence, not only to the dignity and majesty of his high office, but also to his own nature, since he wished to be a compliant man of the people when he was naturally at farthest remove from this. In confronting a political crisis or the tumultuous

[2] With Romulus and Camillus. See the *Camillus*, xxxi. 2.

θορύβους ὑπὸ φιλοδοξίας ἀτολμότατος, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἀνέκπληκτον καὶ στάσιμον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἐπαίνων καὶ ψόγων ἐξιστάμενον. καίτοι λέγεται Καμερίνων ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ χιλίους διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνισαμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δωρησάμενος πολιτείᾳ, δοκοῦντος εἶναι τούτου παρανόμου καί τινων ἐγκαλούντων, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦ νόμου διὰ τὸν τῶν ὅπλων ψόφον οὐ κατακούσειεν.
3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐκπλήσσεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κραυγήν. ἐν μέν γε τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν εἶχε διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ περικοπτόμενος τὰ πρωτεῖα κατέφευγεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὔνοιαν καὶ χάριν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγιστος γενέσθαι τὸ βέλ-
4 τιστος εἶναι προϊέμενος. πᾶσι μὲν οὖν προσέκρουε τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ ὀρρωδῶν τὸν Μέτελλον ἠχαριστημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσει δι' 422
ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ πολεμοῦντα τοῖς οὐ κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ὑποδυομένοις τὰ πλήθη καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημαγωγοῦσιν, ἐπεβούλευε τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν
5 τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο Γλαυκίαν καὶ Σατορνῖνον, ἀνθρώπους θρασυτάτους καὶ πλῆθος ἄπορον καὶ θορυβοποιὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντας, οἰκειωσάμενος εἰσέφερε νόμους δι' αὐτῶν· καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπάρας κατεμίγνυε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ κατεστασίαζε τὸν Μέτελλον. ὡς δὲ Ῥουτίλιος ἱστορεῖ,

throng, we are told, his ambition made him most timorous, and that undaunted firmness which he showed in battle forsook him when he faced the popular assemblies, so that he was disconcerted by the most ordinary praise or blame. And yet we are told that when he had bestowed citizenship upon as many as a thousand men of Camerinum for conspicuous bravery in the war, the act was held to be illegal and was impeached by some; to whom he replied that the clash of arms had prevented his hearing the voice of the law. However, he appeared to be in greater fear and terror of the shouting in the popular assemblies. At any rate, while in war he had authority and power because his services were needed, yet in civil life his leadership was more abridged, and he therefore had recourse to the goodwill and favour of the multitude, not caring to be the best man if only he could be the greatest. The consequence was that he came into collision with all the aristocrats. It was Metellus, however, whom he especially feared, a man who had experienced his ingratitude, and one whose genuine excellence made him the natural enemy of those who tried to insinuate themselves by devious methods into popular favour and sought to control the masses by pleasing them. Accordingly, he schemed to banish Metellus from the city. For this purpose he allied himself with Saturninus and Glaucia, men of the greatest effrontery, who had a rabble of needy and noisy fellows at their beck and call, and with their assistance would introduce laws. He also stirred up the soldiery, got them to mingle with the citizens in the assemblies, and thus controlled a faction which could overpower Metellus. Then, according to Rutilius, who is generally a lover

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλαλήθης ἀνὴρ καὶ χρηστός, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ προσκεκρουκώς, καὶ τῆς ἕκτης ἔτυχεν ὑπατείας ἀργύριον εἰς τὰς φυλὰς καταβαλὼν πολὺ καὶ πριάμενος τὸ Μέτελλον ἐκκροῦσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, Οὐαλλέριον δὲ Φλάκκον ὑπηρέτην μᾶλλον ἢ συνάρχοντα τῆς ὑπατείας λαβεῖν.
6 οὐδενὶ μέντοι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλὴν μόνῳ Κορβίνῳ Οὐαλλερίῳ τοσαύτας ὑπατείας ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν ἔτη πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Μάριος δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην τὰς πέντε ῥύμῃ μιᾷ τύχης διέδραμε.

XXIX. Καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐφθονεῖτο, πολλὰ συνεξαμαρτάνων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σατορνῖνον. ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ Νωνίου φόνος, ὃν ἀντιπαραγγέλλοντα δημαρχίαν ἀπέσφαξεν ὁ Σατορνῖνος. εἶτα δημαρχῶν ἐπῆγε τὸν περὶ τῆς χώρας νόμον, ᾧ προσεγέγραπτο τὴν σύγκλητον ὀμόσαι προσελθοῦσαν, ἦ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν οἷς ἂν ὁ δῆμος ψηφίσαιτο καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὑπεναντιώσεσθαι.
2 τοῦτο τοῦ νόμου τὸ μέρος προσποιούμενος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διώκειν ὁ Μάριος οὐκ ἔφη δέξεσθαι[1] τὸν ὅρκον, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οἴεσθαι σωφρονοῦντα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ μοχθηρὸς ἦν ὁ νόμος, ὕβριν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν βουλὴν διδόναι βιαζομένην, ἀλλὰ μὴ πειθοῖ μηδὲ ἑκοῦσαν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ οὕτως φρονῶν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Μετέλλῳ ἀπάτην περιτιθεὶς ἄφυκτον.

[1] **δέξεσθαι** Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Reiske **δέξασθαι**.

of truth and an honest man, but had a private quarrel with Marius, he actually got his sixth consulship by paying down large sums of money among the tribes, and by buying votes made Metellus lose his election to the office, and obtained as his colleague in the consulship Valerius Flaccus, who was more a servant than a colleague. And yet the people had never bestowed so many consulships upon any other man except Corvinus Valerius. In the case of Corvinus, however, forty-five years are said to have elapsed between his first and his last consulship; whereas Marius, after his first consulship, ran through the other five without a break.

XXIX. In this last consulship[1] particularly did Marius make himself hated, because he took part with Saturninus in many of his misdeeds. One of these was the murder of Nonius, whom Saturninus slew because he was a rival candidate for the tribuneship. Then, as tribune, Saturninus introduced his agrarian law, to which was added a clause providing that the senators should come forward and take oath that they would abide by whatsoever the people might vote and make no opposition to it. In the senate Marius made pretence of opposing this part of the law, and declared that he would not take the oath, and that he thought no other sensible man would; for even if the law were not a bad one, it was an insult to the senate that it should be compelled to make such concessions, instead of making them under persuasion and of its own free will. He said this, however, not because it was his real mind, but that he might catch Metellus in the toils of a fatal

[1] 100 B.C.

3 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀρετῆς καὶ δεινότητος μερίδα τὸ
ψεύσασθαι τιθέμενος λόγον οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς τὴν
σύγκλητον ὡμολογημένων ἕξειν ἔμελλε, τὸν δὲ
Μέτελλον εἰδὼς βέβαιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν "ἀλήθειαν
ἀρχὴν μεγάλης ἀρετῆς" κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἡγούμενον
ἐβούλετο τῇ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀρνήσει προλη-
φθέντα καὶ μὴ δεξάμενον τὸν ὅρκον εἰς ἀνήκεστον
ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἔχθραν. ὃ καὶ συνέβη.

4 Τοῦ γὰρ Μετέλλου φήσαντος μὴ ὀμόσειν, τότε
μὲν ἡ βουλὴ διελύθη, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τοῦ
Σατορνίνου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς
ἀνακαλουμένου καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ὀμνύειν ἀναγκά-
ζοντος ὁ Μάριος παρελθών, γενομένης σιωπῆς καὶ
πάντων εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀνηρτημένων, μακρὰ χαίρειν
φράσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ νεανιευθεῖσιν ἀπὸ φωνῆς,
οὐχ οὕτω πλατὺν ἔφη φορεῖν τὸν τράχηλον ὡς
προαποφαίνεσθαι καθάπαξ εἰς πρᾶγμα τηλικοῦ-
τον, ἀλλ' ὀμεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ νόμῳ πειθαρχήσειν,
εἴπερ ἔστι νόμος· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προσέθηκε τὸ
5 σοφὸν ὥσπερ παρακάλυμμα τῆς αἰσχύνης. ὁ μὲν
οὖν δῆμος ἡσθεὶς ὀμόσαντος ἀνεκρότησε καὶ
κατευφήμησε, τοὺς δὲ ἀρίστους κατήφεια δεινὴ
καὶ μῖσος ἔσχε τοῦ Μαρίου τῆς μεταβολῆς.
ὤμνυσαν οὖν ἅπαντες ἐφεξῆς δεδιότες τὸν δῆμον
ἄχρι Μετέλλου· Μέτελλος δέ, καίπερ ἀντιβολούν-
των καὶ δεομένων τῶν φίλων ὀμόσαι καὶ μὴ περι-
βαλεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτιμίοις ἀνηκέστοις, ἃ κατὰ τῶν
μὴ ὀμνυόντων ὁ Σατορνῖνος εἰσέφερεν, οὐχ ὑφή-

trick. For he himself regarded lying as part of a man's excellence and ability, made no account of his agreements with the senators, and did not intend to keep them; whereas he knew that Metellus was a steadfast man, who thought with Pindar that "truth is the foundation of great excellence,"[1] and he therefore wished to bind him beforehand by a statement to the senate that he would not take the oath, and then have his refusal to do so plunge him into a hatred on the part of the people that could never be removed. And this was what came to pass.

For Metellus declared that he would not take the oath, and the senate broke up for a while; but after a few days Saturninus summoned the senators to the rostra and tried to force them to take the oath. When Marius came forward there was silence, and the eyes of all were fastened upon him. Then, bidding a long farewell to all his boastful and insincere expressions in the senate, he said his throat was not broad enough to pronounce an opinion once for all upon so important a matter, but that he would take the oath, and obey the law, if it was a law; adding this bit of sophistry as a cloak for his shame. The people, then, delighted at his taking the oath, clapped their hands in applause, but the nobles were terribly dejected and hated Marius for his change of front. Accordingly, all the senators took the oath in order, through fear of the people, until the turn of Metellus came; but Metellus, although his friends earnestly entreated him to take the oath and not subject himself to the irreparable punishments which Saturninus proposed for those who should

[1] Fragment 221 (Boeckh).

6 κατο τοῦ φρονήματος οὐδὲ ὤμοσεν, ἀλλ' ἐμμένων τῷ ἤθει καὶ πᾶν παθεῖν δεινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ μηθὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐργάσασθαι παρεσκευασμένος ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, διαλεγόμενος τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ κακόν τι πρᾶξαι φαῦλον εἴη, τὸ δὲ καλὸν μέν, 423
ἀκινδύνως δέ, κοινόν, ἴδιον δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸ
7 μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ πράσσειν. ἐκ τούτου ψηφίζεται Σατορνῖνος ἐπικηρῦξαι τοὺς ὑπάτους ὅπως πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ στέγης εἴργηται Μέτελλος· καὶ τὸ φαυλότατον αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλήθους παρῆν ἕτοιμον ἀποκτιννύναι τὸν ἄνδρα. τῶν δὲ βελτίστων περιπαθούντων καὶ συντρεχόντων πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον οὐκ εἴα στασιάζειν δι' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔμφρονι λογισμῷ
8 χρησάμενος. "Ἢ γὰρ ἀμεινόνων," ἔφη, "τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου μετανοήσαντος ἀφίξομαι παρακαλούμενος, ἢ μενόντων ὁμοίων ἀπηλλάχθαι κράτιστον." ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅσης μὲν ἀπέλαυσεν εὐνοίας παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τιμῆς Μέτελλος, ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἐν Ῥόδῳ φιλοσοφῶν διητήθη, βέλτιον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφομένοις εἰρήσεται.

XXX. Μάριος δὲ τὸν Σατορνῖνον ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας ταύτης ἐπὶ πᾶν προϊόντα τόλμης καὶ δυνάμεως περιορᾶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἔλαθεν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἀπεργασάμενος κακόν, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ὅπλοις καὶ σφαγαῖς ἐπὶ τυραννίδα καὶ πολιτείας ἀνατροπὴν πορευόμενον. αἰδούμενος δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους, θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλούς, ἔργον ἀνελεύθερον ἐσχάτως ὑπέμεινε καὶ παλίμβολον.
2 ἐλθόντων γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν πρώτων

refuse, would not swerve from his purpose or take the oath, but, adhering to his principles and prepared to suffer any evil rather than do a shameful deed, he left the forum, saying to those about him that to do a wrong thing was mean, and to do the right thing when there was no danger was any man's way, but that to act honourably when it involved dangers was peculiarly the part of a good and true man. Upon this, Saturninus got a vote passed that the consuls should proclaim Metellus interdicted from fire, water, and shelter; and the meanest part of the populace supported them and was ready to put the man to death. The best citizens, however, sympathised with Metellus and crowded hastily about him, but he would not allow a faction to be raised on his account, and departed from the city, following the dictates of prudence. "For," said he, "either matters will mend and the people will change their minds and I shall return at their invitation, or, if matters remain as they are, it is best that I should be away." But what great goodwill and esteem Metellus enjoyed during his exile, and how he spent his time in philosophical studies at Rhodes, will be better told in his Life.[1]

XXX. And now Marius, who was forced, in return for this assistance, to look on quietly while Saturninus ran to extremes of daring and power, brought about unawares a mischief that was not to be cured, but made its way by arms and slaughter directly towards tyranny and subversion of the government. And since he stood in awe of the nobles, while he courted the favour of the multitude, he was led to commit an act of the utmost meanness and duplicity. For when the leading men had come to him by night

[1] No such Life is extant.

ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐπὶ τὸν Σατορνῖνον, ἑτέραις θύραις ἐκεῖνον ὑπεδέξατο τούτων ἀγνοούντων. εἶτα πρόφασιν λέγων πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους κοιλίας διάρροιαν, νῦν μὲν ὡς τούτους, νῦν δὲ ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀνὰ μέρος διατρέχων
3 συνέκρουε καὶ παρώξυνεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων συνισταμένων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ καταδιωχθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον εἷλε δίψει· τοὺς γὰρ ὀχετοὺς ἀπέκοψεν, οἱ δ' ἀπειπόντες ἐκεῖνον ἐκάλουν καὶ παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς λεγομένης δημοσίας πίστεως.
4 ἐπεὶ δὲ παντοῖος γενόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐδὲν ὤνησεν, ἀλλὰ κατιόντες εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀνῃρέθησαν, ἐκ τούτου τοῖς τε δυνατοῖς ἅμα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσκεκρουκώς, τιμητείας παραπεσούσης ἐπίδοξος ὢν οὐ μετῆλθεν, ἀλλ' εἴασεν ἑτέρους ὑποδεεστέρους αἱρεθῆναι, δεδιὼς ἀποτυχεῖν. ἄλλως δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκαλλωπίζετο πολλοῖς μὴ θέλειν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἤθη πικρῶς ἐξετάζων.

XXXI. Δόγματος δὲ εἰσφερομένου Μέτελλον ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ διὰ λόγων καὶ δι' ἔργων μάτην ἐναντιωθεὶς τέλος ἀπεῖπε· καὶ δεξαμένου τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δήμου προθύμως, οὐχ ὑπομένων κατερχόμενον ἐπιδεῖν τὸν Μέτελλον ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν, λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδώσων ἃς εὔξατο τῇ

and were trying to incite him against Saturninus, without their knowledge he introduced Saturninus into the house by another door; then, pretending to both parties that he had a diarrhoea, he would run backwards and forwards in the house, now to the nobles and now to Saturninus, trying to irritate and bring them into collision. However, when the senate and the knights began to combine and give utterance to their indignation, he led his soldiers into the forum, forced the insurgents to take refuge on the Capitol, and compelled them to surrender for lack of water. For he cut off the water-conduits; whereupon they gave up the struggle, called Marius, and surrendered themselves on what was called the public faith. Marius did all he could to save the men, but it was of no avail, and when they came down into the forum they were put to death. This affair made Marius obnoxious alike to the nobles and to the people, and when the time for electing censors came he did not present himself as a candidate, although everyone expected that he would, but allowed other and inferior men to be elected, for fear that he would be defeated. However, he tried to put a good face upon his conduct by saying that he was unwilling to incur the hatred of many citizens by a severe examination into their lives and manners.

XXXI. When a decree was introduced recalling Metellus from exile, Marius opposed it strongly both by word and deed, but finding his efforts vain, at last desisted; and after the people had adopted the measure with alacrity, unable to endure the sight of Metellus returning, he set sail for Cappadocia and Galatia,[1] ostensibly to make the sacrifices which he

1

μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν θυσίας, ἑτέραν δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας
2 ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν λανθάνουσαν τοὺς πολλούς. ἀφυὴς
γὰρ ὢν πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀπολίτευτος, ηὐξημένος
δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν αὖθις ὑπὸ
ἀργίας καὶ ἡσυχίας ἀπομαραίνεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δόξαν οἰόμενος, ἐζήτει καινῶν
πραγμάτων ἀρχάς. ἤλπιζε γὰρ τοὺς βασιλεῖς
συνταράξας καὶ Μιθριδάτην ἐπίδοξον ὄντα πολε-
μήσειν ἀναστήσας καὶ παροξύνας, εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν
ἡγεμὼν αἱρεθήσεσθαι καὶ νέων μὲν τὴν πόλιν
θριάμβων, σκύλων δὲ Ποντικῶν καὶ πλούτου
3 βασιλικοῦ τὸν οἶκον ἐμπλήσειν. διὸ καὶ Μιθ-
ριδάτου πάσῃ χρησαμένου θεραπείᾳ καὶ τιμῇ πρὸς
αὐτὸν οὐ καμφθεὶς οὐδὲ ὑπείξας, ἀλλ' εἰπών, "Ἢ
μεῖζον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πειρῶ δύνασθαι Ῥωμαίων, ἢ
ποίει σιωπῇ τὸ προστασσόμενον," ἐξέπληξεν αὐ-
τόν, ὡς φωνῆς μὲν πολλάκις, παρρησίας δὲ τότε
πρῶτον ἀκούσαντα Ῥωμαϊκῆς.

XXXII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην οἰκίαν ἐδεί-
ματο τῆς ἀγορᾶς πλησίον, εἴτε, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε,
τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖσθαι μὴ βουλό- 424
μενος μακρὰν βαδίζοντας, εἴτε τοῦτο αἴτιον οἰό-
μενος εἶναι τοῦ μὴ πλείονας ἄλλων ἐπὶ θύρας
αὐτοῦ φοιτᾶν. τὸ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἄρα τοιοῦτον· ἀλλ'
ὁμιλίας χάριτι καὶ πολιτικαῖς χρείαις ἑτέρων
λειπόμενος ὥσπερ ὄργανον πολεμικὸν ἐπ' εἰρή-
2 νης παρημελεῖτο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἧττον
ἤχθετο παρευδοκιμούμενος, σφόδρα δὲ αὐτὸν ἠνία
Σύλλας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον αὐξανόμενος φθόνου

had vowed to the Mother of the Gods, but really having another reason for his journey which the people did not suspect. He had, that is, no natural aptitude for peace or civil life, but had reached his eminence by arms. And now, thinking that his influence and reputation were gradually fading away because of his inactivity and quietude, he sought occasions for new enterprises. For he hoped that if he stirred up the kings of Asia and incited Mithridates to action, who was expected to make war upon Rome, he would at once be chosen to lead the Roman armies against him, and would fill the city with new triumphs, and his own house with Pontic spoils and royal wealth. For this reason, though Mithridates treated him with all deference and respect, he would not bend or yield, but said: "O King, either strive to be stronger than Rome, or do her bidding without a word." This speech startled the king, who had often heard the Roman speech, but then for the first time in all its boldness.

XXXII. On returning to Rome, he built a house for himself near the forum, either, as he himself said, because he was unwilling that those who paid their respects to him should have the trouble of coming a long distance, or because he thought that distance was the reason why he did not have larger crowds at his door than others. The reason, however, was not of this nature; it was rather his inferiority to others in the graces of intercourse and in political helpfulness, which caused him to be neglected, like an instrument of war in time of peace. Of all those who eclipsed him in popular esteem he was most vexed and annoyed by Sulla, whose rise to power was due to the jealousy which the nobles felt towards Marius,

τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαφορὰς ἀρχὴν πολιτείας ποιούμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Βόκχος ὁ Νομὰς σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων ἀναγεγραμμένος ἔστησεν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ Νίκας τροπαιοφόρους καὶ παρ' αὐταῖς ἐν εἰκόσι χρυσαῖς Ἰουγούρθαν ἐγχειριζόμενον ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ Σύλλᾳ, τοῦτο ἐξέστησεν ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ Μάριον, ὡς Σύλλα περισπῶντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο
3 βίᾳ τὰ ἀναθήματα καταβάλλειν. ἀντεφιλονείκει δὲ Σύλλας, καὶ τὴν στάσιν ὅσον οὔπω φερομένην εἰς μέσον ἐπέσχεν ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναρραγείς. τὰ γὰρ μαχιμώτατα τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πολυανθρωπότατα κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης συνέστησαν καὶ μικρὸν ἐδέησαν συγχέαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οὐ μόνον ὅπλοις ἐρρωμένα καὶ σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόλμαις στρατηγῶν καὶ δεινότησι χρησάμενα θαυμασταῖς καὶ ἀντιπάλοις.

XXXIII. Οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς πάθεσι ποικίλος γενόμενος καὶ ταῖς τύχαις πολυτροπώτατος ὅσον Σύλλᾳ προσέθηκε δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, τοσοῦτον ἀφεῖλε Μαρίου. βραδὺς γὰρ ἐφάνη ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ὄκνου τε περὶ πάντα καὶ μελλήσεως ὑπόπλεως, εἴτε τοῦ γήρως τὸ δραστήριον ἐκεῖνο καὶ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κατασβεννύντος (ἑξηκοστὸν γὰρ ἤδη καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ὑπερέβαλλεν), εἴτε, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, περὶ νεῦρα γεγονὼς νοσώδης καὶ σώματι δύσεργος ὢν ὑπέμενε παρὰ δύναμιν
2 αἰσχύνῃ τὰς στρατείας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μάχῃ τε μεγάλῃ νικήσας ἑξακισχιλίους ἀνεῖλε τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ λαβὴν οὐδαμῇ παρέσχεν αὐ-

and who was making his quarrels with Marius the basis of his political activity. And when Bocchus the Numidian, who had been designated an ally of the Romans, set up trophy-bearing Victories on the Capitol, and by their side gilded figures representing Jugurtha surrendered by him to Sulla, Marius was transported with rage and fury to see Sulla thus appropriating to himself the glory of his achievements, and was making preparations to tear down the votive offerings. But Sulla too was furious, and civil dissension was just on the point of breaking out, when it was stopped by the Social War, which suddenly burst upon the city.[1] That is, the most warlike and most numerous of the Italian peoples combined against Rome, and came within a little of destroying her supremacy, since they were not only strong in arms and men, but also had generals whose daring and ability were amazing and made them a match for the Romans.

XXXIII. This war, which was varied in its events and most changeful in its fortunes, added much to Sulla's reputation and power, but took away as much from Marius. For he was slow in making his attacks, and always given to hesitation and delay, whether it was that old age had quenched his wonted energy and fire (for he was now past his sixty-sixth year), or that, as he himself said, a feeling of shame led him to go beyond his powers in trying to endure the hardships of the campaign when his nerves were diseased and his body unfit for work. However, even then he won a great victory in which he slew six thousand of the enemy; and he never allowed them to get a grip upon him, but even when he was

[1] 90–89 B.C. See the *Sulla*, vi. 1 f.

τοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιταφρευόμενος ἠνέσχετο καὶ χλευαζόμενος καὶ καλούμενος οὐ παρωξύνθη. λέγεται δὲ Ποπλίου Σίλωνος, ὃς μέγιστον εἶχε τῶν πολεμίων ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν, εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτόν, "Εἰ μέγας εἶ στρατηγός, ὦ Μάριε, διαγώνισαι καταβάς," ἀποκρίνασθαι, "Σὺ μὲν οὖν, εἰ μέγας εἶ στρατηγός, ἀνάγκασόν με διαγωνίσασθαι
3 μὴ βουλόμενον." πάλιν δέ ποτε τῶν μὲν πολεμίων καιρὸν ἐπιχειρήσεως παραδόντων, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδειλιασάντων, ὡς ἀνεχώρησαν ἀμφότεροι, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας, "Ἀπορῶ," φησί, "πότερον εἴπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνανδροτέρους ἢ ὑμᾶς· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν νῶτον ὑμῶν οὔτε ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων τὸ ἰνίον ἰδεῖν ἐδυνήθητε." τέλος δὲ ἀφῆκε τὴν στρατηγίαν ὡς ἐξαδυνατῶν τῷ σώματι διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν.

XXXIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐγκεκλικότων ἐμνηστεύοντο πολλοὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα Σουλπίκιος δήμαρχος, ἀνὴρ θρασύτατος, παραγαγὼν Μάριον ἀπεδείκνυεν ἀνθύπατον στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην. καὶ ὁ δῆμος διέστη, τῶν μὲν αἱρουμένων τὰ Μαρίου, τῶν δὲ Σύλλαν καλούντων καὶ τὸν Μάριον ἐπὶ θερμὰ κελευόντων εἰς Βαΐας βαδίζειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν ὑπό τε γήρως καὶ ῥευμάτων ἀπειρη-
2 κός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖ περὶ Μισηνοὺς τῷ Μαρίῳ πολυτελὴς οἰκία, τρυφὰς ἔχουσα

hemmed about with trenches bided his time, and was not unduly irritated by their insults and challenges. We are told that Publius Silo,[1] who had the greatest authority and power among the enemy, once said to him, "If thou art a great general, Marius, come down and fight it out with us"; to which Marius answered, "Nay, but do thou, if thou art a great general, force me to fight it out with you against my will." And at another time, when the enemy had given him an opportunity to attack them, but the Romans had played the coward, and both sides had withdrawn, he called an assembly of his soldiers and said to them: "I do not know whether to call the enemy or you the greater cowards; for they were not able to see your backs, nor you their napes." At last, however, he gave up his command, on the ground that his infirmities made him quite incapable of exercising it.

XXXIV. But when the Italians had at last made their submission, and many persons at Rome were suing for the command in the Mithridatic war, with the aid of the popular leaders, contrary to all expectation the tribune Sulpicius, a most audacious man, brought Marius forward and proposed to make him pro-consul in command against Mithridates. The people were divided in opinion, some preferring Marius, and others calling for Sulla and bidding Marius go to the warm baths at Baiae and look out for his health, since he was worn out with old age and rheums, as he himself said. For at Baiae, near Cape Misenum, Marius owned an expensive house, which had appointments more luxurious and effeminate

[1] Pompaedius Silo, leader of the Marsi. Cf. the *Cato Minor*, ii. 1–4.

καὶ διαίτας θηλυτέρας ἢ κατ' ἄνδρα πολέμων τοσούτων καὶ στρατειῶν αὐτουργόν. ταύτην λέγεται μυριάδων ἑπτὰ ἡμίσους Κορνηλία πρίασθαι· χρόνου δ' οὐ πάνυ πολλοῦ γενομένου Λεύκιος Λεύκολλος ὠνεῖται μυριάδων πεντήκοντα 425 καὶ διακοσίων· οὕτως ταχέως ἀνέδραμεν ἡ πολυτέλεια καὶ τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν τὰ πράγματα πρὸς
3 τρυφὴν ἔλαβεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Μάριος φιλοτίμως πάνυ καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἀποτριβόμενος τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὁσημέραι κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ μετὰ τῶν νεανίσκων γυμναζόμενος ἐπεδείκνυε τὸ σῶμα κοῦφον μὲν ὅπλοις, ἔποχον δὲ ταῖς ἱππασίαις, καίπερ οὐκ εὐσταλὴς γεγονὼς ἐν γήρᾳ τὸν ὄγκον, ἀλλ' εἰς σάρκα περιπληθῆ καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐνδεδωκώς.

4 Ἐνίοις μὲν οὖν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα πράττων, καὶ κατιόντες ἐθεῶντο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἁμίλλας, τοῖς δὲ βελτίστοις ὁρῶσιν οἰκτείρειν ἐπῄει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοδοξίαν, ὅτι πλουσιώτατος ἐκ πένητος καὶ μέγιστος ἐκ μικροῦ γεγονὼς ὅρον οὐκ οἶδεν εὐτυχίας, οὐδὲ θαυμαζόμενος ἀγαπᾷ καὶ ἀπολαύων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν παρ-
5 όντων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνδεὴς ἁπάντων εἰς Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον ἄρας ἐκ θριάμβων καὶ δόξης ἐκφέρει τοσοῦτον γῆρας, Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Νεοπτολέμῳ τοῖς Μιθριδάτου σατράπαις διαμαχούμενος. αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Μαρίου δικαιολογίαι παντάπασιν ἐφαίνοντο ληρώδεις· ἔφη γὰρ ἐθέλειν τὸν υἱὸν ἀσκῆσαι παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ στρατείας.

XXXV. Ταῦτα τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ὕπουλον γεγενημένην καὶ νοσοῦσαν ἀνέρρηξεν,

than became a man who had taken active part in so many wars and campaigns. This house, we are told, Cornelia bought for seventy-five thousand drachmas; and not long afterwards Lucius Lucullus purchased it for two million five hundred thousand. So quickly did lavish expenditure spring up, and so great an increase in luxury did life in the city take on. Marius, however, showing a spirit of keen emulation that might have characterized a youth, shook off old age and infirmity and went down daily into the Campus Martius, where he exercised himself with the young men and showed that he was still agile in arms and capable of feats of horsemanship, although his bulk was not well set up in his old age, but ran to corpulence and weight.

Some, then, were pleased to have him thus engaged, and would go down into the Campus and witness his emulation in competitive contests; but the better part were moved to pity at the sight of his greed and ambition, because, though he had risen from poverty to the greatest wealth and from obscurity to the highest place, he knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune, and was not content to be admired and enjoy quietly what he had, but as if in need of all things, and after winning triumphs and fame, was setting out, with all his years upon him, for Cappadocia and the Euxine sea, to fight it out with Archelaüs and Neoptolemus, the satraps of Mithridates. And the justification for this which Marius offered was thought to be altogether silly; he said, namely, that he wished to take part personally in the campaign in order to give his son a military training.

XXXV. These things brought to a head the secret disease from which the state had long been suffering,

εὐφυέστατον εὑρόντος ὄργανον Μαρίου πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ὄλεθρον τὸ Σουλπικίου θράσος, ὃς διὰ τἆλλα πάντα θαυμάζων καὶ ζηλῶν τὸν Σατορνῖνον ἀτολμίαν ἐπεκάλει τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν αὐτοῦ
2 *καὶ μέλλησιν. αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ μέλλων ἑξακοσίους μὲν εἶχε περὶ αὑτὸν τῶν ἱππικῶν οἷον δορυφόρους, καὶ τούτους ἀντισύγκλητον ὠνόμαζεν, ἐπελθὼν δὲ μεθ' ὅπλων ἐκκλησιάζουσι τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοῦ μὲν ἑτέρου φυγόντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τὸν υἱὸν ἐγκαταλαβὼν ἀπέσφαξε, Σύλλας δὲ παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου διωκόμενος, οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκήσαντος, εἰσέπεσε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν διώκοντας ἔλαθε δρόμῳ παρενεχθέντας, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ Μαρίου λέγεται κατὰ θύρας ἑτέρας ἀσφαλῶς ἀποπεμφθεὶς διεκπε-*
3 *σεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. αὐτὸς δὲ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὔ φησι καταφυγεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαχθῆναι βουλευσόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν Σουλπίκιος ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἄκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, περισχὼν ἐν κύκλῳ ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς καὶ συνελάσας πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, ἄχρι οὗ προελθὼν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ἀγοράν, ὡς ἠξίουν ἐκεῖνοι, τὰς*
4 *ἀπραξίας ἔλυσε. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὅ τε Σουλπίκιος ἤδη κρατῶν ἐπεχειροτόνησε τῷ Μαρίῳ τὴν στρατηγίαν, ὅ τε Μάριος ἐν παρασκευῇ τῆς ἐξόδου καθειστήκει, καὶ δύο χιλιάρχους ἐξέπεμψε παραληψομένους τὸ Σύλλα στρά-*

and Marius found a most suitable instrument for the destruction of the commonwealth in the audacity of Sulpicius, who was in all things an admirer and an imitator of Saturninus, except that he charged him with timidity and hesitation in his political measures. Sulpicius himself was not a man of hesitation, but kept six hundred of the Knights about him as a body-guard, which he called his anti-senate; he also made an attack with armed men upon the consuls as they were holding an assembly, and when one of them fled from the forum, Sulpicius seized his son and butchered him; Sulla, however, the other consul, as he was being pursued past the house of Marius, did what no one would have expected and burst into the house. His pursuers ran past the house and therefore missed him, and it is said that Marius himself sent him off safely by another door so that he came in haste to his camp. But Sulla himself, in his Memoirs, says he did not fly for refuge to the house of Marius, but withdrew thither in order to consult with Marius about the step which Sulpicius was trying to force him to take (by surrounding him with drawn swords and driving him to the house of Marius), and that finally he went from there to the forum and rescinded the consular decree for the suspension of public business, as Sulpicius and his party demanded.[1] When this had been done, Sulpicius, who was now master of the situation, got the command conferred upon Marius by vote of the people; and Marius, who was making his preparations for departure, sent out two military tribunes to take over the command of Sulla's army.

[1] These proceedings are much more clearly narrated in the *Sulla*, chapter viii. Cf. also Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 55.

τευμα. Σύλλας δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας παροξύνας
(ἦσαν δὲ τρισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων οὐ
μείους ὁπλῖται) προήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. τοὺς
δὲ χιλιάρχους, οὓς ἐπέπεμψε Μάριος, προσπε-
σόντες οἱ στρατιῶται διέφθειραν.
5 Πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μάριος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν Σύλλα
φίλων ἀνῃρήκει, καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν ἐκήρυττεν
ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ· λέγονται δὲ τρεῖς μόνοι προσγενέ-
σθαι. μικρὰ δ' ἀντιστὰς εἰσελάσαντι τῷ Σύλλᾳ
καὶ ταχέως ἐκβιασθεὶς ἔφυγε. τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτόν,
ὡς πρῶτον ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, διασπαρέντων,
σκότους ὄντος εἴς τι τῶν ἐπαυλίων αὐτοῦ Σολώνιον
6 κατέφυγε. καὶ τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐκ τῶν Μουκίου
τοῦ πενθεροῦ χωρίων οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων τὰ ἐπιτή-
δεια ληψόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβὰς εἰς Ὠστίαν,
φίλου τινὸς Νουμερίου πλοῖον αὐτῷ παρασκευά-
σαντος, οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλὰ Γράνιον
ἔχων μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πρόγονον ἐξέπλευσεν. ὁ δὲ 426
νεανίας, ὡς ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ χωρία τοῦ Μουκίου,
λαμβάνων τι καὶ σκευαζόμενος ἡμέρας καταλα-
βούσης οὐ παντάπασι τοὺς πολεμίους ἔλαθεν,
ἀλλ' ἦλθον ἱππεῖς ἐλαύνοντες καθ' ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ
7 τὸν τόπον· οὓς ὁ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπιμελητὴς προϊδό-
μενος ἔκρυψε τὸν Μάριον ἐν ἁμάξῃ κυάμους
ἀγούσῃ, καὶ βοῦς ὑποζεύξας ἀπήντα τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν
εἰς πόλιν ἐλαύνων τὴν ἅμαξαν. οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τὴν
οἰκίαν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Μάριος διακομισθεὶς καὶ
λαβὼν ὅσων ἐδεῖτο νυκτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἧκε καὶ
νεὼς ἐπιβὰς εἰς Λιβύην πλεούσης ἀπεπέρασεν.

XXXVI. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης Μάριος ὡς ἀνήχθη,
πνεύματι φορῷ κομιζόμενος παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν

Sulla, however, called upon his soldiers (who were no fewer than thirty-five thousand legionaries) to resent this, and led them forth against Rome. His soldiers also fell upon the tribunes whom Marius had sent and slew them.

Marius, too, put to death many of Sulla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed freedom to the slaves if they would fight on his side. It is said, however, that only three of them joined his ranks, and after a feeble resistance to Sulla's entry into the city he was speedily driven out and took to flight.[1] As soon as he had made his escape from the city his companions were scattered, and since it was dark, he took refuge at one of his farmsteads, called Solonium. He also sent his son to get provisions from the estate of his father-in-law, Mucius, which was not far off, while he himself went down to the coast at Ostia, where a friend of his, Numerius, had provided a vessel for him. Then, without waiting for his son, but taking his step-son Granius with him, he set sail. The younger Marius reached the estate of Mucius, but as he was getting supplies and packing them up, day overtook him and he did not altogether escape the vigilance of his enemies; for some horsemen came riding towards the place, moved by suspicion. When the overseer of the farm saw them coming, he hid Marius in a waggon loaded with beans, yoked up his oxen, and met the horsemen as he was driving the waggon to the city. In this way young Marius was conveyed to the house of his wife, where he got what he wanted, and then by night came to the sea, boarded a ship that was bound for Africa, and crossed over.

XXXVI. The elder Marius, after putting to sea, was borne by a favouring wind along the coast of

[1] Cf. the *Sulla*, chapter ix.

ἐφοβήθη Γεμίνιόν τινα τῶν ἐν Ταρρακίνῃ δυνατῶν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ναύταις προεῖπεν εἴργεσθαι Ταρρακίνης. οἱ δὲ ἐβούλοντο μὲν αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος εἰς πελάγιον μεθισταμένου καὶ κλύδωνα κατάγοντος πολὺν οὔτε τὸ πορθμεῖον ἐδόκει περικλυζόμενον ἀνθέξειν, τοῦ τε Μαρίου δυσφοροῦντος καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντος ὑπὸ ναυτίας μόλις ἀντιλαμβάνονται τῶν περὶ τὸ
2 Κίρκαιον αἰγιαλῶν. τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος αὐξανομένου καὶ τῶν σιτίων ἐπιλειπόντων ἐκβάντες ἐπλάζοντο πρὸς οὐδένα σκοπόν, ἀλλ' οἷα συμβαίνει ταῖς μεγάλαις ἀπορίαις ἀεὶ φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ὡς χαλεπωτάτου καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀδήλοις. ἐπεὶ πολεμία μὲν ἐκείνοις ἡ γῆ, πολεμία δὲ ἡ θάλασσα, φοβερὸν δὲ ἦν ἀνθρώποις περιπεσεῖν, φοβερὸν δὲ μὴ περιπεσεῖν δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν
3 ἀναγκαίων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὀψέ που βοτῆρσιν ὀλίγοις ἐντυγχάνουσιν, οἳ δοῦναι μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσχον αὐτοῖς δεομένοις, γνωρίσαντες δὲ τὸν Μάριον ἐκέλευον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην· ὀλίγον γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτόθι κατὰ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ συχ-
4 νοὺς ἱππέας ὀφθῆναι διεξελαύνοντας. ἐν παντὶ δὴ γεγονὼς ἀπορίας, μάλιστα δὲ νηστείᾳ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαγορευόντων, τότε μὲν ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὕλην βαθεῖαν ἐπιπόνως διενυκτέρευσε. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συνηγμένος ὑπ' ἐνδείας καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὶν ἐκλελύσθαι παντάπασι χρήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἐχώρει παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐπιθαρσύνων τοὺς ἑπομένους καὶ

Italy; but since he was afraid of one Geminius, who was a powerful man in Terracina and an enemy of his, he told his sailors to keep clear of Terracina. The sailors were willing enough to do as he wished, but the wind veered round and blew towards the shore, bringing in a heavy surge, and it was thought that the vessel would not hold out against the beating of the waves; besides, Marius was in a wretched plight from sea-sickness, and therefore they made their way, though with difficulty, to the coast near Circeii. Then, as the storm was increasing and their provisions were failing, they landed from the vessel and wandered about. They had no definite object in view, but, as is usual in cases of great perplexity, sought always to escape the present evil as the most grievous, and fixed their hopes on the unknown future. For the land was their enemy, and the sea an enemy as well; they were afraid they might fall in with men, and they were afraid they might not fall in with men because they had no provisions. However, late in the day they came upon a few herdsmen; these had nothing to give them in their need, but they recognized Marius and bade him go away as fast as he could; for a little while before numerous horsemen had been seen riding about there in search of him. Thus at his wits' end, and, what was worst of all, his companions fainting with hunger, he turned aside for the while from the road, plunged into a deep forest, and there spent the night in great distress. But the next day, compelled by want, and wishing to make use of his strength before it failed him altogether, he wandered along the shore, trying to encourage his companions, and begging them not to

δεόμενος μὴ προαποκάμνειν τῆς τελευταίας ἐλπίδος, ἐφ' ἣν ἑαυτὸν φυλάττει μαντεύμασι παλαιοῖς
5 πιστεύων. νέος γὰρ ὢν ἔτι παντελῶς καὶ διατρίβων κατ' ἀγρὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῷ ἱματίῳ καταφερομένην ἀετοῦ νεοττιὰν ἑπτὰ νεοττοὺς ἔχουσαν· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ θαυμάσαντας διαπυνθάνεσθαι τῶν μάντεων· τοὺς δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐπιφανέστατος ἀνθρώπων ἔσοιτο καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἑπτάκις αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἴη.

6 Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς τῷ Μαρίῳ συντυχεῖν οὕτω λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ τοὺς τότε καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην φυγὴν ἀκούσαντας αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστεύσαντας ἀναγράψαι πρᾶγμα κομιδῇ μυθῶδες. ἀετὸς γὰρ οὐ τίκτει πλεῖον τῶν δυεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μουσαῖον ἐψεῦσθαι λέγουσιν εἰπόντα περὶ τοῦ ἀετοῦ, ὡς

Τρία μὲν τίκτει, δύο δ' ἐκλέπει, ἓν δ' ἀλεγίζει.[1]

τὸ μέντοι πολλάκις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀπορίαις Μάριον εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄχρις ἑβδόμης ὑπατείας πρόεισιν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν.

XXXVII. Ἤδη δὲ Μιντούρνης, πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς, ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπέχοντες ὁρῶσιν ἱππέων ἴλην πρόσωθεν ἐλαύνοντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὁλκάδας δύο φερομένας. ὡς οὖν ἕκαστος ποδῶν εἶχε καὶ ῥώμης καταδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ καταβαλόντες ἑαυτοὺς προσενήχοντο ταῖς ναυσί. καὶ λαβόμενοι τῆς ἑτέρας οἱ περὶ τὸν Γράνιον ἀπεπέρασαν εἰς τὴν

[1] Ὅς τρία μὲν κτλ., as cited in Aristotle, *Hist. An.* vi. 6 (p. 563a, 17).

give up the struggle before his last hope could be realized, for which he was still reserving himself in reliance on ancient prophecies. When, that is, he was quite young and living in the country, he had caught in his cloak a falling eagle's nest, which had seven young ones in it; at sight of this, his parents were amazed, and made enquiries of the seers, who told them that their son would be most illustrious of men, and was destined to receive the highest command and power seven times.

Some say that this really happened to Marius; but others say that those who heard the story from him at this time and during the rest of his flight, believed it, and recorded it, though it was wholly fabulous. For, they say, an eagle does not lay more than two eggs at one time, and Musaeus also was wrong when, speaking of the eagle, he says:

"Three indeed she layeth, and two hatcheth, but one
only doth she feed."[1]

However, that Marius, during his flight and in his extremest difficulties, often said that he should attain to a seventh consulship, is generally admitted.

XXXVII. But presently, when they were about twenty furlongs distant from Minturnae, an Italian city, they saw from afar a troop of horsemen riding towards them, and also, as it chanced, two merchant vessels sailing along. Accordingly, with all the speed and strength they had, they ran down to the sea, threw themselves into the water, and began to swim to the ships. Granius and his party reached one of the ships and crossed over to the opposite

[1] Fragment 21 (Kinkel, *Ep. Graec. Frag.*, p. 229).

2 ἀντικρὺς νῆσον· Αἰναρία καλεῖται· αὐτὸν δὲ
Μάριον βαρὺν ὄντα τῷ σώματι καὶ δυσμεταχεί-
ριστον οἰκέται δύο μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς 427
θαλάττης ἐξάραντες εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἔθεντο ναῦν,
ἤδη τῶν ἱππέων ἐφεστώτων καὶ διακελευομένων
ἀπὸ γῆς τοῖς ναύταις κατάγειν τὸ πλοῖον ἢ τὸν
Μάριον ἐκβαλόντας αὐτοὺς ἀποπλεῖν ὅπῃ χρῄ-
ζοιεν. ἱκετεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ δακρύοντος,
οἱ κύριοι τῆς ὁλκάδος ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλὰς ἐπ'
ἀμφότερα τῆς γνώμης τροπὰς λαβόντες ὅμως
ἀπεκρίναντο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι μὴ προέσθαι τὸν
3 Μάριον. ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπελασάντων
αὖθις ἑτέρων γενόμενοι λογισμῶν κατεφέροντο
πρὸς τὴν γῆν· καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Λίριος
ποταμοῦ διάχυσιν λιμνώδη λαμβάνοντος ἀγκύρας
βαλόμενοι παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἐκβῆναι καὶ τροφὴν
ἐπὶ γῆς λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεῦσαι κεκακω-
μένον, ἄχρι οὗ φορὰ γένηται· γίγνεσθαι δὲ τὴν
εἰωθυῖαν ὥραν τοῦ πελαγίου μαραινομένου καὶ
τῶν ἑλῶν αὔραν ἀναδιδόντων ἐπιεικῶς διαρκῆ.
4 ταῦτα πεισθεὶς ὁ Μάριος ἔπραττε· καὶ τῶν ναυ-
τῶν ἐξελομένων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατακλινεὶς ἔν
τινι πόᾳ πορρωτάτω τοῦ μέλλοντος εἶχε τὴν
διάνοιαν. οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπιβάντες ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ
τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀναλαβόντες ἔφευγον, ὡς οὔτε
καλὸν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Μάριον αὐτοῖς οὔτε σῴζειν
ἀσφαλές. οὕτω δὴ πάντων ἔρημος ἀπολειφθεὶς
πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἄναυδος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἔκειτο,
μόλις δέ πως ἀναλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπορεύετο ταλαι-
5 πώρως ἀνοδίαις· καὶ διεξελθὼν ἕλη βαθέα καὶ
τάφρους ὕδατος καὶ πηλοῦ γεμούσας ἐπιτυγχάνει
καλύβῃ λιμνουργοῦ γέροντος, ὃν περιπεσὼν ἱκέ-

island, Aenaria by name; Marius himself, who was heavy and unwieldy, two slaves with toil and difficulty held above water and put into the other ship, the horsemen being now at hand and calling out from the shore to the sailors either to bring the vessel to shore or to throw Marius overboard and sail whither they pleased. But since Marius supplicated them with tears in his eyes, the masters of the vessel, after changing their minds often in a short time, nevertheless replied to the horsemen that they would not surrender Marius. The horsemen rode away in a rage, and the sailors, changing their plan again, put in towards the shore; and after casting anchor at the mouth of the Liris, where the river expands into a lake, they advised Marius to leave the vessel, take some food ashore with him, and recruit his strength after his hardships until a good wind for sailing should arise; this usually arose, they said, when the wind from the sea died away and a tolerably strong breeze blew from the marshes. Marius was persuaded to follow their advice; so the sailors carried him ashore, and he lay down in some grass, without the slightest thought of what was to come. Then the sailors at once boarded their vessel, hoisted anchor, and took to flight, feeling that it was neither honourable for them to surrender Marius nor safe to rescue him. Thus, forsaken of all men, he lay a long time speechless on the shore, but recovered himself at last and tried to walk along, the lack of any path making his progress laborious. He made his way through deep marshes and ditches full of mud and water, until he came to the hut of an old man who got his living from the water. At his feet Marius fell

τευε γενέσθαι σωτῆρα καὶ βοηθὸν ἀνδρός, εἰ διαφύγοι τὰ παρόντα, μείζονας ἐλπίδων ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδώσοντος. ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, εἴτε πάλαι γινώσκων εἴτε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ὡς κρείττονα θαυμάσας, ἀναπαύσασθαι μὲν ἔφη δεομένῳ τὸ σκηνύδριον ἐξαρκεῖν, εἰ δέ τινας ὑποφεύγων πλάζοιτο κρύψειν
6 αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ μᾶλλον ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντι. τοῦ δὲ Μαρίου δεηθέντος τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἕλος καὶ πτῆξαι κελεύσας ἐν χωρίῳ κοίλῳ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέβαλε τῶν τε καλάμων πολλοὺς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιφέρων ὕλης ὅση κούφη καὶ περιπέσσειν ἀβλαβῶς δυναμένη.

XXXVIII. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διαγενομένου ψόφος αὐτῷ καὶ θόρυβος ἀπὸ τῆς καλύβης προσέπεσεν. ὁ γὰρ Γεμίνιος ἐκ Ταρρακίνης ἔπεμψε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν δίωξιν, ὧν ἔνιοι κατὰ τύχην ἐκεῖ προσελθόντες ἐξεφόβουν καὶ κατεβόων τοῦ γέροντος ὡς ὑποδεδεγμένου καὶ κατακρυβόντος
2 πολέμιον Ῥωμαίων. ἐξαναστὰς οὖν ὁ Μάριος καὶ ἀποδυσάμενος καθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν λίμνην ὕδωρ παχὺ καὶ τελματῶδες ἔχουσαν. ὅθεν οὐ διέλαθε τοὺς ζητοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀνασπασθεὶς βορβόρου κατάπλεως γυμνὸς εἰς Μιντούρνας ἀνήχθη καὶ παρεδόθη τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ἦν γὰρ εἰς ἅπασαν ἤδη πόλιν ἐξενηνεγμένον παράγγελμα περὶ τοῦ Μαρίου δημοσίᾳ διώκειν καὶ κτείνειν τοὺς λα-
3 βόντας. ὅμως δὲ βουλεύσασθαι πρότερον ἐδόκει τοῖς ἄρχουσι· καὶ κατατίθενται τὸν Μάριον εἰς οἰκίαν Φαννίας γυναικὸς οὐκ εὐμενῶς δοκούσης ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ αἰτίας παλαιᾶς.

down and besought him to save and help a man who, in case he escaped his present perils, would recompense him beyond all his hopes. Then the man, who either knew Marius from of old or saw that in his face which won the regard due to superior rank, told him that if he merely wanted to rest, the cabin would suffice, but that if he was wandering about trying to escape pursuers, he could be hidden in a place that was more quiet. Marius begged that this might be done, and the man took him to the marsh, bade him crouch down in a hollow place by the side of the river, and threw over him a mass of reeds and other material which was light enough to cover without injuring him.

XXXVIII. Not much time had elapsed, however, when a din and tumult at the hut fell upon the ears of Marius. For Geminius had sent a number of men from Terracina in pursuit of him, some of whom had chanced to come to the old man's hut, and were frightening and berating him for having received and hidden an enemy of Rome. Marius therefore rose from his hiding-place, stripped off his clothes, and threw himself into the thick and muddy water of the marsh. Here he could not elude the men who were in search of him, but they dragged him out all covered with slime, led him naked to Minturnae, and handed him over to the magistrates there. Now, word had already been sent to every city that Marius was to be pursued by the authorities and killed by his captors. But nevertheless, the magistrates decided to deliberate on the matter first; so they put Marius for safe-keeping in the house of a woman named Fannia, who was thought to be hostile to him on account of an ancient grievance.

Ἦν γὰρ ἀνὴρ τῇ Φαννίᾳ Τιτίννιος· τούτου δια-
στᾶσα τὴν φερνὴν ἀπῄτει λαμπρὰν οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ
μοιχείαν ἐνεκάλει· καὶ γίνεται Μάριος ὑπατεύων
4 τὸ ἕκτον δικαστής. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς δίκης λεγομένης
ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὴν Φαννίαν ἀκόλαστον γεγονέναι
καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοιαύτην εἰδότα λαβεῖν καὶ συμ-
βιῶσαι πολὺν χρόνον, ἀμφοτέρους δυσχεράνας
τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τὴν φερνὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοῦναι,
τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἀτιμίας ἕνεκα τῇ καταδίκῃ χαλ-
κοῦς τέσσαρας προσετίμησεν.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἥ γε Φαννία τότε πάθος γυναικὸς 428
ἠδικημένης ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ὡς εἶδε τὸν Μάριον,
πορρωτάτω γενομένη τοῦ μνησικακεῖν, ἐκ τῶν
παρόντων ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτόν. ὁ
δὲ κἀκείνην ἐπῄνει καὶ θαρρεῖν ἔφασκε· σημεῖον
γὰρ αὐτῷ γεγονέναι χρηστόν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον.

Ὡς ἀγόμενος πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῆς Φαννίας ἐγε-
γόνει, τῶν θυρῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν ὄνος ἔνδοθεν ἐχώρει
δρόμῳ, πιόμενος ἀπὸ κρήνης ἐγγὺς ἀπορρεούσης·
6 προσβλέψας δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ λαμυρόν τι καὶ γεγη-
θὸς ἔστη πρῶτον ἐναντίον, εἶτα φωνὴν ἀφῆκε
λαμπρὰν καὶ παρεσκίρτησε παρ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ γαυ-
ρότητος. ἐξ οὗ συμβαλὼν ὁ Μάριος ἔφασκεν ὡς
διὰ θαλάσσης αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ γῆς ὑποδείκνυσι
σωτηρίαν τὸ δαιμόνιον· τὸν γὰρ ὄνον οὐ προσέ-
χοντα τῇ ξηρᾷ τροφῇ πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
τραπέσθαι.

Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς τῇ Φαννίᾳ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνε-

Fannia, that is, had been married to Titinnius; but she had separated herself from him and demanded back her dowry, which was considerable. Her husband, however, had accused her of adultery; and Marius, who was serving in his sixth consulship, had presided over the trial. When the case was pleaded, and it appeared that Fannia had been a dissolute woman, and that her husband had known this and yet had taken her to wife and lived with her a long time, Marius was disgusted with both of them, and decreed that the husband should pay back his wife's dowry, while at the same time he imposed upon the woman, as a mark of infamy, a fine of four coppers.

However, at the time of which I speak, Fannia did not act like a woman who had been wronged, but when she saw Marius, she put far from her all resentment, cared for him as well as she could, and tried to encourage him. Marius commended her, and said he was of good courage; for an excellent sign had been given him. And this sign was as follows.

When, as he was led along, he had come to the house of Fannia, the door flew open and an ass ran out, in order to get a drink at a spring that flowed hard by; with a saucy and exultant look at Marius the animal at first stopped in front of him, and then, giving a magnificent bray, went frisking past him triumphantly. From this Marius drew an omen and concluded that the Deity was indicating a way of escape for him by sea rather than by land; for the ass made no account of its dry fodder, but turned from that to the water.

After explaining this to Fannia, Marius lay down

παύετο, τὴν θύραν τοῦ δωματίου προσθεῖναι κελεύσας.

XXXIX. Βουλευομένοις δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις τῶν Μιντουρνησίων ἔδοξε μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλὰ διαχρήσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ τῶν μὲν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπέστη τὸ ἔργον, ἱππεὺς δὲ Γαλάτης τὸ γένος ἢ Κίμβρος (ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ
2 ἱστορεῖται) λαβὼν ξίφος ἐπεισῆλθεν αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ ἔτυχε μέρει κατακείμενος οὐ πάνυ λαμπρὸν φῶς ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ὄντος ἐπισκίου, λέγεται τὰ μὲν ὄμματα τοῦ Μαρίου φλόγα πολλὴν ἐκβάλλοντα τῷ στρατιώτῃ φανῆναι, φωνὴν δὲ μεγάλην ἐκ τοῦ παλισκίου γενέσθαι, "Σὺ δὴ τολμᾷς, ἄνθρωπε, Γάϊον Μάριον ἀνελεῖν;" ἐξῆλθεν οὖν εὐθὺς ὁ βάρβαρος φυγῇ, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐν μέσῳ καταβαλὼν ἐχώρει διὰ θυρῶν, τοῦτο μόνον βοῶν, "Οὐ δύναμαι Γάϊον Μάριον ἀποκτεῖναι."
3 πάντας οὖν ἔκπληξις ἔσχεν, εἶτα οἶκτος καὶ μετάνοια τῆς γνώμης καὶ κατάμεμψις ἑαυτῶν ὡς βούλευμα βεβουλευκότων ἄνομον καὶ ἀχάριστον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ σωτῆρι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ᾧ μὴ βοηθῆσαι δεινὸν ἦν. "Ἴτω δ' οὖν ὅπῃ χρῄζει φυγάς, ἀναπλησόμενος ἀλλαχόθι τὸ μεμορμένον. ἡμεῖς δὲ εὐχώμεθα μὴ νεμεσῆσαι θεοὺς Μάριον ἄπορον καὶ γυμνὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλοῦσιν." ὑπὸ τοιούτων λογισμῶν εἰσπεσόντες ἀθρόοι καὶ περισχόντες
4 αὐτὸν ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἄλλου δὲ ἄλλο τι προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦντος καὶ σπευδόντων ἁπάντων ἐγίνετο τριβὴ τοῦ χρόνου. τὸ γὰρ τῆς λεγομένης Μαρίκας ἄλσος, ὃ σέβονται καὶ παραφυλάττουσι μηθὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκκομισθῆναι τῶν

to rest alone, after ordering the door of the apartment to be closed.

XXXIX. Upon deliberation, the magistrates and councillors of Minturnae decided not to delay, but to put Marius to death. No one of the citizens, however, would undertake the task, so a horseman, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for the story is told both ways), took a sword and went into to the room where Marius was. Now, that part of the room where Marius happened to be lying had not a very good light, but was gloomy, and we are told that to the soldier the eyes of Marius seemed to shoot out a strong flame, and that a loud voice issued from the shadows saying: "Man, dost thou dare to slay Caius Marius?" At once, then, the Barbarian fled from the room, threw his sword down on the ground, and dashed out of doors, with this one cry: "I cannot kill Caius Marius." Consternation reigned, of course, and then came pity, a change of heart, and self-reproach for having come to so unlawful and ungrateful a decision against a man who had been the saviour of Italy, and who ought in all decency to be helped. "So, then," the talk ran, "let him go where he will as an exile, to suffer elsewhere his allotted fate. And let us pray that the gods may not visit us with their displeasure for casting Marius out of our city in poverty and rags." Moved by such considerations, they rushed into his room in a body, surrounded him, and began to lead him forth to the sea. But although this one and that one were eager to do him some service and all made what haste they could, still there was delay. For the grove of Marica, as it was called, which was held in veneration, and from which nothing was permitted to be carried out that had ever

εἰσκομισθέντων, ἐμποδὼν ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁδοῦ, καὶ κύκλῳ περιϊόντας ἔδει βραδύνειν, ἄχρι οὗ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις ἐκβοήσας ἔφη μηδεμίαν ἄβατον μηδ' ἀπόρευτον ὁδὸν εἶναι δι' ἧς σώζεται Μάριος. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς λαβών τι τῶν κομιζομένων ἐπὶ ναῦν διὰ τοῦ τόπου διεξῆλθε.

XL. Τοιαύτῃ προθυμίᾳ ταχὺ πάντων συμπορισθέντων καὶ Βηλαίου τινὸς ναῦν τῷ Μαρίῳ παρασχόντος, ὃς ὕστερον πίνακα τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὅθεν ἐμβὰς ὁ Μάριος ἀνήχθη, τῷ πνεύματι φέροντι χρώμενος ἐφέρετό πως κατὰ τύχην πρὸς Αἰναρίαν τὴν νῆσον, ὅπου τὸν Γράνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
2 φίλους εὑρὼν ἔπλει μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Λιβύης. ὕδατος δὲ ἐπιλιπόντος αὐτοὺς ἀναγκαίως Σικελίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυκίνην προσέσχον. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους ὁ Ῥωμαίων ταμίας παραφυλάσσων, καὶ μικροῦ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποβάντα τὸν Μάριον εἷλεν, ἀπέκτεινε δὲ περὶ ἑκκαίδεκα τῶν ὑδρευομένων. Μάριος δὲ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀναχθεὶς καὶ διαπεράσας τὸ πέλαγος πρὸς Μήνιγγα τὴν νῆσον, ἐνταῦθα διαπυνθάνεται πρῶτον ὡς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διασέσωσται μετὰ Κεθήγου καὶ πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Νομάδων Ἰάμψαν, δεη-
3 σόμενοι βοηθεῖν. ἐφ' οἷς μικρὸν ἀναπνεύσας ἐθάρρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδονίαν 429
προσβαλεῖν.

Ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῆς Λιβύης τότε Σεξτίλιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, οὔτε φαῦλον οὐθὲν οὔτε χρηστὸν ἐκ Μαρίου προειληφώς, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπ' οἴκτου τι προσδοκώμενος ὠφελήσειν. ἄρτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μετ'

been carried in, lay between them and the sea as they were going, and if they went round it they must needs lose time. At last, however, one of the older men cried out and said that no path could forbid men's steps and passage if it were the path of safety for Marius. And the speaker himself was the first to take some of the things that were being carried to the ship and pass through the holy place.

XL. Everything was speedily provided through such readiness as this, and a certain Belaeus furnished a ship for Marius. Belaeus afterwards had a painting made representing these scenes, and dedicated it in the temple at the spot where Marius embarked and put to sea. Favoured by the wind he was borne along by chance to the island of Aenaria, where he found Granius and the rest of his friends, and set sail with them for Africa. But their supply of fresh water failed, and they were compelled to touch at Erycina in Sicily. In this neighbourhood, as it chanced, the Roman quaestor was on the watch, and almost captured Marius himself as he landed; he did kill about sixteen of his men who came ashore for water. Marius therefore put out to sea with all speed and crossed to the island of Meninx, where he first learned that his son had come off safely with Cethegus, and that they were on their way to Iampsas the king of Numidia, intending to ask his aid. At this news Marius was a little refreshed, and made bold to push on from the island to the neighbourhood of Carthage.

The Roman governor of Africa at this time was Sextilius, a man who had received neither good nor ill at the hands of Marius, but whom, as it was expected, pity alone would move to give him aid. Hardly, however, had Marius landed with a few companions,

ὀλίγων ἀποβεβηκότος ὑπηρέτης ἀπαντήσας καὶ
καταστὰς ἐναντίον εἶπεν, "Ἀπαγορεύει σοι Σεξ-
τίλιος ὁ στρατηγός, ὦ Μάριε, Λιβύης ἐπιβαίνειν·
εἰ δὲ μή, φησὶν ἀμυνεῖν τοῖς τῆς βουλῆς δόγμασιν,
4 ὡς Ῥωμαίων πολεμίῳ χρώμενος." ταῦτα ἀκού-
σαντα τὸν Μάριον ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ βαρυθυμίας
ἀπορία λόγων ἔσχε, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἡσυχίαν
ἦγε δεινὸν εἰς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἀποβλέπων. ἐρομένου
δὲ ἐκείνου τί φράζει καὶ τί λέγει πρὸς τὸν στρατη-
γόν, ἀπεκρίνατο μέγα στενάξας," Ἄγγελλε τοίνυν
ὅτι Γάϊον Μάριον ἐν τοῖς Καρχηδόνος ἐρειπίοις
φυγάδα καθεζόμενον εἶδες," οὐ κακῶς ἅμα τήν τε
τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης τύχην καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετα-
βολὴν ἐν παραδείγματος λόγῳ θέμενος.

5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἰάμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Νομάδων
ἐπαμφοτερίζων τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐν τιμῇ μὲν ἦγε
τοὺς περὶ τὸν νέον Μάριον, ἀπιέναι δὲ βου-
λομένους ἔκ τινος ἀεὶ προφάσεως κατεῖχε, καὶ
δῆλος ἦν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρηστῷ ποιούμενος τὴν ἀνα-
βολήν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει τι τῶν εἰκότων
αὐτοῖς πρὸς σωτηρίαν. ὁ γὰρ νέος Μάριος εὐπρε-
πὴς ὢν τὴν ὄψιν ἠνία τινὰ τῶν παλλακίδων τοῦ
βασιλέως παρ' ἀξίαν πράττων· ὁ δὲ οἶκτος οὗτος
6 ἀρχὴ καὶ πρόφασις ἦν ἔρωτος. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον
ἀπετρίβετο τὴν ἄνθρωπον· ὡς δὲ οὔτε φυγῆς
ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἑώρα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνης σπουδαιό-
τερον ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκόλαστον διεπράττετο,
δεξάμενος τὴν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνεκπεμφθεὶς
ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀπέδρα μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ διέφυγε
πρὸς τὸν Μάριον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἠσπάσαντο,
πορευόμενοι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐντυγχάνουσι
σκορπίοις μαχομένοις· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐφάνη τῷ

when an official met him, stood directly in front of him, and said: "Sextilius the governor forbids thee, Marius, to set foot in Africa; and if thou disobeyest, he declares that he will uphold the decrees of the senate and treat thee as an enemy of Rome." When he heard this, Marius was rendered speechless by grief and indignation, and for a long time kept quiet, looking sternly at the official. Then, when asked by him what he had to say, and what answer he would make to the governor, he answered with a deep groan: "Tell him, then, that thou hast seen Caius Marius a fugitive, seated amid the ruins of Carthage." And it was not inaptly that he compared the fate of that city with his own reversal of fortune.

Meanwhile Iampsas the king of Numidia, hesitating which course to take, did indeed treat the younger Marius and his party with respect, but always had some excuse for detaining them when they wished to go away, and clearly had no good end in view in thus postponing their departure. However, something occurred which, though not at all extraordinary, led to their escape. The younger Marius, that is, being a handsome fellow, one of the concubines of the king was pained to see him treated unworthily, and this feeling of compassion ripened into love. At first, then, Marius repelled the woman's advances; but when he saw that there was no other way of escape for him and his friends, and that her behaviour was based on a genuine affection, he accepted her favours; whereupon she helped him in getting off, and he ran away with his friends and made his escape to his father. After father and son had embraced one another, they walked along the sea-shore, and there they saw some scorpions fighting, which the elder

7 Μαρίῳ πονηρόν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἁλιάδος ἐπιβάντες εἰς
Κέρκιναν διεπέρων, νῆσον ἀπέχουσαν οὐ πολὺ τῆς
ἠπείρου· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔφθασαν ὅσον ἀνηγμένων
αὐτῶν ἱππεῖς ὁρᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλαύ-
νοντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὅθεν ἀνήχθησαν. τοῦτον
οὐδενὸς ἐλάττονα κίνδυνον ἔδοξεν ἐκφυγεῖν ὁ
Μάριος.

XLI. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Σύλλας μὲν ἠκούετο τοῖς
Μιθριδάτου πολεμεῖν στρατηγοῖς περὶ Βοιωτίαν,
οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι στασιάσαντες ἐχώρουν εἰς ὅπλα.
καὶ μάχης γενομένης Ὀκτάβιος μὲν κρατήσας
ἐξέβαλε Κίνναν ἐπιχειροῦντα τυραννικώτερον ἄρ-
χειν, καὶ κατέστησεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κορνήλιον
Μερούλλαν ὕπατον, ὁ δὲ Κίννας ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης
Ἰταλίας συναγαγὼν δύναμιν αὖθις διεπολέμει
2 πρὸς αὐτούς. ταῦτα τῷ Μαρίῳ πυνθανομένῳ
πλεῦσαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐφαίνετο· καὶ παραλαβὼν
ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης Μαυρουσίων τινὰς ἱππότας καὶ
τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας τινὰς καταφερομένων,
συναμφοτέρους οὐ πλείονας χιλίων γενομένους,
ἀνήχθη. προσβαλὼν δὲ[1] Τελαμῶνι τῆς Τυρ-
ρηνίας καὶ ἀποβὰς ἐκήρυττε δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν·
καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι γεωργούντων καὶ νεμόντων ἐλευ-
θέρων κατὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ συντρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν
θάλασσαν ἀναπείθων τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ἐν ἡμέ-
ραις ὀλίγαις χεῖρα μεγάλην ἤθροισε καὶ τεσ-
σαράκοντα ναῦς ἐπλήρωσεν.

3 Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν μὲν Ὀκτάβιον ἄριστον ἄνδρα καὶ τῷ
δικαιοτάτῳ τρόπῳ βουλόμενον ἄρχειν, τὸν δὲ
Κίνναν ὕποπτόν τε τῷ Σύλλᾳ καὶ πολεμοῦντα τῇ

[1] ἀνήχθη. προσβαλὼν δὲ with Coraës: μεθ' ὧν ἀνήχθη, προσβαλών.

Marius regarded as a bad omen. At once, therefore, they boarded a fishing-boat and crossed over to the island of Cercina, which was not far distant from the mainland; and scarcely had they put out from land when horsemen sent by the king were seen riding towards the spot whence they had sailed. It would seem that Marius never escaped a greater peril than this.

XLI. But in Rome, Sulla was heard of as waging war with the generals of Mithridates in Boeotia, and the consuls quarrelled and were resorting to arms. A battle took place, Octavius won the day, cast out Cinna, who was trying to be too arbitrary in his rule, and put Cornelius Merula in his place as consul; whereupon Cinna assembled a force from the other parts of Italy and made war anew upon Octavius and his colleague. When Marius heard of these things, he thought best to sail thither as fast as he could; so taking with him from Africa some Moorish horsemen, and some Italians who had wandered thither, the number of both together not exceeding a thousand, he put to sea. Putting in at Telamon in Tyrrhenia, and landing there, he proclaimed freedom to the slaves; he also won over the sturdiest of the free farmers and herdsmen of the neighbourhood, who came flocking down to the sea attracted by his fame, and in a few days had assembled a large force and manned forty ships.

And now, knowing that Octavius was a most excellent man and wished to rule in the justest way, but that Cinna was distrusted by Sulla and was making

καθεστώσῃ πολιτείᾳ, τούτῳ προσνέμειν ἑαυτὸν
ἔγνω μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἐπαγγελ-
λόμενος ὡς ὑπάτῳ πάντα ποιήσειν τὰ προστασ-
σόμενα. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ προσα-
γορεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀνθύπατον, ῥάβδους δὲ καὶ 430
τἆλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποστείλαντος, οὐκ
4 ἔφη πρέπειν αὐτοῦ ταῖς τύχαις τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ'
ἐσθῆτι φαύλῃ κεχρημένος καὶ κομῶν ἀφ' ἧς ἔφυ-
γεν ἡμέρας, ὑπὲρ ἑβδομήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη βάδην
προσῄει, βουλόμενος μὲν ἐλεεινὸς εἶναι, τῷ δὲ
οἴκτῳ συμμέμικτο τὸ οἰκεῖον τῆς ὄψεως αὐτοῦ
πλέον τὸ φοβερόν, καὶ διέφαινεν ἡ κατήφεια τὸν
θυμὸν οὐ τεταπεινωμένον, ἀλλ' ἐξηγριωμένον ὑπὸ
τῆς μεταβολῆς.

XLII. Ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὸν Κίνναν καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις ἐντυχὼν εὐθὺς εἴχετο τοῦ ἔργου καὶ
μεγάλην μεταβολὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίησε.
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ σιτηγὰ περικόπτων
καὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους λῃϊζόμενος ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀγο-
ρᾶς, ἔπειτα τὰς παραλίους πόλεις ἐπιπλέων ᾕρει.
τέλος δὲ τὴν Ὠστίαν αὐτὴν λαβὼν ἐκ προδοσίας
τά τε χρήματα διήρπασε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς
πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ γεφυρώσας τὸν ποταμὸν
ἀπέκοψε κομιδῇ τὰς ἐκ θαλάσσης εὐπορίας τῶν
2 πολεμίων. ἄρας δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
ἐχώρει καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἰανοῦκλον ὄρος κατέ-
σχεν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀπειρίᾳ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου τὰ
πράγματα βλάπτοντος, ὅσον ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν δικαί-
ων προϊεμένου τὰ χρειώδη παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον, ὅς

war upon the established constitution, he determined to join Cinna with his forces. Accordingly he sent to Cinna and offered to obey him in everything as consul. Cinna accepted his offer, named him proconsul, and sent him the fasces and other insignia of the office. Marius, however, declared that these decorations were not suited to his fortunes, and in mean attire, his hair uncut since the day of his flight, being now over seventy years of age, came with slow steps to meet the consul. For he wished that men should pity him; but with his appeal for compassion there was mingled the look that was natural to him and now more terrifying than ever, and through his downcast mien there flashed a spirit which had been, not humbled, but made savage by his reverses.

XLII. After greeting Cinna and presenting himself to Cinna's soldiers, he at once began his work and greatly changed the posture of affairs. In the first place, by cutting off the grain-ships with his fleet and plundering the merchants, he made himself master of the city's supplies; next, he sailed to the maritime cities and took them; and finally, he seized Ostia itself, which was treacherously surrendered to him, plundering the property there and killing most of its inhabitants, and by throwing a bridge across the river completely cut off the enemy from such stores as might come by sea. Then he set out and marched with his army towards the city, and occupied the hill called Janiculum. Octavius damaged his own cause, not so much through lack of skill, as by a too scrupulous observance of the laws, wherein he unwisely neglected the needs of the hour. For though many urged him to call the slaves to arms

γε πολλῶν κελευόντων αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καλεῖν
τοὺς οἰκέτας οὐκ ἔφη δούλοις μεταδώσειν τῆς
πατρίδος, ἧς Γάϊον Μάριον εἴργει τοῖς νόμοις
3 ἀμύνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Μέτελλος υἱὸς Μετέλλου τοῦ
στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ διὰ Μάριον ἐκπε-
σόντος ἧκεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου
στρατηγικώτερος ἐφαίνετο, καταλιπόντες οἱ στρα-
τιῶται τὸν Ὀκτάβιον ἧκον ὡς ἐκεῖνον ἄρχειν
δεόμενοι καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν· εὖ γὰρ ἀγωνιεῖ-
σθαι καὶ κρατήσειν ἔμπειρον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δρα-
στήριον λαβόντες. ἀγανακτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μετέλ-
λου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπιέναι πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον,
ᾤχοντο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὑπεξέστη δὲ καὶ
Μέτελλος ἀπογνοὺς τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ὀκτάβιον δὲ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ θύταί τινες καὶ
σιβυλλισταὶ πείσαντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατέσχον, ὡς
εὖ γενησομένων. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος δοκεῖ, τἆλλα
Ῥωμαίων εὐγνωμονέστατος γενόμενος καὶ μάλιστα
δὴ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ὑπατείας ἀκολάκευτον ἐπὶ
τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων ὥσπερ διαγραμ-
μάτων ἀμεταβόλων διαφυλάξας, ἀρρωστίᾳ τῇ
περὶ ταῦτα χρήσασθαι, πλείονα συνὼν χρόνον
ἀγύρταις καὶ μάντεσιν ἢ πολιτικοῖς καὶ πολεμικοῖς
5 ἀνδράσιν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν, πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν
Μάριον, ὑπὸ τῶν προπεμφθέντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος
κατασπασθεὶς ἐσφάττετο· καὶ λέγεται διάγραμμα
Χαλδαϊκὸν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ φονευθέντος
εὑρεθῆναι. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα πολλὴν ἀλογίαν εἶχε,
τὸ δυεῖν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιφανεστάτων Μάριον μὲν

under promise of freedom, he said he would not make bondmen members of the state from which he was trying to exclude Marius in obedience to the laws. Moreover, when Metellus (son of the Metellus who had commanded in Africa and had been banished through the intrigues of Marius) came to Rome, it was thought that he was far superior to Octavius as a general, and the soldiers forsook Octavius and came to him, entreating him to take the command and save the city; for they would make a good fight, they said, and win the victory if they got a tried and efficient leader. Metellus, however, was indignant at them and bade them go back to the consul; whereupon they went off to the enemy. Metellus also left the city, despairing of its safety.

But Octavius was persuaded by certain Chaldaeans, sacrificers, and interpreters of the Sibylline books to remain in the city, on the assurance that matters would turn out well. For it would seem that this man, although he was in other ways the most sensible man in Rome, and most careful to maintain the dignity of the consular office free from undue influence in accordance with the customs of the country and its laws, which he regarded as unchangeable ordinances, had a weakness in this direction, since he spent more time with charlatans and seers than with men who were statesmen and soldiers. This man, then, before Marius entered the city, was dragged down from the rostra by men who had been sent on before, and butchered; and we are told that a Chaldaean chart was found in his bosom after he had been slain. Now, it seems very unaccountable that, of two most illustrious commanders, Marius

ὀρθῶσαι τὸ μὴ καταφρονῆσαι μαντικῆς, Ὀκτάβιον
δὲ ἀπολέσαι.

XLIII. Οὕτω δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων ἡ
βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς
Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον, εἰσιέναι καὶ φείδεσθαι δεομένη
τῶν πολιτῶν. Κίννας μὲν οὖν ὡς ὕπατος ἐπὶ τοῦ
δίφρου καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ φιλανθρώπους
ἀποκρίσεις ἔδωκε τοῖς πρέσβεσι, Μάριος δὲ τῷ
δίφρῳ παρειστήκει φθεγγόμενος μὲν οὐδέν, ὑπο-
δηλῶν δὲ ἀεὶ τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῇ
στυγνότητι τοῦ βλέμματος ὡς εὐθὺς ἐμπλήσων
2 φόνων τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναστάντες ἐβάδιζον,
Κίννας μὲν εἰσῄει δορυφορούμενος, Μάριος δὲ
παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὑποστὰς εἰρωνεύετο πρὸς ὀργήν,
φυγὰς εἶναι λέγων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος εἴργεσθαι
κατὰ τὸν νόμον, εἰ δὲ χρῄζοι τις αὐτοῦ παρόντος,
ἑτέρᾳ ψήφῳ λυτέον εἶναι τὴν ἐκβάλλουσαν, ὡς
δὴ νόμιμός τις ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ κατιὼν εἰς πόλιν
3 ἐλευθέραν. ἐκάλει δὴ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἀγοράν· καὶ 431
πρὸ τοῦ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας φυλὰς ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν
ψῆφον ἀφεὶς τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τὴν φυγαδικὴν
ἐκείνην δικαιολογίαν κατῄει, δορυφόρους ἔχων
λογάδας ἐκ τῶν προσπεφοιτηκότων δούλων, οὓς
Βαρδυαίους προσηγόρευσεν. οὗτοι πολλοὺς μὲν
ἀπὸ φωνῆς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ νεύματος ἀνῄρουν
προστάσσοντος αὐτοῦ· καὶ τέλος Ἀγχάριον,
ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν καὶ στρατηγικόν, ἐντυγχάνοντα
τῷ Μαρίῳ καὶ μὴ προσαγορευθέντα καταβάλ-
λουσιν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς μαχαίραις τύπτον-
4 τες. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσους ἀσπα-
σαμένους μὴ προσαγορεύσειε μηδὲ ἀντασπάσαιτο,
τοῦτο αὐτὸ σύμβολον ἦν ἀποσφάττειν εὐθὺς ἐν

should succeed by regarding divinations, but Octavius should be ruined.

XLIII. Matters being at this pass, the senate met and sent a deputation to Cinna and Marius, begging them to enter the city and spare the citizens. Cinna, accordingly, as consul, seated on his chair of office, received the embassy and gave them a kindly answer; but Marius, standing by the consul's chair without speaking a word, made it clear all the while, by the heaviness of his countenance and the gloominess of his look, that he would at once fill the city with slaughter. After the conference was over they moved on towards the city. Cinna entered it with a body-guard, but Marius halted at the gates and angrily dissembled, saying that he was an exile and was excluded from the country by the law, and if his presence there was desired, the vote which cast him out must be rescinded by another vote, since, indeed, he was a law-abiding man and was returning to a free city. So the people were summoned to the forum; and before three or four of the tribes had cast their votes, he threw aside his feigning and all that petty talk about being an exile, and entered the city, having as his body-guard a picked band of the slaves who had flocked to his standard, to whom he had given the name of Bardyaei. These fellows killed many of the citizens at a word of command from him, many, too, at a mere nod; and at last, when Ancharius, a man of senatorial and praetorial dignity, met Marius and got no salutation from him, they struck him down with their swords before the face of their master. After this, whenever anybody else greeted Marius and got no salutation or greeting in return, this of itself was a signal for the man's

ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ὥστε καὶ τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον ἀγωνίας
μεστὸν εἶναι καὶ φρίκης ὁσάκις ἀσπασόμενοι τῷ
Μαρίῳ πελάζοιεν· κτεινομένων δὲ πολλῶν Κίννας
μὲν ἀμβλὺς ἦν καὶ μεστὸς ἤδη τοῦ φονεύειν,
Μάριος δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀκμάζοντι τῷ
θυμῷ καὶ διψῶντι διὰ πάντων ἐχώρει τῶν ὁπωσ-
5 οῦν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γεγονότων. καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδός,
πᾶσα δὲ πόλις τῶν διωκόντων καὶ κυνηγετούντων
τοὺς ὑποφεύγοντας καὶ κεκρυμμένους ἔγεμεν.
ἠλέγχετο δὲ καὶ ξενίας καὶ φιλίας πίστις οὐδὲν
ἔχουσα παρὰ τὰς τύχας βέβαιον· ὀλίγοι γὰρ
ἐγένοντο παντάπασιν οἱ μὴ προδόντες αὐτοῖς τοὺς
6 παρὰ σφᾶς καταφυγόντας. ἄξιον οὖν ἄγασθαι
καὶ θαυμάσαι τοὺς τοῦ Κορνούτου θεράποντας, οἳ
τὸν δεσπότην ἀποκρύψαντες οἴκοι, νεκρὸν δέ τινα
τῶν πολλῶν ἀναρτήσαντες ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ
περιθέντες αὐτῷ χρυσοῦν δακτύλιον ἐπεδείκνυον
τοῖς Μαρίου δορυφόροις καὶ κοσμήσαντες ὡς
ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν ἔθαπτον. ὑπενόησε δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλ'
οὕτω λαθὼν ὁ Κορνοῦτος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν εἰς
Γαλατίαν διεκομίσθη.

XLIV. Χρηστῷ δὲ καὶ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὁ ῥήτωρ φίλῳ χρησάμενος ἠτύχησεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦν μὲν πένης καὶ δημοτικός, ὑποδεξάμενος δὲ πρῶτον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, οἰκέτην ἔπεμψε πρός τινα τῶν ἐγγὺς καπήλων ληψόμενον οἶνον. διαγευομένου δὲ ἐπιμελέστερον καὶ βελτίονα μετρῆσαι κελεύοντος ἠρώτησεν ὁ κάπηλος ὅ τι παθὼν οὐχὶ τὸν

slaughter in the very street, so that even the friends of Marius, to a man, were full of anguish and horror whenever they drew near to greet him. So many were slain that at last Cinna's appetite for murder was dulled and sated; but Marius, whose anger increased day by day and thirsted for blood, kept on killing all whom he held in any suspicion whatsoever. Every road and every city was filled with men pursuing and hunting down those who sought to escape or had hidden themselves. Moreover, the trust men placed in the ties of hospitality and friendship was found to be no security against the strokes of Fortune; for few there were, all told, who did not betray to the murderers those who had taken refuge with them. All the more worthy of praise and admiration, then, was the behaviour of the slaves of Cornutus. They concealed their master in his house; then they hung up by the neck one of the many dead bodies that lay about, put a gold ring on its finger, and showed it to the guards of Marius, after which they decked it out as if it were their master's body and gave it burial. Nobody suspected the ruse, and thus Cornutus escaped notice and was conveyed by his slaves into Galatia.

XLIV. Marcus Antonius also, the orator, found a faithful friend, but it did not save him. For this friend, who was a poor plebeian and had received into his house a leading man of Rome, whom he wished to entertain as well as he could, sent a slave to a neighbouring innkeeper to get some wine. As the slave tasted the wine more carefully than usual and ordered some of better quality, the innkeeper asked him what was the reason that he did not buy the

νέον, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ὠνεῖται καὶ δημοτικόν, ἀλλὰ
2 τοῦ σπουδαίου καὶ πολυτελοῦς. ἁπλῶς δέ πως
ἐκείνου φράσαντος ὡς πρὸς συνήθη καὶ γνώριμον,
ὅτι Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον ὁ δεσπότης ἑστιᾷ παρ'
αὐτῷ κρυπτόμενον, ἀσεβὴς καὶ μιαρὸς ὢν ὁ
κάπηλος ἅμα τῷ τὸν οἰκέτην ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸς
συνέτεινε πρὸς Μάριον ἤδη περὶ δεῖπνον ὄντα, καὶ
προσαχθεὶς ὡμολόγησε παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τὸν
3 Ἀντώνιον. ἀκούσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐκκραγεῖν λέγεται
μέγα καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀνακροτῆσαι·
καὶ μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἐξαναστὰς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν
τόπον φέρεσθαι, τῶν δὲ φίλων κατασχόντων Ἄν-
νιον ἔπεμπε καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' αὐτοῦ κελεύσας
κατὰ τάχος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κομίζειν.
ὡς οὖν ἧκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὁ μὲν Ἄννιος ὑπέστη
παρὰ τὰς θύρας, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διὰ κλιμάκων
ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν
Ἀντώνιον ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἀνθ'
4 ἑαυτοῦ παρεκάλει καὶ προὐβάλλετο. τοιαύτη δέ
τις ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ τῶν λόγων σειρὴν
καὶ χάρις, ὥστε ἀρξαμένου λέγειν καὶ παραιτεῖ-
σθαι τὸν θάνατον ἅψασθαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν
οὐδὲ ἀντιβλέψαι, κάτω δὲ κύψαντες ἐδάκρυον
ἅπαντες. διατριβῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀναβὰς ὁ Ἄννιος
ὁρᾷ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον διαλεγόμενον, τοὺς δὲ
στρατιώτας ἐκπεπληγμένους καὶ κατακεκηλημέ-
νους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· κακίσας οὖν ἐκείνους καὶ προσ-
δραμὼν αὐτὸς ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλήν.

5 Κάτλος δὲ Λουτάτιος Μαρίῳ συνάρξας καὶ

new and ordinary wine as usual, instead of wanting some that was choice and expensive. The slave, in his great simplicity, conscious that he was dealing with an old acquaintance, told him that his master was entertaining Marcus Antonius, who was concealed at his house. As soon as the slave had gone home, the innkeeper, who was an impious and pestilent fellow, hastened in person to find Marius, who was already at supper, and on being introduced, promised to betray Antonius to him. When Marius heard this, as we are told, a loud cry burst from his lips and he clapped his hands for joy; he actually came near springing from his seat and hurrying to the place himself, but his friends restrained him; so he sent Annius and some soldiers with him, ordering them to bring him the head of Antonius with all speed. Accordingly, when they were come to the house, Annius stopped at the door, while the soldiers climbed the stairs and entered the room. But when they beheld Antonius, every man began to urge and push forward a companion to do the murder instead of himself. So indescribable, however, as it would seem, was the grace and charm of his words, that when Antonius began to speak and pray for his life, not a soldier had the hardihood to lay hands on him or even to look him in the face, but they all bent their heads down and wept. Perceiving that there was some delay, Annius went upstairs, and saw that Antonius was pleading and that the soldiers were abashed and enchanted by his words; so he cursed his men, and running up to Antonius, with his own hands cut off his head.

Again, the friends of Catulus Lutatius, who had been a colleague of Marius in the consulship, and

συνθριαμβεύσας ἀπὸ Κίμβρων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ παραιτουμένους ὁ Μάριος τοσοῦτον μόνον εἶπεν, "Ἀποθανεῖν δεῖ," κατακλεισάμενος εἰς οἴκημα καὶ πολλοὺς ἄνθρακας ἐκζωπυρήσας ἀπεπνίγη.

6 Ῥιπτουμένων δὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἀκεφάλων καὶ 432
πατουμένων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔλεος οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ φρίκη καὶ τρόμος ἁπάντων πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν. ἠνία δὲ μάλιστα τὸν δῆμον ἡ τῶν καλουμένων Βαρδυαίων ἀσέλγεια. τοὺς γὰρ δεσπότας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις σφάττοντες ᾔσχυνον μὲν αὐτῶν παῖδας, ἐμίγνυντο δὲ βίᾳ ταῖς δεσποίναις, ἀκατάσχετοι δὲ ἦσαν ἁρπάζοντες καὶ μιαιφονοῦντες, ἕως οἱ περὶ Κίνναν καὶ Σερτώριον συμφρονήσαντες ἐπέθεντο κοιμωμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας.

XLV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὥσπερ τροπαίας τινος ἀμειβούσης ἐφοίτων ἄγγελοι πανταχόθεν ὡς Σύλλας συνῃρηκὼς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἀνειληφὼς ἐπιπλέοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ τοῦτο βραχεῖαν ἐπίσχεσιν ἐποίησε καὶ παῦλαν ὀλίγην ἀφάτων κακῶν, ὅσον οὔπω τὸν πόλεμον ἥκειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἰομένων. ὕπατος μὲν οὖν ἀπεδείχθη τὸ ἕβδομον Μάριος, καὶ προελθὼν αὐταῖς Καλάνδαις Ἰανουαρίαις, ἔτους ἀρχῇ, Σέξτον τινὰ Λουκῖνον κατεκρήμνισεν· ὃ κἀκείνοις καὶ τῇ πόλει τῶν αὖθις ἐδόκει κακῶν γεγονέναι σημεῖον μέγιστον.

with him had celebrated a triumph over the Cimbri, interceded for him and begged Marius to spare his life; but the only answer they could get was: "He must die." Catulus therefore shut himself up in a room, lighted up a great quantity of charcoal, and was suffocated.

But headless trunks thrown into the streets and trampled under foot excited no pity, though everybody trembled and shuddered at the sight. The people were most distressed, however, by the wanton licence of the Bardyaei, as they were called, who butchered fathers of families in their houses, outraged their children, violated their wives, and could not be checked in their career of rapine and murder until Cinna and Sertorius, after taking counsel together, fell upon them as they were asleep in their camp, and transfixed them all with javelins.[1]

XLV. Meanwhile, as if a change of wind were coming on, messengers arrived from all quarters with reports that Sulla had finished the war with Mithridates, had recovered the provinces, and was sailing for home with a large force. This gave a brief stay and a slight cessation to the city's unspeakable evils, since men supposed that the war was all but upon them. Accordingly, Marius was elected consul for the seventh time, and assuming office on the very Calends of January,[2] which is the first day of the year, he had a certain Sextus Lucinus thrown down the Tarpeian rock. This was thought to be a most significant portent of the evils that were once more to fall both upon the partisans of Marius and upon the city.

[1] Cf. the *Sertorius*, v. 5. [2] 86 B.C.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη τοῖς τε πόνοις ἀπειρηκὼς καὶ ταῖς φροντίσιν οἷον ὑπέραντλος ὢν καὶ κατάπονος, τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τοσαύτην αὖθις ἐπίνοιαν νέου πολέμου καὶ καινῶν ἀγώνων καὶ φόβων ὑπὸ ἐμπειρίας δεινῶν καὶ καμάτου τρέμουσαν οὐκ ἀνέφερε, λογιζόμενος ὡς οὐ πρὸς Ὀκτάβιον οὐδὲ Μερούλλαν σύγκλυδος ὁμίλου καὶ στασιώδους ὄχλου στρατηγοὺς ὁ κίνδυνος ἔσοιτο, Σύλλας δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔπεισιν ὁ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὸν ἐξελάσας πάλαι, νῦν δὲ Μιθριδάτην συνεσταλκὼς εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόν-
3 τον. ὑπὸ τοιούτων θραυόμενος λογισμῶν, καὶ τὴν μακρὰν ἄλην αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγὰς καὶ κινδύνους διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαυνομένου λαμβάνων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, εἰς ἀπορίας ἐνέπιπτε δεινὰς καὶ νυκτερινὰ δείματα καὶ ταραχώδεις ὀνείρους, ἀεί τινος ἀκούειν φθεγγομένου δοκῶν

δειναὶ γὰρ κοῖται καὶ ἀποιχομένοιο λέοντος.

μάλιστα δὲ πάντων φοβούμενος τὰς ἀγρυπνίας ἐνέβαλεν εἰς πότους ἑαυτὸν καὶ μέθας ἀώρους καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὥσπερ ἀπόδρασιν τῶν φροντίδων
4 τὸν ὕπνον μηχανώμενος. τέλος δὲ ὡς ἧκέ τις ἀπαγγέλλων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, νέοι προσπίπτοντες αὐτῷ φόβοι, τὰ μὲν δέει τοῦ μέλλοντος, τὰ δὲ ὥσπερ ἄχθει καὶ κόρῳ τῶν παρόντων, ῥοπῆς βραχείας ἐπιγενομένης εἰς νόσον κατηνέχθη πλευρῖτιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος, αὐτὸς εἰσελ-

But Marius himself, now worn out with toils, deluged, as it were, with anxieties, and wearied, could not sustain his spirits, which shook within him as he again faced the overpowering thought of a new war, of fresh struggles, of terrors known by experience to be dreadful; and of utter weariness. He reflected, too, that it was not Octavius or Merula in command of a promiscuous throng and a seditious rabble against whom he was now to run the hazard of war, but that the famous Sulla was coming against him, the man who had once ejected him from the country, and had now shut Mithridates up to the shores of the Euxine Sea. Tortured by such reflections, and bringing into review his long wandering, his flights, and his perils, as he was driven over land and sea, he fell into a state of dreadful despair, and was a prey to nightly terrors and harassing dreams, wherein he would ever seem to hear a voice saying :—

"Dreadful, indeed, is the lion's lair, even though it be empty." [1]

And since above all things he dreaded the sleepless nights, he gave himself up to drinking-bouts and drunkenness at unseasonable hours and in a manner unsuited to his years, trying thus to induce sleep as a way of escape from his anxious thoughts, And finally, when one came with tidings from the sea, fresh terrors fell upon him, partly because he feared the future, and partly because he was wearied to satiety by the present, so that it needed only a slight impulse to throw him into a pleurisy, as Poseidonius the philosopher relates, who says that he

[1] A hexameter verse of unknown authorship.

θεῖν καὶ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ ὧν ἐπρέσβευεν ἤδη
5 *νοσοῦντι φάσκων αὐτῷ.* Γάϊος *δέ τις* Πείσων,
ἀνὴρ ἱστορικός, ἱστορεῖ τὸν Μάριον *ἀπὸ δείπνου*
περιπατοῦντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι
περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πραγμάτων, ἄνωθεν ἀρξά-
μενον· καὶ τὰς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα πολλάκις μεταβολὰς
ἀφηγησάμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἔστι νοῦν ἔχοντος
ἀνδρὸς ἔτι τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύειν ἑαυτόν· ἐκ δὲ τού-
του τοὺς παρόντας ἀσπασάμενον καὶ κατακλι-
6 *θέντα συνεχῶς ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τελευτῆσαι. τινὲς δὲ*
τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ φασιν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ παντά-
πασιν ἀποκαλυφθεῖσαν εἰς ἄτοπον ἐξοκεῖλαι
παρακοπήν, οἰομένου τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν *στρατη-*
γεῖν πόλεμον, εἶτα, ὥσπερ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰώθει τῶν
ἀγώνων, σχήματα παντοδαπὰ καὶ κινήματα
σώματος μετὰ συντόνου κραυγῆς καὶ πυκνῶν
7 *ἀλαλαγμάτων ἀποδιδόντος. οὕτως δεινὸς αὐτῷ*
καὶ δυσπαραμύθητος ἐκ φιλαρχίας καὶ ζηλοτυπίας
ἔρως ἐντετήκει τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων. διὸ ἔτη
μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα βεβιωκώς, ὕπατος δὲ πρῶτος
ἀνθρώπων ἑπτάκις ἀνηγορευμένος, οἶκόν τε καὶ
πλοῦτον ἀρκοῦντα βασιλείαις ὁμοῦ πολλαῖς
κεκτημένος, ὠδύρετο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην ὡς ἐνδεὴς 433
καὶ ἀτελὴς ὧν ἐπόθει προαποθνήσκων.

XLVI. Πλάτων *μὲν οὖν ἤδη πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾶν*
γενόμενος ὕμνει τὸν αὑτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην,
ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄνθρωπος, εἶτα Ἕλλην, *οὐ βάρ-*
βαρος οὐδὲ ἄλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο, πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις, ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτους *χρόνοις ἀπήντησεν*

went in personally and conversed with Marius on the subjects of his embassy after Marius had fallen ill. But a certain Caius Piso, an historian, relates that Marius, while walking about with his friends after supper, fell to talking about the events of his life, beginning with his earliest days, and after recounting his frequent reversals of fortune, from good to bad and from bad to good, said that it was not the part of a man of sense to trust himself to Fortune any longer; and after this utterance bade his friends farewell, kept his bed for seven days consecutively, and so died. Some, however, say that his ambitious nature was completely revealed during his illness by his being swept into a strange delusion. He thought that he had the command in the Mithridatic war, and then, just as he used to do in his actual struggles, he would indulge in all sorts of attitudes and gestures, accompanying them with shrill cries and frequent calls to battle. So fierce and inexorable was the passion for directing that war which had been instilled into him by his envy and lust of power. And therefore, though he had lived to be seventy years old, and was the first man to be elected consul for the seventh time, and was possessed of a house and wealth which would have sufficed for many kingdoms at once, he lamented his fortune, in that he was dying before he had satisfied and completed his desires.

XLVI. Plato, however, when he was now at the point of death, lauded his guardian genius and Fortune because, to begin with, he had been born a man and not an irrational animal; again, because he was a Greek and not a Barbarian; and still again, because his birth had fallen in the times of Socrates.

2 ἡ γένεσις αὐτοῦ. καὶ νὴ Δία τὸν Ταρσέα λέγουσιν Ἀντίπατρον ὡσαύτως ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀναλογιζόμενον ὧν τύχοι μακαρίων μηδὲ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας οἴκοθεν εὐπλοίας ἐπιλαθέσθαι, καθάπερ φιλοχρήστου τῆς τύχης ἅπασαν δόσιν εἰς μεγάλην χάριν τιθέμενον καὶ σῴζοντα τῇ μνήμῃ διὰ τέλους, ἧς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ταμιεῖον ἀγαθῶν βε-
3 βαιότερον. τοὺς δὲ ἀμνήμονας καὶ ἀνοήτους ὑπεκρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα μετὰ τοῦ χρόνου· διὸ μηθὲν στέγοντες μηδὲ διατηροῦντες ἀεὶ κενοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῶν, πλήρεις δὲ ἐλπίδων πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀποβλέπουσι, τὸ παρὸν προϊέμενοι. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ἂν ἡ τύχη κωλῦσαι δύναιτο, τὸ δὲ ἀναφαίρετόν ἐστιν·
4 ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῦτο τῆς τύχης ὡς ἀλλότριον ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἄδηλον ὀνειρώττουσιν, εἰκότα πάσχοντες. πρὶν γὰρ ἐκ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἕδραν ὑποβαλέσθαι καὶ κρηπῖδα τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀγαθοῖς, συνάγοντες αὐτὰ καὶ συμφοροῦντες ἐμπλῆσαι τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ δύνανται τὸ ἀκόρεστον.

5 Ἀποθνήσκει δ' οὖν Μάριος ἡμέρας ἑπτακαίδεκα τῆς ἑβδόμης ὑπατείας ἐπιλαβών. καὶ μέγα ἔσχε παραυτίκα τὴν Ῥώμην χάρμα καὶ θάρσος ὡς χαλεπῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλαγμένην· ὀλίγαις δὲ ἡμέραις ᾔσθοντο νέον ἀντηλλαγμένοι καὶ ἀκμάζοντα ἀντὶ πρεσβύτου δεσπότην· τοσαύτην ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μάριος ὠμότητα καὶ πικρίαν ἀπεδείξατο, τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ δοκιμωτάτους ἀναιρῶν.
6 δόξας δὲ καὶ τολμητὴς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος εἶναι

And indeed they say that Antipater of Tarsus, when he was in like manner near his end and was enumerating the blessings of his life, did not forget to mention his prosperous voyage from home to Athens, just as though he thought that every gift of a benevolent Fortune called for great gratitude, and kept it to the last in his memory, which is the most secure storehouse of blessings for a man. Unmindful and thoughtless persons, on the contrary, let all that happens to them slip away as time goes on; therefore, since they do not hold or keep anything, they are always empty of blessings, but full of hopes, and are looking away to the future while they neglect the present. And yet the future may be prevented by Fortune, while the present cannot be taken away; nevertheless these men cast aside the present gift of Fortune as something alien to them, while they dream of the future and its uncertainties. And this is natural. For they assemble and heap together the external blessings of life before reason and education have enabled them to build any foundation and basement for these things, and therefore they cannot satisfy the insatiable appetite of their souls.

So, then, Marius died, seventeen days after entering upon his seventh consulship. And immediately Rome was filled with great rejoicing and a confident hope that she was rid of a grievous tyranny; but in a few days the people perceived that they had got a new and vigorous master in exchange for the old one; such bitterness and cruelty did the younger Marius display, putting to death the best and most esteemed citizens. He got the reputation of being bold and fond of danger in fighting his enemies, and

πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ἀρχῇ παῖς Ἄρεος ὠνομάζετο, ταχὺ δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐλεγχόμενος αὖθις Ἀφροδίτης υἱὸς ἐκαλεῖτο. τέλος δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Πραινεστὸν ὑπὸ Σύλλα καὶ πολλὰ φιλοψυχήσας μάτην, ὡς ἦν ἄφυκτα τῆς πόλεως ἁλισκομένης, αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.

in the beginning was called a son of Mars; but his deeds soon showed what he really was, and he was called instead a son of Venus. And finally he was shut up in Praeneste by Sulla, and after many vain attempts to save his life, when the city was captured and he could not escape, he slew himself.[1]

[1] See the *Sulla*, xxxii. 1.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

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A

Actium, 279, 293, 297, a promontory of Acarnania in northern Greece, at the entrance of the Ambraciot gulf.

Aeacides, 59, 347, king of Epeirus and father of Pyrrhus. He was driven from his kingdom in 317 B.C., and recalled in 313, during which year he was defeated and slain by the forces of Cassander.

Aegae, 433, a town in central Macedonia, the burial place of the royal line.

Aemilius, 411, Quintus Aemilius Papus, consul in 282 and 278 B.C. and censor in 275. In all these offices he had Caius Fabricius as colleague.

Aëropus, the Macedonian, 47, 369, not otherwise known.

Agathocles (1), 61, 369, 387 f., tyrant of Syracuse, 210–289 B.C. He also assumed the title of King of Sicily.

Agathocles (2), 77, 117 f., a son of Lysimachus the king of Thrace, sent against Demetrius in 287 B.C. murdered in 284.

Agrippa, 215, 285 f., 305, 331 f., Marcus Vipsanius A., fellow-student of Octavius Caesar at Apollonia, and an intimate friend. He was one of the leading men of the Augustan age. He lived 63–12 B.C.

Agrippina, 333, Agrippina the Younger, daughter of Germanicus and grand-daughter of Agrippa. In 28 A.D. she married Domitius Ahenobarbus, who died in 40. In 49 she married her uncle, the emperor Claudius.

Ahenobarbus, 333, see Domitius (3).

Albinus, 483, Spurius Postumius A., was consul in 110 B.C. and conducted the war against Jugurtha unsuccessfully. He was condemned for treasonable relations with Jugurtha.

Alcyoneus, 459 f., a son of Antigonus Gonatas, not otherwise mentioned.

Alexander (1), 355, Roxana's son by Alexander the Great, born in 323 B.C., and taken to Macedonia by Antipater in 320. On the death of Antipater in 319, Roxana fled with her son to Epeirus, where he was betrothed to Deïdameia, the daughter of King Aeacides. After his restoration to Macedonia by Aeacides in 317, he was imprisoned with his mother by Cassander, and both were murdered in 311.

Alexander (2), 87–91, 341, 361f., 381, a son of Cassander by Thessalonicé, the sister of Alexander the Great.

Alexander (3), 371, a son of Pyrrhus and Lanassa, not otherwise mentioned.

Alexander (4), 135, a son of Demetrius and Deïdameia, not otherwise known.

Alexander (5), 23, son of Polysperchon, was sent by his father in

318 B.C. to wrest Athens from the power of Cassander (see the *Phocion*, xxxiii.). He was assassinated at Sicyon in 314.

Alexander (6), 219, 263, son of Antony and Cleopatra, graced the triumph of Octavius Caesar at Rome, and was there reared by Octavia (see the *Antony*, lxxxvii. 1).

Alexander (7), 245, 249, of Antioch, a friend of Antony, not otherwise known.

Alexander of Myndus (in Caria), 507, a Greek writer on zoölogy, of uncertain date.

Alexas the Laodicean, 303 f., not otherwise known.

Alexas the Syrian, 289, not otherwise known.

Amanus, 132 f., a range of mountains between Cilicia and Syria, at the head of the gulf of Issus.

Amorgus, 29, an island in the Aegean Sea, south-east of Naxos.

Amphissa, 199, the chief town of the Ozolian Locrians, about seven miles west of Delphi.

Ancharia, 207, first wife of Caius Octavius. Plutarch erroneously identifies her daughter Octavia with the Octavia who was the daughter of Atia.

Anthesterion, 61 f., the eighth month of the Attic calendar, answering to parts of February and March.

Anticyra, 295, a town in Phocis, on a bay of the Corinthian gulf.

Antigenidas, 5, a celebrated Theban flute-player and poet in the times of Alexander the Great.

Antigone, 357 f., 369, daughter of Berenicé and first wife of Pyrrhus.

Antigonus (1), 7–77, 333 f., 367, 431, surnamed the One-eyed, king of Asia, father of Demetrius Poliorcetes. He fell in the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.).

Antigonus (2), 99, 111, 129, 133 f., 431 ff., 445 f., 449 f., 459 f., son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Macedonia 283–239 B.C., Antigonus Gonatas.

Antigonus the Jew, 219, king of Judaea. His rival, Herod, was made king of Judaea by the Roman senate, through the influence of Antony. Antigonus was then defeated and captured by Herod (with the assistance of the Roman general Sosius), and delivered over to Antony, who had him executed (37 B.C.).

Antiochus (1), 71, 77, 93–97, 129 f., Antiochus I., son of Seleucus and king of Syria, killed in battle with the Gauls 261 B.C.

Antiochus (2), of Commagené, 213 f., established in power by Pompey (64 B.C.), and a supporter of Pompey against Caesar. He died shortly before 31 B.C.

Antipater (1), 33, 91, 335, regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence in the East, and of Alexander's empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. He died in 319.

Antipater (2), 87, 91, 361, son of Cassander by Thessalonicé the sister of Alexander the Great. After the death of his brother Alexander, Antipater fled for refuge to Lysimachus, who had him put to death.

Antipater of Tarsus, 597, a Stoic philosopher who was flourishing in 144 B.C.

Antiphon, 197. It is uncertain which of the many men of this name is meant.

Antonia (1), 333, elder daughter of Antony and Octavia. Her son by Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus Cneius Domitius, was the father of Nero.

Antonia (2), 333, younger daughter of Antony and Octavia. She lived to see her grandson Caligula emperor in 37 A.D.

Antonius (1), 587 f., Marcus Antonius the orator, grandfather of the triumvir, 143-87 B.C. He was consul in 99, censor in 97, and a partisan of Sulla. Cicero often speaks of him as one of the greatest of Roman orators.

Antonius (2), 139, Marcus Antoninus Creticus, father of the triumvir.

In 74 B.C. he was given command of the Roman fleet in order to clear the Mediterranean of pirates but he failed ignominiously and was defeated in an attack upon Crete. His surname was given him in derision. He was avaricious and rapacious.

Antonius (3), 157, Caius Antonius, uncle of the triumvir. He served under Sulla in the Mithridatic war, and was expelled from the senate for plundering the allies. He was Cicero's colleague in the consulship in 63 B.C., and in 59 was convicted of extortion in his province of Macedonia, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.

Antonius (4), 171, 185, Caius Antonius, elder brother of the triumvir. After his praetorship he received the province of Macedonia, where he was put to death in 42 B.C. See the *Brutus*, xxv.–xxviii.

Antonius (5), 171, 203, Lucius Antonius, younger brother of the triumvir. He was consul in 41 B.C., and was besieged by Octavius Caesar in Perusia, and compelled to surrender. His life was spared, however, and he was even given command in Spain. Nothing more is heard of him.

Antonius (6), 331, 333, Julius Antonius, younger son of the triumvir by Fulvia. He received great favours from Augustus, and was consul in 10 B.C. But in consequence of an intrigue with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, he was condemned to death in 2 B.C., and took his own life.

Antyllus, 301, 319, 331 (cf. 199 f.), a name given by Greek writers to Marcus Antonius, the elder son of the triumvir by Fulvia. The name is probably a corruption of the diminutive Antonillus. According to Dion Cassius (li. 8, 4), Antony sent Antyllus to appease Octavius Caesar after the battle of Actium.

Apama the Persian, 77, daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian prince, and married to Seleucus in 325 B.C., when Alexander and his principal officers took oriental wives.

Apelles, 53, the most celebrated of Greek painters. He flourished at the courts of Philip and Alexander of Macedon.

Apemantus, 297 f., not otherwise known.

Apollonia, 171, an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic it became a famous seat of learning.

Aquae Sextiae, 511, a Roman colony in southern Gaul, founded in 122 B.C., and named from its hot and cold springs, and from its founder, the pro-consul Sextius Calvinus. It is the modern Aix.

Aquillius, 499, Manius A., consul in 101 B.C., and in 88 one of the consular legates to prosecute the war against Mithridates. He fell into the hands of Mithridates, who put him to a cruel death.

Archidamia, 439, mentioned only in this connection.

Archidamus, 85, Archidamus IV., king of Sparta. It was in 296 B.C. that he was defeated by Demetrius.

Archilochus, 87, 213, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.

Areius, 317, 321, a philosopher of the Stoic school, is said to have been a teacher of Augustus.

Areus, 425 f., 445 f., 453, Areus I., king of Sparta 309–265 B.C. He fell in a battle with the Macedonians at Corinth, and was succeeded by his son Acrotatus.

Ariobarzanes, 11, Ariobarzanes II., king of Pontus 363–337 B.C.

Aristeas, 447, 451, a citizen of Argos who invited Pyrrhus into the city. His rival, Aristippus, favoured Antigonus Gonatas.

Aristobulus, 143, a prince of Judaea, captured and carried to Rome by Pompey in 63 B.C. In 57 he escaped and stirred up war

anew in Judaea, but was again captured and sent to Rome by Gabinius. In 49 he was released and sent home by Julius Caesar, but was poisoned to death on the journey by emissaries of Pompey.

Aristocrates, 295, not otherwise known.

Aristodemus, 21, 39, 41, a friend and flatterer of Antigonus I., sent by him in 315 B.C. to maintain his interests in Peloponnesus against Cassander. The mission for Demetrius in 306 is the last we hear of him.

Arpinum, 469, an ancient city of the Volscians, on the river Liris, the birth-place of Marius and Cicero.

Arruntius, 289, perhaps the Lucius Arruntius who was consul in 22 B.C.

Arsaces, 335, probably Arsaces XV. (Phraates IV.), king of the Parthians 37–2 B.C.

Artabazus, 341, clearly an error for Artavasdes (cf. the *Antony*, 1. 4).

Artavasdes, 221, 225, 253 f. (341), king of Armenia 55–30 B.C. After the battle of Actium, Cleopatra had him put to death, and sent his head to his inveterate enemy, Artavasdes of Media.

Asculum, 413 f., a city in the interior of Apulia.

Asinius, 157, a friend of Antony, otherwise little known.

Atia, 207, daughter of Marcus Atius Balbus and Julia (the sister of Julius Caesar). She was married to Caius Octavius, by whom she was the mother of Octavius Caesar, afterwards Augustus.

Attalus (1), 275, probably Attalus I., king of Pergamum 241–197 B.C.

Attalus (2), 47, Attalus III., surnamed Philometor, king of Pergamum 138–133 B.C. In his will he made the Romans his heirs.

Axius, 105, the principal river of Macedonia, flowing past Pella into the Thermaic gulf.

B

Baiae, 555, a watering place on the coast of Campania, in the bay between Cape Misenum and Puteoli.

Beneventum, 427, one of the chief cities of Samnium, in central Italy, east of Capua. It was called Maleventum until 268 B.C., when a Roman colony was established there.

Berenicé, 355 f., 361, came to Egypt from Macedonia in attendance on Ptolemy's bride Eurydicé, the daughter of Antipater. She secured the succession for her son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, who paid her divine honours after her death. Theocritus celebrates her virtues in *Idyll* xvii.

Beroea, 111, 375 f., a city in the northern part of Macedonia, about thirty miles from Pella, the capital. Cf. *Acts*, xvii. 10, 14.

Berytus, 255, a Phoenician city on the coast north of Tyre and Sidon. It became a Roman colony, and was favoured and adorned by Agrippa.

Bestia, 483, Lucius Calpurnius B., tribune of the people in 121 B.C., and consul in 111. He made a disgraceful peace with Jugurtha, for which he was tried and condemned in 110.

Bibulus, 149, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.C., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He was Pompey's admiral in 49, and died in 48, before the battles at Dyrrhachium.

Bircenna, 369 f., wife of Pyrrhus, not otherwise mentioned.

Bocchoris, 67, an ancient Egyptian king and legislator, of the ninth century B.C.

Bocchus, 485 f. king of Mauretania, and betrayer of Jugurtha to the Romans in 106 B.C.

Boëdromion, 61 f., the third Attic month, answering nearly to our September.

Brundisium, 155, 215, 279, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural

point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 163, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus after his adoption by Aulus Postumius Albinus, the consul of 99 B.C. He was widely employed, highly esteemed and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and yet joined his murderers. After Caesar's death he opposed Antony successfully, but fell a victim to the coalition between Antony and Octavius in 43 B.C.

C

Caepio, 505, 513, Quintus Servilius C., consul in 106 B.C., and proconsul in Gallia Narbonensis for the following year. Ten years after his defeat by the Cimbri (cf. the *Camillus*, xix. 7) he was brought to trial for misconduct in the war, condemned, and thrown into prison.

Caesar, 179 f., Lucius Julius C., uncle of Antony, consul in 64 B.C., legate of Julius Caesar in Gaul in 52. He took no active part in the struggle between Pompey and Caesar, but sided with the aristocracy against Antony. After his life was saved by his sister we hear nothing of him.

Caesarion, 261, 301, 321, according to Cleopatra, her son by Julius Caesar. He was born in 47 B.C.

Caius, 333, Caius Caesar Caligula, youngest son of Germanicus, emperor 37–41 A.D.

Callimachus, 301, a celebrated grammarian, critic, and poet of the Alexandrine period, chief librarian at Alexandria from about 260 B.C. till his death about 240.

Calpurnia, 171, daughter of the Lucius Calpurnius Piso who was consul in 58 B.C. She became the wife of Julius Caesar in 59. See the *Caesar*, lxiii.

Calvisius, 271, Caius C. Statianus, one of the legates of Julius Caesar in the civil war, and governor of Africa in 45 B.C. He commanded the fleet of Octavius Caesar in the war with Sextus Pompeius.

Canidius, 215, 235, 265, 281, 285, 201 f., 301, Lucius Canidius Crassus, brought about a union between Antony and Lepidus in 43 B.C., and was consul in 40. After the battle of Actium he was put to death by Octavius Caesar.

Canopus, 203, 339, a town in Egypt, about fifteen miles east of Alexandria, on one of the mouths of the Nile.

Capito, 217, Caius Fonteius C., had been sent in 37 B.C. to restore friendship between Octavius and Antony.

Cappadocia, 13, a central district of Asia Minor.

Carbo, 505, Cnaeus Papirius C., was consul with Cinna in 85 B.C. On Sulla's return from the East and victorious advance upon Rome, Carbo fled to Libya, but was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put to death (see the *Pompey*, chapter x.).

Cassander, 19, 41, 53, 77 f., 87, 91, 351 f., 361, a son of Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.C., when Demetrius Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297.

Cassandreia, 113, a city founded by Cassander on the site of the ancient Potidaea, in the Chalcidic peninsula of eastern Macedonia.

Cassius, 151 f., Quintus C. Longinus, tribune of the people with Antony in 49 B.C., and made governor of Further Spain by Julius Caesar, where he had been praetor and quaestor in 54. Here he renewed the most shameless exactions. He was lost at sea in 47.

Cataonia, 121, one of the divisions of Cappadocia.

Catulus, 501, 503, 523 ff., 527, 531–539, 589, Quintus Lutatius Catu-

lus, consul in 102 B.C. with Marius, a highly educated man, author of orations and poems, and of a history of his consulship and the Cimbric war.

Celaenae, 17, a city of Phrygia at the sources of the Maeander (Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2, 7).

Cenchreae, 55, the eastern harbour-town of Corinth.

Caunus, 125, a city in southern Caria with a commodious port.

Censorinus, 187, Lucius Marcus C., a partisan of Antony, praetor in 43 B.C., consul in 39, and afterwards governor of Macedonia.

Cerameicus, 29 f., the Inner Cerameicus is meant, which extended from the Dipylum gate through the agora between the Areiopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs.

Chaonians, 405, 441, one of the chief tribes of Epeirus.

Chersonese, Syrian, 129, 133, a name given to the valley of the Orontes about the city of Apameia.

Cineas, 385 f., 389, 393, 403, 407 f., 413, 419, minister and faithful friend of Pyrrhus, and the most eloquent man of his day. His mission to Sicily is the last we hear of him, and he must have died before Pyrrhus returned to Italy in 276 B.C.

Cinna, 597 f., 585 f., 591, Lucius Cornelius C., leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87–84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85 and 84. He was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he had hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla.

Circeii, 361, a maritime town of Latium, at the foot of Mons Circeius.

Claudius (1), 403 f., 407, Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.C. and consul in 317 and 296, in in which last year he was victorious over the Samnites. His speech in reply in reply to Cineas was extent in Cicero's time (Cicero, *Brutus*, 16, 62).

Claudius (2), 333, Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, fourth Roman emperor (41–54 A.D.).

Cleon, 27, the Athenian demagogue and leader of the war party 428–422 B.C. See the *Nicias*, chapters vii. f.

Cleonymus, 97, 435 ff., younger son of Cleomenes II. king of Sparta, excluded from the throne on his father's death in 309 B.C.

Cleopatra (1), 161–339 *passim*, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes the king of Egypt, born about 69 B.C. On the death of her father in 51, she became queen of Egypt in conjunction with her younger brother Ptolemy.

Cleopatra (2), 219, 331, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, born in 40 B.C. By Juba she had a son Ptolemy, who succeeded his father as king of Numidia.

Clodia (or Claudia), 181, daughter of Clodius by Fulvia. She was betrothed to Octavius Caesar in 43 B.C., but he never regarded her as his wife, and sent her back to her mother at the outbreak of the Perusian war (alluded to in the *Antony*, xxx. 1).

Clodius, 141, 161, Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in in the *Sulla*, xxix. 3. He became the most venomous foe of Cicero (cf. the *Cicero*, chapters xxix.–xxxv.).

Coelius (or Caelius), 285, the text is corrupt, and the name should probably be Sossius (or Sosius).

Commagené, 213, 277, the northernmost district of Syria.

Corcyra, 369, 373, an island in the Ionian Sea opposite Epeirus, the modern Corfu.

Cornelia, 557, daughter of Scipio Africanus the Elder, mother-in-law of Scipio Africanus the Younger, and mother of the Gracchi.

Cornutus, 436, probably the Marcus Cornutus who had served with distinction in the Marsic war (90 B.C.).

Corrhagus (or Corrhaeus), 7, a Macedonian otherwise unknown.

Corvinus, 543, Marcus Valerius C., 371–271 B.C., five times dictator and six times consul.

Cotta, 471, Lucius Aurelius C., consul in 119 B.C.

Craterus, 33, one of the ablest officers of Alexander the Great, and a man of noble character. He fell in battle against Eumenes in 321 B.C. See the *Eumenes*, chapters v. ff.

Crates, the philosopher, 117, of Athens, became head of the Academy about 270 B.C. His writings are not preserved.

Curio, 141, 149, Caius Scribonius C., an able orator, but reckless and profligate. He was tribune of the people in 50 B.C., and sold his support to Caesar, who made him praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence he crossed into Africa to attack the Pompeian forces there, but was defeated and slain (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, ii. 23–44).

Curius, 427 f., Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290 B.C., during which year he celebrated two triumphs, one over the Samnites and one over the Sabines. He was consul again in 275, when Pyrrhus returned to Italy from Sciily. In 274 he was consul for the third time, and continued the war against the allies of Pyrrhus Then he retired to his Sabine farm for the remainder of his days, dying in 270.

Cydnus, 193, a river in eastern Cilicia, on which was the city of Tarsus.

Cyrené, 135, a Greek city on the northern coast of Africa, in commercial relations with Carthage, Greece, and Egypt.

Cyrrhestica, 123, 213, a district in northern Syria, south of Commagené.

D

Danaüs, 455, mythical ancestor of the Danaï, migrating from Egypt into Greece.

Deïdameia, 59, 73, 79, 135, 349, 355, 363, sister of Pyrrhus, and one of the many wives of Demetrius. She died in 300 B.C.

Dellius, 191 f., 273, a Roman knight transacting business in Asia, where he joined Dolabella in 44 B.C., and afterwards Antony. He wrote a history of Antony's war with the Parthians, to which Plutarch is indirectly much indebted. Horace dedicated to him the third *Ode* of Book ii.

Demetrias, 135, a city at the head of the Pagasaean gulf, founded by Demetrius Poliorcetes about 290 B.C.

Demetrias the Phalerean, 19 f., 25 a celebrated rhetorician and orator (346–283 B.C.). He was regent of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.

Demochares (1), of Leuconoë, 57 f., was married to the mother of Demosthenes.

Demochares (2), of Soli, not otherwise known.

Deucalion, 347, a mythical king of Phthia in Thessaly, the Noah of the Greek legend of the flood.

Dexoüs, 399, known only from this exploit, which, in Frontinus, *Strat.*, ii. 4, 9, is attributed to Laevinus.

Dicomes, 281, king of the Getae, not otherwise mentioned.

Dionysius, 401, 415, of Halicarnassus, came to Rome in 29 B.C., where he published his great work on the history of Rome in 7 B.C.

Dium, 87, an important maritime town in S.E. Macedonia.

Dodona, 347, a town in Epeirus, seat of the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

Dolabella (1), 157–165, Publius Cornelius D., the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero. He took part with Caesar, but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a

public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.

Dolabella (2), 325, Publius Cornelius D., son of the preceding. He was consul in 10 A.D.

Domitius (1), 231, 265, 281, Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of the Ahenobarbus who fell at Pharsalus (see the *Pompey*, lxix.1) pardoned by Caesar, but a follower of Brutus and Cassius, reconciled to Antony in 40 B.C.

Domitius (2), 333, Lucius D. Ahenobarbus, son of the preceding. He was consul in 16 B.C., and afterwards celebrated a triumph for campaigns in Germany. He died in 25 A.D.

Domitius (3), 333 (Ahenobarbus), Cnaeus D. Ahenobarbus, son of the preceding, and father of the emperor Nero. He was consul in 32 A.D. His life was filled with flagrant and unnatural crimes.

Domitius (4), 333, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the original name of the emperor Nero. After his adoption by the emperor Claudius he was called Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus.

Dromichaetea, 99, 133, king of the Getae, known only from his victory over Lysimachus.

Dromocleides the Sphettian, 33, 85, not otherwise known.

Drusus, 333, Nero Claudius D. Germanicus, son of Livia by Tiberus Claudius Nero, born in 38 B.C., a younger brother of the emperor Tiberius. He conducted great campaigns against the Gauls and Germans, and died in the field at the age of thirty-one.

E

Edessa, 107, 381, a city in northern Macedonia, the ancient capital of the country.

Empedocles, 13, a famous philosopher and poet of Acragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily, flourishing in 440 B.C.

Epicurus, 83, 409, founder of the philosophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C.

Erasistratus, 93 f., one of the most celebrated physicians of antiquity. After his residence at the court of Seleucus, he lived at Alexandria in the practice of his profession. He was still living in 258 B.C.

Eumenes, 275, probably Eumenes II. is meant, king of Pergamum 197–159 B.C.

Eurycles the Laconian, 289 f., not otherwise known.

Eurydicé (1), 33, 135, one of the wives of Demetrius, not otherwise known.

Eurydicé (2), 117, daughter of Antipater and wife of Ptolemy Lagus. Jealous of Berenicé, she withdrew from the court of Egypt and was now (287 B.C.) residing at Miletus.

F

Fabricius, 401, 407 f., 411 f., Caius F. Luscinus, consul in 282 and 278 B.C. with Aemilius Papus, and censor with him in 275. A fine example of old Roman simplicity and integrity.

Flaccus, 543, Lucius Valerius F., colleague of Marius in the consulship of 100 B.C., and censor in 97 with Marcus Antonius the orator. In 86 he was made consul with Cinna and sent to Asia to conduct the war against Mithridates. Here he was murdered by Fimbria (see the *Sulla*, xii. 9, with note).

Frentanian, 399, the Frentani were a hardy people of central Italy, allied to the Samnites, by whom they were bordered on the West.

Fulvia, 161 f., 181, 197 f., 203–207, 217, 261, 267, 301, wife of Antony. She had previously been the wife of Clodius the demagogue, and of Curio, the friend and legate of Julius Caesar.

She redeemed what had been a dissolute life by her passionate devotion to Antony.

Furnius, 271, Caius Furnius, tribune of the people in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero, and yet a faithful adherent of Antony. After the battle of Actium he was reconciled to Octavius Caesar, by whom he was highly honoured.

G

Gabinius, 143, 155, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, and consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.

Gallus (1), 235 f., Flavius G., not otherwise known.

Gallus (2), 317, Caius Cornelius G., a distinguished poet and orator at Rome who stood in high favour with Octavius Caesar, and served him in high command. After Cleopatra's death he was made prefect of Egypt. He afterwards fell from the emperor's favour, and, to escape exile, took his own life.

Gaza, 13, an ancient city and stronghold in southern Palestine.

Germanicus, 333, Germanicus Caesar, son of Nero Claudius Drusus, nephew of the emperor Tiberius, and brother of the emperor Claudius. His extraordinary fame and popularity at Rome awakened the jealousy of Tiberius and led to his death in 19 A.D.

Glaucia, 541, Caius Servilius G., praetor in 100 B.C., a partisan of Marius, and a partner of Saturninus in the popular tumults of that year. He perished with Saturninus. Cicero compares him to the Athenian demagogue Hyperbolus (*Brutus*, 62, 224).

H

Halae, 299, a town in N.E. Boeotia, near the sea.

Halicarnassus, 19, a large and strong Dorian city in S.W. Caria.

Helenus, 371, 455, 461, son of Pyrrhus by Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles (erroneously by Bircenna, 371). Nothing further is known of him.

Heracleia, 395, a Greek city in Lucania on the gulf of Tarentum. It was at this time in alliance with Tarentum against Rome.

Hercynii, 491, tribes in central and southern Germany.

Herennius, 473 f., Caius H., tribune of the people in 80 B.C., and opposed to Sulla. After the death of Sulla he joined Sertorius in Spain (76–72 B.C.). See the *Pompey*, xviii. 3.

Herod, 277, 301 f., Herod the Great, made king of Judaea in 40 B.C. by the Roman senate, at the behest of Antony. His title was confirmed by Augustus, to whom he remained loyal till his death in 4 B.C. Cf. *Matthew*, chapter ii.

Hieronymus, 97, 401, 415, of Cardia, a historian of the times following the death of Alexander the Great. He was a friend and companion of Eumenes (cf. the *Eumenes*, xii.) and after the death of Eumenes became a friend of Antigonus, then of Demetrius his son, and finally of Antigonus Gonatas. The death of Pyrrhus (272 B.C.) is mentioned in his history.

Hipparchus, 293, 305, a friend of Antony, not otherwise known.

Hirtius, 175, Aulus H., a warm friend and supporter of Julius Caesar, consul in 43 B.C. He fell in gallantly leading an assault upon Antony's troops (cf. the *Cicero*, xlv. 3 f.).

Hortensius, 185, Quintus H. Hortalus, son of the great orator Hortensius, though apparently cast off by his father on account of his dissolute habits. He joined Caesar in 49 B.C., and served under

him in important commands (cf. the *Caesar*, xxxii. 2). In 44 B.C. he held the province of Macedonia, and Brutus was to succeed him.

Hybreas, 189, of Mylasa, in Caria, reputed to be the greatest orator of his time. His works are lost.

Hyrodes, 211, 219, another form of Orodes, Orodes I., the same as Arsaces XIV., the king of the Parthians who defeated Crassus in 53 B.C.

I

Ialysus, 51, mythical founder of the city of Ialysus in Rhodes.

Iampsas (Hiempsal), 575 f., king of Numidia. He was expelled from his kingdom by Domitius Ahenobarbus, the leader of the Marian party in Africa, but was reinstated by Pompey in 81 B.C. Cf. the *Pompey*, xii. 4.

Iapygian promontory, 391. Iapygia was a Greek name of the S.E. district of Italy, called Calabria by the Romans.

Iolcus, 135, an ancient and famous city at the head of the Pagasaean gulf, the assembling place for Jason's Argonauts. It was merged in Demetrias.

Ipsus, 71, 81, 355, a village in southern Phrygia.

Isis, 263, 307, an Egyptian goddess, identified with the Demeter of the Greeks.

J

Juba, 331, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

Jugurtha, 477, 481, 485 f., 493, 553, king of Numidia 112–106 B.C. He was brought a prisoner to Rome, and starved to death in 104.

Julia, 139, 181, daughter of the Lucius Julius Caesar who was consul in 90 B.C., and mother of Antony. She fled from Rome in 41, but returned to Italy with her son in 39, after she had aided in reconciling him with Octavius Caesar.

L

Labienus, 197, 205, 211, son of the Labienus who fell at Munda in 45 B.C. After the murder of Julius Caesar he joined the party of Brutus and Cassius, and was sent by them into Parthia, where he proved a formidable enemy of Octavius and Antony. He was not slain in his battle with Ventidius, but fled in disguise to Cilicia, where he was discovered and killed by a freedman of Octavius.

Lachares, 81 f., an Athenian demagogue who made himself tyrant of the city in 296 B.C. According to Pausanias (i. 25, 7), he was murdered at Coroneia in Boeotia shortly after his flight from Athens.

Laevinus, 393 f., 399 f., 407, Publius Valerius L., one of the consuls in 280 B.C., known only from this campaign against Pyrrhus. The tradition is through Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who copied Hieronymus, who had access to the Memoirs of Pyrrhus.

Lamia, 37, 45, 55, 61–67, mistress of Demetrius.

Lamprias, 199 f., the grandfather of Plutarch, a convivial soul.

Lanassa, 369 f., 373, daughter of Agathocles, wife of Pyrrhus, and then of Demetrius.

Lentulus (1), 139 f., Publius Cornelius L. Sura, was consul in 71 B.C., but in the following year was expelled from the senate. This led him to join the conspiracy of Catiline.

Lentulus (2), Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, consul in 49 B.C., and author of the violent measures which

drove the tribunes, Antony and Curio, to Caesar at Ravenna. On the outbreak of civil war he joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt. See the *Pompey*, lxxx. 4.

Leonnatus the Macedonian, 397 f., known only from this incident.

Leosthenes, 349, an Athenian general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia (323 B.C.).

Leotychides, 435, son of the Spartan king Agis II., excluded from the throne by Lysander (cf. the *Lysander*, chapter xxii.).

Lepidus, 153, 161, 169, 175–183, 205, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.C., and was Caesar's consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the triumvirate received Spain and Narbonese Gaul as his provinces, then, in 40, Africa, where he remained till 36. He was then deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.C.

Lernaean hydra, 407, a fabled monster haunting the marshy district in south-eastern Argolis, slain by Heracles in his second labour.

Libo, 155, Lucius Scribonius L., an adherent of Pompey in the civil war, and legate of Bibulus on Pompey's fleet, succeeding Bibulus in the supreme command. He afterwards served under Sextus Pompeius, but deserted him for Antony in 35 B.C. He was consul with Antony in 34.

Licymnius, 459, a mythical personage, half-brother of Alcmené the mother of Heracles. He was slain by Tlepolemus the son of Heracles.

Liris, 567, one of the principal rivers of central Italy, flowing S.W. into the sea near Minturnae.

Lissus, 155, a coast-town in southern Illyria.

Livia, 323, 221 f., Livia Drusilla, married first to Tiberius Claudius Nero, but in 35 B.C. Octavius took her in marriage from her husband. To her first husband she bore Tiberius (afterwards emperor) and Drusus. She bore Augustus no children, but had unbounded influence over him. She died in 29 A.D.

Lucania, 385, 395, 401, 427, a district of southern Italy, west of Apulia and north of Bruttium.

Lucinus, 591, Sextus L., not otherwise known.

Lupercalia, 165, a shepherds' festival in honour of the rustic god Faunus, held in Rome February 15. Cf. the *Caesar* lxi. 1.

Lygdamis, 491, leader of the Cimmerians in their invasion of Lydia in the seventh century B.C. Cf. Herodotus, i. 15.

Lynceus the Samian, 65, distinguished as comic poet and historian, brother of Duris the historian, and contemporary with Menander in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

Lysimachus (1), 31–133 *passim*, 339, 361 f., 375–381, an officer of Alexander the Great, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace., He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.C.

Lysimachus (2), 443, a companion of Pyrrhus, not otherwise known.

Lutatius, 501, 589, see Catulus.

M

Macrinus, 465, a cognomen denoting leanness.

Maecenas, 215, Caius Cilnius M., the great patron of literature and art during the reign of Augustus, whose prime minister he was.

Mamertines, 421–425, "Children of Mars," mercenary troops from Campania in the employ of Agathocles tyrant of Syracuse.

They seized Messana in 310 B.C. and became a formidable power. They passed finally under the dominion of Rome.

Manlius, 513, Cnaeus Manlius Maximus, consul in 105 B.C. He obtained Transalpine Gaul as his province, where he was defeated by the Gauls, chiefly owing to quarrels with his colleague, Servilius Caepio.

Marcellus (1), 519, Marcus Claudius M., prominent later (90 B.C.) in the Marsic war, and an orator of some merit (cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 36, 136).

Marcellus (2), 149, 207, 331, Caius Claudius Marcellus, consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Julius Caesar. He took no part in the civil war, and was pardoned by Caesar. As husband of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.C.

Marcellus (3), 331, Caius Claudius M., son of the preceding, born in 43 B.C. He married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, in 25, and was also adopted by Augustus. He died in 23. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 860–886.

Massalia (Massilia), 213 a town in southern Gaul, east of the Rhone, the modern Marseilles.

Megacles, 399, known only from this incident.

Menelaüs, 35–39, a brother of Ptolemy Lagus, and commander of his fleet. He is not otherwise known.

Meninx, 575, an island off the north coast of Africa, near Carthage.

Merula, 579, 593, Lucius Cornelius M., chosen consul in 87 B.C., after Cinna had fled the city, by the partisans of Sulla. On the return of Marius and Cinna in the same year, he was summoned to trial for illegally exercising the consulship, and committed suicide.

Messapia, 385, 393, like Iapygia, a name given by the Greeks to the south-eastern district of Italy, called Calabria by the Romans.

Metellus (1), 465, Quintus Caecilius M. Macedonicus, was praetor in 148 B.C., and received Macedonia as his province, where he was superseded by Lucius Mummius before he could complete the conquest of Greece. He celebrated a triumph, however, in 146, was consul in 143, and died in 115.

Metellus (2), 469, Lucius Caecilius M. Dalmaticus, consul in 119 B.C., and winner of a bloodless triumph over the Dalmatians.

Metellus (3), 477 ff., 485 f., 541–547, 549, 583, Quintus Caecilius M. Numidicus, consul in 109 B.C., and conqueror of Jugurtha, but supplanted by Marius. He was unjustly expelled from the senate, and went into exile, from which he was recalled in 99, largely through the efforts of his son, Metellus Pius.

Metellus (4), 583, Quintus Caecilius M. Pius, son of the preceding. He was consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla's death in 78, Metellus was sent to Spain to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63.

Meton, 383 f., known only from this incident.

Minturnae, 565, 569, 573, a town of Latium, on the river Liris, about three miles from the sea.

Misenum, 207, a promontory and port on the coast of Campania. It was a station for the Roman fleet in the times of Augustus and the Empire.

Mithridates, 11 f., Mithridates II., king of Pontus 337–302 B.C. At the time here noted (318 B.C.) he was at the court of Antigonus as a subject vassal.

Mithridates (2), 245, 249, not otherwise known.

Mithridates (3), 551, 555 f., 579, 593, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly called Mithridates the Great, 120–63 B.C.,

the *Caesar*, xxix. 3). After Caesar's death, Paulus returned to the aristocratic party, and was proscribed by the triumvirs. He escaped death, however, and fled to Miletus, where he died soon afterwards.

Pelasgus, 347, mythical ancestor of the Pelasgians, the earliest inhabitants of Greece.

Pella, 107, was made the capital of Macedonia by Philip II., and was the birthplace of Alexander the Great. It was west of the river Axius, and some fifteen miles from the sea.

Pelusium, 143 f., 307, a strong frontier-town on the eastern branch of the Nile.

Pergamum, 271, in Mysia, capital of the kingdom founded by Eumenes in 263 B.C.

Perseus, 135, the last king of Macedonia, 179-168 B.C. See the *Aemilius Paulus*, x.–xxxvii.

Pessinus, 509, a town of Galatia in Asia Minor, famed for its rich temple of Cybelé.

Petra, 297, chief city of the district of Arabia which borders Egypt on the N.E. It lay about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Arabian Gulf.

Pharos, 203, 297, an island off Alexandria, artificially united with the mainland.

Pharsalus, in Thessaly, the scene of the decisive battle between Pompey and Caesar in 48 B.C.

Phila, 33 f., 51, 65, 77 f., 91, 113, 117, 135, daughter of Antipater and wife of Demetrius, a virtuous and gifted woman, faithfully devoted to Demetrius in spite of all his marital sins.

Philip, 51, 59, 105, Philip II. of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great, reigned 359–336 B.C.

Philippides, 31, one of the principal poets of the New Comedy at Athens, flourishing in 325 B.C.

Philotas, 197 f., 201, known only from these incidents.

Phylarchus, 439, of Naucratis and Athens, a historian flourishing in 215 B.C., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his *Agis and Cleomenes*, and his *Pyrrhus*.

Phraata, 223, 227, 253, a place somewhere in ancient Media which served as a residence for the Parthian kings. It was probably named from Phraates.

Phraates, 219, 223, 229 f., Phraates IV. or Arsaces XV. (this latter name continuing that of the founder of the line), king of Parthia, a man of cruelty and treachery. His son was stolen and carried to Rome, and was surrendered to his father by Augustus on condition of the return of the Roman standards and prisoners captured from Crassus. These were actually returned to Rome in 20 B.C.

Phraortes, 255, apparently an error for Phraates.

Piso, 595, Caius P., not definitely known.

Plancus, 177, 269, Lucius Munatius P., a friend of Julius Caesar, serving under him in Gaul and during the civil war. After Caesar's death he went over to Antony, was consul in 42 B.C., and governor of Syria in 35. He deserted Antony for Octavius Caesar in 32. It was on his proposal that the title of Augustus was conferred upon Octavius in 27.

Pleistarchus, 77 f., son of Antipater and brother of Cassander. After the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.) he received the province of Cilicia. After his expulsion from this by Demetrius nothing further is heard of him.

Polemon, 275 f., Polemon I., made king of Pontus about 36 B.C. by Antony. He ransomed himself from the Parthians, and continued to co-operate with Antony. After the battle of Actium he made his peace with Octavius, and was by him confirmed in his kingdom. He died about 2 B.C.

Polysperchon, 23, 367, a distinguished officer of Alexander the

Great, appointed by Antipater to succeed him in the regency. He connived at some of the worst crimes of Cassander. He is last heard of in 303 B.C.
Pompeius (1), 509; Aulus P., not otherwise known.
Pompeius (2), 207 f., 217, 263, Sextus P., younger son of Pompey the Great by his third wife, escaped after the battle of Munda (45 B.C.), and was active against the triumvirate until his death in 35.
Poseidonius, 465, 593, a famous Stoic philosopher, of Apameia in Syria, a contemporary of Cicero, taught at Rhodes, and was resident at Athens and Rome.
Potheinus, 275, one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt. He was put to death by Caesar (cf. the *Caesar*, xlviii. f.). The name must therefore be used oratorically here.
Prienê, 267, one of the twelve Ionian cities in Asia Minor, north of Miletus.
Proculeius, 315 f., Cornelius P. (Plutarch calls him Procleius), a wealthy Roman knight, after wards highly honoured by Augustus. Horace mentions him with praise (*Carm.* ii. 2, 5 f.).
Protogenes, 51 f., of Caunus in Caria, one of the most celebrated of Greek painters, contemporary with Apelles, flourishing in 330 B.C.
Ptolemy (1), 13–117 *passim*, 227 f., 355, 361, 375, Ptolemy Lagus, king of Egypt 306–283, the most far-sighted and successful of the officers of Alexander the Great.
Ptolemy (2), 109, Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator, king of Egypt 222–205 B.C.
Ptolemy (3), Ptolemy XI., commonly known as Ptolemy Auletes, restored to the throne of Egypt in 55 B.C. through Pompey's influence. He never regained the goodwill of his people, and died in 51.
Ptolemy (4), 361, 369, 441, 449, son of Pyrrhus and Antigone, was left in charge of his father's kingdom at the age of fifteen, when Pyrrhus set out for Italy in 280 B.C.
Ptolemy (5), 263, son of Antony and Cleopatra, surnamed Philadelphus. After the death of Antony his life was spared by Octavius Caesar, and he was brought up by Octavia with her own children. Nothing more is heard of him.
Publicola, 285 f., Lucius Gellius P., deserted to the side of Octavius and Antony from that of Brutus and Cassius, and was made consul in 36 B.C. He probably perished at the battle of Actium.
Pyrrha, 347, mythical wife of the mythical Deucalion (cf. Horace, *Carm.* i. 2, 6).
Pythodorus, 61, the Torch-bearer, an official in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. See the *Alcibiades*, xxii. 3.

Q

Quinda, 77, a city of Cilicia, later called Anazarbus.

R

Rhosus, 77, probably a place on the N.W. coast of Syria, below the gulf of Issus.
Rutilius, 541, Publius Rutilius Rufus, statesman and orator, consul in 105 B.C. He was convicted of peculation in his proconsulship of Asia (99 B.C.), and retired to Smyrna for the rest of his days. He wrote a History of Rome in Greek.

S

Sabaco, 473, Cassius S., not otherwise known.
Sadalas, 277, king of Thrace, not otherwise known.

Salamis, 37 f., 87, a city on the eastern coast of Cyprus.
Samnium (Samnites), 385, 401, 407f. 407 f., 413, 423, 427, a mountainous district in central Italy, east of Latium and Campánia. The Samnites did not make final submission to Rome until 272 B.C.
Samosata, 213, the royal residence of the district of Commagené, situated on the upper Euphrates.
Saturn, 411, Italian god of agriculture. For the festival of the Saturnalia, see the note on the *Sulla*, xviii. 6.
Saturninus, 499 f., 541–549, 559, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, a Roman noble who allied himself with Marius and the popular party, tribune of the people in 102 and 100 B.C., in which last year he perished at the hands of a mob.
Scipio (1), 465, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder, 234–183 B.C.
Scipio (2), 469, 493 f., Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus the Younger, son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by Publius Scipio the son of the conqueror of Hannibal, 185–129 B.C.
Seleucus (1), 17–133 *passim*, Seleucus I., surnamed Nicator, founder of the Syrian dynasty, king of Syria 306–280 B.C.
Seleucus (2), 307, apparently an officer serving under Antony and Cleopatra.
Sextilius, 575 f., not otherwise known. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* i. 62.
Sicyon, 205, a city of Achaia in Northern Peloponnesus, near the Corinthian Gulf.
Sidon, 255, a Phoenician city on the coast of Palestine, north of Tyre.
Silanus, 273, Marcus S., not otherwise known.
Siris, 395, a river of Lucania flowing east into the gulf of Tarentum.
Sosigenes, 125, not otherwise definitely known.
Sossius (or Sosius), 215, Cornelius S., consul in 66 B.C., followed the fortunes of Antony, who made him governor of Syria and Cilicia in place of Ventidius. He commanded the left wing of Antony's fleet at Actium, escaped from the battle, and was pardoned by Octavius.
Statianus, 223, Oppius S., not otherwise known.
Stilpo, 23 f., founder of a Megarian school of philosophy. Little is known of his life.
Stratocles, 27–33, 57–63, an Athenian orator and demagogue of disreputable character, but persuasive speech.
Stratonicé, 77 f., 93–97, 129 f., 135, daughter of Demetrius and Phila.
Sulla, 465, see the *Coriolanus*, xi. 2–4, with the note.
Sulpicius, 555, 559, Publius S. Rufus, one of the most famous orators of his time. He was at first an aristocrat in politics, and as such was made tribune of the people in 88 B.C. But he became the creature of Marius, and was put to death by Sulla (cf. the *Sulla*, x. 1).

T

Taenarum, 291, the southern promontory of Laconia, in Peloponnesus.
Taphosiris, 339, a town in Libya about twenty-five miles west of Alexandria. It contained a "Tomb of Osiris."
Tarentum, 215 f., 279, 383 f., 389 f., 313, 401 f., 407, 413, 419, 423, 427, a wealthy and powerful Greek city in S.E. Italy, at the head of the gulf named from it. It was a Spartan colony, founded about 708 B.C.
Taurus, 119, an extensive mountain range of southern Asia Minor.
Taurus, 285, Statilius T., a distinguished general under Octavius, consul in 26 B.C., and prefect of Rome during the absence of Augustus in 16.

Telamon, 579, a city on the coast of Etruria (Tyrrhenia).

Terracina (Tarracina), 563, 569, a maritime city of Latium, about ten miles from Circeii.

Thessalonicé, 87, wife of Cassander, and sister of Alexander the Great.

Timagenes, 303, of Alexandria, carried prisoner to Rome in 55 B.C., where he regained his freedom and taught rhetoric successfully, enjoying the favour of Augustus for a while.

Timon the Misanthrope, 297 ff., is said to have died in consequence of refusing to have a surgeon set a broken limb.

Titius, 235, 269, Marcus T., owed his life to Sextus Pompeius, but when Sextus was captured in Asia, Titius put him to death. He deserted Antony for Octavius Caesar, by whom he was made consul in 31 B.C.

Torquatus, 465, a cognomen formed from "torques," a chain stripped from a fallen foe.

Trebellius, 157, Lucius T., tribune of the people in 47 B.C., and a colleague of Dolabella. He afterwards, to placate Antony, tried to carry the very measures in which he had opposed Dolabella.

Trebonius, 167, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the first triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and was loaded with favours by him, but still joined his murderers. He was sent out as pro-consul to Asia in 43, where he was slain by Dolabella, who was acting for Antony against Brutus and Cassius.

U

Utica, 481, a Phoenician colony from Tyre, older than Carthage, on the N.W. coast of Africa, about twenty-seven miles from Carthage.

V

Varius, 179, Lucius Varius, surnamed Cotylon (or Cotyla), had been aedile in 44 B.C., and had served Antony during the siege of Mutina in 43.

Ventidius, 209–215, Publius V. Bassus, a native of Picenum, and brought to Rome as prisoner of war in 89 B.C., where he was manumitted. He served with distinction under Julius Caesar in the civil war, and after the death of Caesar joined Antony. After his triumph nothing is heard of him.

X

Xenocrates the Philosopher, 467, a native of Chalcedon in Bithynia, and a disciple at Athens of Aeschines the Socratic. He lived 396–314 B.C.

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